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CALMET'S DICTIONARY

OF THE

HOLY BIBLE:

Historical, Critical, Geographical, and Etymological;

WHEREIN ARE EXPLAINED

THE PROPER NAMES IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS;

THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, MINERALS, STONES, GEMS, &c.

THE ANTIQUITIES, HABITS, BUILDINGS, AND OTHER CURIOSITIES OF THE JEWS;

WITH

A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE,

THE JEWISH CALENDAR, TABLES OF THE HEBREW COINS, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, &c.

FOURTH EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND AUGMENTED:

WITH AN EXTENSIVE SERIES OF PLATES,

EXPLANATORY, ILLUSTRATIVE, AND ORNAMENTAL: UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

CHARLES TAYLOR.

"UNDERSTANDEST THOU WHAT THOU READEST?"

"HOW CAN I, EXCEPT SOME ONE SHOULD GUIDE ME?" ACTS VIII.

IN FIVE VOLUMES:

VOL. IV.—FRAGMENTS, Nos. DI. TO DCCL.

WITH THE NATURAL HISTORY.

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ANNEXED TO
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FRAGMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

MANNERS, INCIDENTS, AND PHRASEOLOGY,

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES.

SELECTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

.....

THE SECOND VOLUME.

.....

No. DI.

ASTRONOMICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL EXCURSIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE order, the regularity, and the beauty of the ordinances of the Heavens have been at all times subjects of gratulation and wonder to the sons of men; and with ample cause;—whether men were rude or refined, whether in a social or a savage state, they felt, without exception, the importance inseparable from the Seasons of the year, and they gradually associated in their minds, the periodical returns of those luminaries which at first announced the returns of the seasons, and at length were supposed to exert an influence over them.

The Sun and the Moon were indisputably, the two greater Lights of heaven: to these the most powerful influences were ascribed; and the most important obligations were universally acknowledged. They led on the year and the months, with their respective productions: they afforded means of calculating time, and of defining periods, and eventually, they contributed to the formation of systems, and to extensive combinations of numbers into multiples, progressions, and series. But, beside these principals, known to all as the sources of light, the Heavens presented, to the observant and intelligent, various minor luminaries, the periods of which were not only incommensurate, among themselves, but required long continued investigation of their appearances, by which to obtain materials for the theory of their orbits and motions.

It had been well if mankind had stopped here; but, having acquired an elementary knowledge of the heavenly bodies, and their circuits, the misplaced gratitude of some, and the pious credulity of others, attributed to them offices for which their Creator never designed them, and consequently never prepared them. The smallest spark of rationality too powerfully illuminates the human breast, to allow its possessor to conceive of the Great Supreme, other than as a Spirit of incomprehensible attributes and infinite wisdom and powers; a portion of which he at pleasure delegates to the emanations of his creative *fiat*, and which, in fact, he has in some degree, delegated to man, as a rational creature; and to beings much superior, in degrees proportionately higher.

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B

And where should the imagination of man establish these superior beings, if not in those celestial bodies, the aspects of which were deemed propitious, or were thought to be detrimental, beyond the interference of mortals, or the ken of inhabitants of Earth. It was, then, from attributing to the heavenly bodies the office of mediators between man and the Supreme Deity, that Idolatry took its rise. It was, from entreaties addressed to the circulating orbs of our system, from solicitations beseeching their favourable acceptance, and report, of worship intended to be conciliatory, as it respected themselves, and intended to be most profoundly reverential as it respected the Self-existent, the First Cause, and last end of being; who was indeed the only proper object of adoration, but, who was supposed to be too high, too exalted, to be approached, immediately, by feeble man.

Such was the state of things when the Sacred penman composed his history of the Creation, in which he describes in direct terms, the origin and the offices of the Sun and the Moon, but confines his account of other Celestial bodies to a single phrase,—"he made the Stars, also." It was not because Moses was ignorant of the importance attached to the Stars, that he studied this brevity: it was because he knew but too well, and had too sensibly felt its evil consequences, in the course of his own life, and had seen them too extensively prevalent, to the great injury of the world at large, and to the no small crimination of that peculiar people over which he had now the charge.

The beginnings of all arts, of all practices, are at first extremely simple; and it is impossible, from the simple beginnings of practices founded on a mere mental idea, so much as to conjecture in what they may issue, when the ingenuity of man has refined upon them, and they have been the study of successive generations. To suppose that every Star, and especially every revolving Planet was animated by a resident Angel peculiar to itself, was, doubtless, accepted as the happy thought of a mind, deeply imbued with the learning of the age, with astronomical knowledge in more than usual proportion, and perhaps favoured by some superior power, with a revelation, by which it was enabled to penetrate into mysteries far "beyond this visible diurnal sphere." Nor less felicitous and convenient, was the formation of a symbolical representation of a star: it required no skill; a mere effort of the hand was sufficient to execute the design; and the model once obtained, the idol was constantly before the eye of the worshipper, whether the original were above or below the horizon. And yet, in these rude efforts originated that Idolatry which eventually like a flood, overwhelmed the whole human race; to which the Sacred Books, though standing in direct opposition, bear but too striking witness, and which to this day retains its tyranny in some of its most odious and destructive forms. For, the issue proved, that when the Stars and the Planets were once named, their idols were named after them; that when their idols were formed, they gradually assumed the personal figure of those Intelligences whose names they bore, and of which they became the human representatives. Hence gods and goddesses of every description and attribute; until at length their numbers became incalculable, their characters became flagitious, and "darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people."

A few thoughts on this inveterate moral malady of the human mind, from which no nation has been wholly exempt, may with propriety introduce our views of the incidents recorded in Scripture;—but the subject demands to be treated in some kind of order. We shall therefore introduce in the first place, a View of the Solar System, as now understood by the most eminent modern astronomers; with a Plate.

No. DII. SOLAR SYSTEM : OR HEAVEN.

THE Plate comprises as complete a view of the Solar System, as perhaps can be contrived in one delineation. It is to be considered as containing,

I. A PLAN of the Orbits of the Planets which are comprized in the Solar System.
II. The PROPORTIONS of the Planets to the Sun: which is the *center of their circulation*.

III. An ELEVATION of the Orbits of the Planets, supposed to be seen from the Sun.

IV. The places of the NODES (*intersections*) of the planetary Orbits, with the Orbit of the Earth.

V. A specimen of the contradictory Orbits of Comets: the courses of which are not *circular*, but of extreme length: at one time approaching the Sun very closely; at another times receding to an almost incalculable distance from the Sun.

I. In the centre of the System is the Sun; around him revolve

1. MERCURY; the Orbit of this Planet is at one time much farther from the sun than at another; the thin line on the plate denotes a really circular course; the black line marks the actual course of this Planet.

2. VENUS; her Orbit is nearly circular.

3. The EARTH; her Orbit also is nearly circular; her aphelion is marked *a*, her perihelion *p*.

4. MARS; his Orbit has considerable eccentricity: his actual course is distinguished by its strength.

* * Several very small Planets are lately discovered, revolving between MARS and JUPITER; the orbits of which cross those of the more conspicuous Planets, at various angles: but these are not, it is presumed, alluded to in SCRIPTURE.

5. The Orbit of JUPITER.

6. The Orbit of SATURN.

Of the GEORGIUM SIDUS, the seventh planet, the Plate only hints a notice. His Orbit exceeds twice the distance of that of Saturn; and had it been truly laid down its dimensions would have diminished the courses of the inferior Planets, so as to have rendered them very small. We have therefore preferred inaccuracy in marking the place of this orbit, to confusion in all the others.

All the Planets move the same way, and, seen from the Sun, appear to go round him (as the Sun himself revolves) from right to left; according to the order of the letters marked on the orbit of Jupiter, *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l*.

Around these orbits are placed the characters of the twelve Signs and their degrees; these serve equally to all the planets, so that as well Mercury, as Saturn, is said to be in a particular Sign, when, seen from any station, he appears among the firmament stars which compose that Sign.

N. B. *The degrees of the Signs are reckoned from Sign to Sign, each containing thirty degrees; and not from any specific point, continued throughout the circle.*

II. The proportion of the Planets to the Sun, appears by a comparison of them with the line S S; which represents the diameter of the solar orb.—The real dimensions of these bodies are as follows:

MERCURY, the nearest Planet to the Sun is in bulk the smallest of the planets, being in diameter only 2,160—but some say—2,600 miles. His light is extremely bright and lively, owing probably to his nearness to the Sun. He circulates round the Sun in 87 days, 23 hours, 16 minutes; travelling 95,000 miles *per hour*. He has no moon.

VENUS, the next planet to Mercury, moves in nearly a circle round the Sun; her axis is somewhat inclined to the plane of her orbit. Her bulk is nearly that of the Earth, about 8,000 miles in diameter; her light is splendid; no moon has yet been discovered to accompany her; she circulates round the Sun in 224 days, 16 hours, 49 minutes; at the rate of 69,000 miles *per* hour. Spots have been seen on her surface, which indicate a daily rotation on her axis in 23 hours; but some have given for her rotation 24 days, 8 hours. Instead of revolving from west to east, as the Earth does, *i. e.* nearly with a *horizontal* motion, she revolves almost north and south, *i. e.* with a motion within 7 degrees of *perpendicular*.

The **EARTH** moves in nearly a circle round the Sun (her eccentricity being only 17 parts in 1,000) in one year: her axis is inclined to the plane of her orbit, 23 degrees, 30 minutes: her diameter is about 7,950 miles; she has a daily rotation on her axis in twenty-four hours: travels 68,000 miles *per* hour. The Earth has one Moon, which circulates round her in 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, turning in the same time on her own axis, and shewing spots: her diameter is about 2,180 miles.

MARS has an eccentricity of nearly one-tenth part of the semidiameter of his orbit; his axis is not perceptibly inclined to the plane of his orbit: his diameter is 4,500 miles; he has no moon, but a very large and dense atmosphere, which probably performs some of the offices of such an attendant. His daily rotation on his axis is performed in 24 hours, 40 minutes, as is calculated by his spots: he circulates in 686 days, 23 hours: travelling 47,000 miles *per* hour.

JUPITER'S eccentricity is about one-twentieth part of the semidiameter of his orbit (48 parts in 1000); his axis is nearly in the plane of his orbit; his diameter is 81,000 miles, being by much the largest of the planets, and ten times the diameter of our Earth. He circulates in 11 years, 314 days, 12 hours, moving 25,000 miles *per* hour.

SATURN'S eccentricity is rather more than one-twentieth part of the semi-diameter of his orbit (55 parts in 1000); his diameter is 67,000 miles; which is 14,000 less than Jupiter: he circulates in 29 years, 167 days, 5 hours, moving 18,000 miles *per* hour. He has seven Moons.

Beside these seven moons, Saturn has a wonderful *Ring*, which encompasses his body at 20,000 miles distance from it, and is resplendent. His daily rotation is not determined, his distance rendering his spots very obscure. His ring is thought to have a rotation, and to be 20,000 miles across. In proportion to the planet, the ring is about twice and one-third his diameter; it revolves in about 10 hours, 32 min.

Of the **GEORGIUM SIDUS**, the mean distance from the Sun is nearly twenty times the distance of the Earth from the Sun. The inclination of his orbit is 46 deg. 26 min. The period in which he circulates round the Sun is 83 years 16 days; his diameter is four times and one-third that of the Earth: his bulk is eighty times and a half that of the Earth. Two satellites have been discovered belonging to this planet.

This Planet, by his great distance and weak light, was unknown, till the powerful telescopes of Mr. **HERSCHEL** discovered him; consequently, the ancients were entirely unacquainted with him.

III. ELEVATION of the Orbits of the Planets, as seen from the Sun. These are estimated by comparison with the orbit of the Earth, from which the orbit of Mercury differs more than that of any other planet; it is, therefore, at once the smallest, and the most irregular—as his eccentricity is greatest; and—as the elevation, and depression of his course is also greatest. The orbit of Jupiter differs but little from that of

the Earth. In fact, with regard to what differences *might* have existed, the planetary courses (excepting the Georgian) may be regarded as nearly similar.

IV. As the foregoing figure is under a necessity of supposing (what is false in fact), that the courses of the planets cross each other [*i. e.* form knots, or *nodes*] in the *middle* of the elevation, it is the design of the thin lines, inscribed with the names of the planets, to correct this idea; and to mark the intersections of the planes of the planetary orbits with that of the Earth, in their proper points.

The modern computation of the Planetary Distances is,

| | Miles. | In round numbers. |
|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| MERCURY | 36,841,500 | 37,000,000 |
| VENUS | 68,891,500 | 69,000,000 |
| EARTH | 95,173,000 | 95,000,000 |
| MARS | 145,014,000 | 145,000,000 |
| JUPITER | 494,991,000 | 495,000,000 |
| SATURN | 907,956,000 | 908,000,000 |
| GEORGIAN | 1,900,000,000 | from the Sun. |

V. This plate exhibits also tracks of three COMETS, as specimens of the irregularity with which these bodies advance toward the Sun on all sides: some from the right hand, some from the left; some ascending from below, some descending from above. Such courses as are most *round*, are most speedily terminated; while such as are *oblong*, and almost as it were, parallel, are of very extensive duration. The number of Comets is great.

Such according to the Moderns, is the System of Planetary worlds, of which our Earth is one; but, this System was not generally received, even if it were known, in the early ages. The Persian Sages, for example, adopted a scheme essentially different; and perhaps, they received it from remote antiquity. That scheme is expressed in the following terms, in the *Desâtîr*, which professes to contain the sentiments of the prophets of Persia, including those of Zoroaster, anterior to the time of Alexander the Great. The notes inclosed in parentheses () are those of the Persian translator of the original work.—“The simple Being—of his own beneficence created a substance free and unconfined, unmixed, immaterial,—the Chief of Angels. By him he created inferior heavens, and to each an Intelligence, and a Soul, and a Body: as for example, Ferensâ, (*the Intelligence of the sphere of Keiwan (Saturn)*) also, Lâtinsâ (*its soul*) and Armensâ (*its body.*) And Anjumdâd (*the Intelligence of the sphere of Hormusd (Jupiter)*) and Nejmâzâd (*its soul*) and Shidârâd (*its body.*) And Behmenzâd (*the Intelligence of the sphere of Behrâm (Mars)*) and Fershâd (*its soul*) and Rizbâdwâd (*its body.*) And Shadârâm (*the Intelligence of the sphere of the Sun*) and Shâdâyam (*its soul*) and Nishâdirsâm (*its body.*) And Nirwân (*the Intelligence of the heaven of Nahid (Venus)*) and Tirwân (*its soul*) and Rizwân (*its body.*) And Arlâs (*the Intelligence of the sphere of Tir (Mercury)*) and Firlâs (*its soul*) and Warlâs (*its body.*) And Fernush (*the Intelligence of the sphere of the Moon*) and Wernûsh (*its soul*) and Ardtûsh (*its body.*) The heavy-moving Stars are many, and each has an Intelligence, a Soul, and a Body. And in like manner, every distinct division of the heavens and planets, hath its Intelligence and its Soul. The number of the Intelligences, and Souls, and Stars, and heavens, Mezdâm [only] knows.”

The reader will observe the Order of these Intelligences:—*Saturn—Jupiter—Mars—the Sun—Venus—Mercury—the Moon.* It might be compared with the

Systems of Ptolemy, and of Tycho Brahé; but, that is not our present object. —Afterwards, the Persian prophet proceeds to say,

“The lower world is subject to the sway of the upper world. In the beginning of its revolution the sovereignty over this lower world is committed to one of the slow moving Stars, which governeth it alone for the space of a thousand years; and for other thousands of years each of the heavy moving stars, and swift moving stars, becometh its partner, each for one thousand years. Last of all the Moon becometh its associate. After that, the first associate will get the sovereignty. The second king goeth through the same round as the first king; [for a thousand years]; and the others are in like manner his associates . . . And understand, that the same is the course as to all the others. When the Moon hath been king, [when] all have been associates with it, and its reign too is over, one Grand Period is accomplished. After which the sovereignty again returneth to the first king, and in this way there is an Eternal Succession.” . . .

“After performing the worship of Mezdâm, worship the Planets, and *kindle lights unto them. Make figures of all the Planets, and deem them proper objects to turn to in worship* . . . that they may convey thy prayers to Mezdâm.” . . .

“In prayer turn to any side: but it is best to turn to the stars, and the light.”

Here, undoubtedly, we have the origin of *Sabiism*, or the worship of the Host of Heaven, so often alluded to in Scripture;—and the real origin of terrestrial idolatry, also; for, to these Intelligences, first worshipped under the form of stars, were subsequently erected altars, temples, statues, and other *sacra*: their influences were supposed to be most beneficial to those who most fervently worshipped them; nor was this all; for those who devoted themselves to the rites instituted in their honour, conceived, that they could, by their solicitations, [rather, incantations] induce these celestial Intelligences to favour with their special presence and residence, the buildings, the figures, the emblems, consecrated to them, upon Earth; and these gross and deceptive imaginations led the way to the vilest degradation of the human heart and character. But, before we trace this farther, it may be proper to notice a few passages of Scripture, which contain allusions to these celestial Intelligences, in their superior appointments and stations.

Accepting Moses as the writer of the book of Job, the earliest mention of these celestial Intelligences occurs in the days of that patriarch: chap. xxxviii. 7. “Where wast thou—when the *Morning Stars* sang together; and *all the Sons of God* shouted for joy?” On this passage Mr. Good has neither variation nor note. Mr. Scott observes, “*The morning stars* are styled the *Sons of God* in the next sentence. The *Sons of God* are the Angels, chap. i. 6. ii. 1. I suppose they are called *the morning stars* on account of the luminous vehicles with which they are clothed. The morning star is exceedingly bright. What a grand appearance does the poet here present to our view, ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands of glittering angels attending the birth of our world, and singing hallelujahs to the Almighty Father!”

Much as it may grieve us to touch this splendid passage with the chilling hand of criticism, yet we must support the necessity of maintaining a distinction between the *Morning Stars*, and the *Sons of God*, which title, undoubtedly, designates Angels, in the introductory chapters of the book. The imagination of western writers attaches itself to *THE morning star*, in the singular; whereas, here they are referred to in the plural, כוכבי, the writer well knowing that all the planets of our system may be morning stars in their turn, and, occasionally more than one at the same time.

The poet therefore, informs us, more poetically, and more correctly too, that the neighbour planets sang in concert, when a new planet was introduced among them; and the stars more remote, the fixed stars, shouted for joy, in a general chorus. But, highly poetical as this passage is, it connects with the idea already suggested, that the animation of the Stars by an Intelligence proper to each, is an extremely ancient doctrine in the East. It is not the *brut* matter of the Stars that is held responsible for performance of duty; but the animating Intelligence; and this is perfectly analogous to the view taken by the Chaldee paraphrast of another passage: "And there was (an appointed) day of severe judgment, a day of forgiveness of sins: and the hosts of Angels came and stood before the Lord; and Satan [rather, THE Satan, שטן, so the LXX. 'Ο Διαβολος, the Devil; and Theodotion 'Ο Αντικειμενος, the Adversary] came also, and stood in judgment before the Lord;" agreeably to the expression, chap. iv. 18.

Behold! he cannot (absolutely) confide in his servants;
And his Angels he chargeth with default.

Or, as Scott prefers to render it,

Lo he discerns, discern'd by him alone,
Spots in the sanctities around his throne.

"One of the Greek interpreters turns it, *there is instability* (Αβεβαιώτες, Symm.) *in his servants*: his angelic ministers are not absolutely perfect. *In his angels he observeth failure*, LXX. σκολιον τι, something wrong [rather, aberration; *obliquus*, *tortuosus*; or inequality; what among the planets is called eccentricity.] Schultens proves from the Arabic, that it denotes *slip*, or *failure*. The expression is much too faint for the crime of the angels who sinned and fell from their first estate. Nothing more seems to be meant than the imperfection of the most exalted spirits, in comparison with the infinite perfection of the Deity." Very true; and if instead of supposing these *inequalities* to be "discerned by him alone," the ingenious writer had supposed that part of the office of THE Satan, was, to detect and report such failures, he would have spoken precisely the language of the Oriental Mythology in the days of Job. Comp. SATAN, No. CLIII. This import of the passage is confirmed by a just understanding of the first verse of the fifth chapter: "Call now (thy cause) there is one (the Chief himself) who will answer thee; but, to which of the saints, קדשם, wilt thou turn?" The whole of the heavenly host is so sensible, each of his own imperfections, that not one of them will step forward to plead against God, or to intercede in thy behalf; and this thou knowest right well:

Which Angel will espouse thy daring plea?

To which of the Saints wilt thou turn? This explanation of the question of Eliphaz to Job, seems to be in direct opposition to the assertion of the patient sufferer, that he had never practised idolatry in the most simple manner, had never worshipped the heavenly bodies, chap. xxxi. 28.

If I beheld the Sun when it shined in its strength,
Or the Moon when increasing in brightness;
And my heart hath seduced itself to error,
Insomuch that my mouth hath kissed my hand:
Even this action were an iniquity for judicial enquiry;—
To that extent should I have failed (in duty) to the God who is above.

But, observe, that the question put by Eliphaz does not of necessity assert any misconduct in Job: it merely refers by allusion to a practice too well known at the time; nor does the declaration of Job go beyond his own exculpation; for it clearly admits that it was customary to salute the Sun and Moon: the Sun at sun-rise, the Moon, when be eld for the first time after her conjunction with the Sun, *i.e.* the New Moon. And this is so natural, that it still maintains itself in the most Christian countries; as in Britain, for instance, nothing is more common than to hear the expression among rustics—"The New Moon; God bless her!"

And, observe, again, that the original *Sabiism*, or worship of the Celestial Intelligences, was very different from the gross pollutions to which it eventually gave occasion. The crime was, comparatively, venial, of soliciting favour from one of the *Kedeshim*, the Saints; though that favour were to act as a Mediator. There are incalculable degrees between the obscene rites of Venus *pandemos*, and intreating the planet, Venus—that, she would ask her Father and Lord—to illuminate the soul—to draw suppliant near unto him—to bless, and to purify worshippers to Everlasting of Everlasting." Similar prayers are addressed in the *Desâth*, to all the planets; but, I have selected this, partly in proof, that the planet Venus, being feminine, in the East, though she might be, and even must be, the *Morning Star*, yet she could not be "Lucifer, son of the morning." Compare LUCIFER in the *Dictionary*.

"O mighty and admirable Lady! Mistress of knowledge! and Lady of action! . . . I ask of thee, O Most Blest in the two abodes [Heaven and Earth,] that thou ask of thy Father and Lord, of the Cause of thy being, the free Intelligence,—that he would ask of his Father and Lord, the Cause of his being, the Best of created beings, the Universal Intelligence, a wish suited to the Eternal World, (*which is*) pure from alteration or change, that he would ask of the Prime of Time, the Self-existent, the Most Worthy to be adored by the worthy to be adored, the Stablisher of all, the Essence of Essences, that He would illuminate my Soul, and smooth my difficulties, that He would draw me near unto Him, that He would enlighten the Band of light and splendor, and bless them and us, and purify them and us, for ever, and to Everlasting of Everlasting."

From the residence of Job we turn to the more easterly empire of the Chaldeans; we know that in their metropolis, Babylon, they had from the earliest times, considerable establishments for the purpose of studying the motions of the heavenly bodies. Of this, we shall adduce but one evidence at present; to be considered more fully hereafter. Isaiah xlvii. 12, 13. "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, *wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth*; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels; let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from what shall come upon thee." Certainly, this implies extensive and long-continued studies in Babylon; and here we shall find the System of Celestial Intelligences in full prevalence. Nebuchadnezzar informs us, Dan. iv, 7, *et seq.* that Daniel was called Belteshazzar, according to the name of *my God (singular)*:—in whom is the spirit of the Holy Gods (*plural*); *מְרַבְּרֵי נְפִשׁוֹת* . . . "I saw a great tree in the midst of the earth . . and behold, a Watcher, even, *י*, a Holy One, (a saint, *שְׁרָפ*) came down from the heavens, (*plural*) HE cried aloud, and said, Hew down the tree, &c. . . according to the decree of the Watchers, and the dictate of the Holy Ones (*the Saints*, *שְׁרָפִים*) on a petition presented to them:"—not, as it might be gathered from the public translation, "on a petition presented *by them*." If it be asked, who presented this petition? the prophet Ezekiel may afford an answer,

answer, who under the same similitude of a great tree alludes to the Assyrian, chap. xxxi. 3. *et seq.* “I made him fair by the multitude of his branches, so that *all the trees of Eden*, in the very garden of God, *envied him* ;”—and, of course, complained of his superiority. The reader will observe, that there is no necessity for taking, with our translation, the words “a Watcher AND a Saint,” as importing two persons ; for, then, the following phrase would have been “*THEY* cried aloud and they said ;”—not, as it is now, “*HE* cried aloud and he said.” This *Watcher*, this Holy One in the Chaldean mythology, must be the Intelligence, or Guardian Genius, of the planet ; unless, we rather choose to take it in reference to *THE Satan*, as minister of punishment, who had made his report, and here professes to be executing his orders and commission, consequent on it. Now, this is precisely his character and occupation in Job, chap. i. 7. the Lord said unto *THE Satan*, *Whence comest thou?* He answered “*From circumambulating the Earth* ;” and the Chaldee paraphrast adds for what purpose he thus roamed, (or goeth about, *περιπατει*, 1 Peter v. 8.) “*to examine into the works of the sons of men.*” Inasmuch, then, as the Satan found Job perfect, he found Nebuchadnezzar proud : inasmuch as he was commissioned to try the patriarch, he was commissioned to punish the potentate.

On the whole, we conclude, that, this System of Intelligences assigned to the heavenly Orbs, not only coincides with the Chaldaisms of the book of Daniel, but explains the allegorical and poetical personages of the book of Job—the Morning Stars—the Sons of God—the Saints, or Holy Ones. It is now time that we quit these Celestials,

Uriel, the Regent of the Sun, and held
The sharpest sighted spirit of all in heaven :—
(The same whom John saw also in the Sun)

and follow Satan, himself, in his descent to Earth ; when he

Down from th' Ecliptic, sped with hop'd success,
Throws his steep flight in many an airy wheel ;
Nor staid, till on Niphates' top he 'lights. *Milton.*

No. DIII. THE HEAVENLY BODIES OBJECTS OF WORSHIP.

WHATEVER might be the conceptions of the learned and scientific among the Orientals, who studied the courses and properties of the Heavenly Bodies, their mutual relations, and their alledged powers and influences, when they became Objects of Worship among the multitude, they became also subject to their caprice, superstition, and ignorance, as well as their depravity. Not long could the simple *Star* remain the sole representative of a Celestial Intelligence ; the idea of *personality* prevailed over every other, and with it combined the varied passions and dispositions which form the character and distinguish the *persons* of our species. But, most probably, the progress, though rapid, was not instantaneous ; and though too fatal in the issue, it was not, at first, considered as absolutely unlawful or unbecoming. There was much to be said in favour of the doctrine, that the planetary bodies governed the seasons ; that they produced, and consequently, that they bestowed abundant harvests, and plentiful supplies of the rich and important productions of the field, the vineyard, the orchard, and the garden. Nor did their operations terminate here : the increase of the fold was attributed to their agency ; together with that of cities, tribes, and families. Precisely in this spirit, is the argument of the Israelites who professed to ask counsel of Jeremiah, the prophet of the Lord, but who acted in direct opposition to it, when they not only determined to go into Egypt, themselves,

but carried the remonstrating prophet along with them. Jer. xliv. What had been, their practices we learn from chap. viii.

Seest thou not what these are doing,
In the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem?
The sons gather wood,
And the fathers kindle the fire,
And the women knead the dough,
To make cakes for the Regency of the Heavens [*Queen of Heaven*]
And to pour out libations to strange gods.

This is Mr. Blayney's translation; who also reads, chap. xliv. in the following manner, "Then all the men, who knew that their wives had burned incense unto strange gods, and all the women who stood by, a great company, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah saying,—As for the word which thou hast spoken to us in the name of Jehovah, we will not hearken unto thee. But we will surely perform what is gone forth out of our mouth, in burning incense to the Regency of the Heavens [*Queen of Heaven*] and pouring out libations thereunto; like as we did, we, and our fathers, our kings and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, when we had plenty of bread, and were prosperous, and saw no adversity. But from the time we left off to burn incense to the Regency of the Heavens, and to pour out libations thereunto, we have been in want of every thing, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine: and when we burned incense to the Regency of Heaven, pouring out also libations thereunto, did we, exclusively of our men, make cakes for it, worshipping it, and pouring out libations thereunto?"

From our little acquaintance with the idolatrous rite here described, this passage presents many difficulties. The first is, to establish the true reading; on which Mr. Blayney has a learned note. "*The Regency of the Heavens.*" Our translators here render מלכת השמים to *the Queen of Heaven*, after the Vulgate; by which no doubt they meant the Moon; but the other versions render, "*the Host of Heaven*," or something to that effect, including at least all the principal of the heavenly bodies, the Sun, Moon, and Planets. And this sense may, I think, in some sort be applied to מלכת or מלכות, supposing it to stand by a common metonymy, the office for those that bear it. For it is a term nearly synonymous to ממשלת, which signifies, *dominion, rule, or superiority* of some kind; and this latter word is used concerning the chief luminaries in the heavens, which God is said to have made לממשלת to *rule, or preside* there, by day and by night, Gen. i. 16. Psalm cxxxvi. 8, 9. So that מלכת may not improperly be rendered *the Regency* or *Hierarchy* of the Heavens.—But, it must be noticed, also, that nineteen mss. some of which are of the greatest antiquity, with two Editions, one of which is the first printed Bible, the other the celebrated *Complutensian*, read למלאכת; and as מלאכת properly signifies *a delegated agent*, מלאכה or מלאכה may, by a like metonymy as before, denote the very same heavenly bodies, which under the Divine commission perform certain stated functions in the heavens. And this sense would perfectly correspond with the term frequently used to denote the Sun, Moon, and Stars, namely, *the host of heaven*, because they move regularly in their respective spheres, as a marshalled army, punctually obeying the orders of their Almighty Sovereign and Commander." The criticism is able; though the reason assigned in the conclusion be questionable. But, before we proceed farther, we ought to observe, that our English margin, adopting the reading of the *Complutensian*, ii. 18. renders, *the frame, or workmanship of heaven*: the LXX. render, ἡ οὐρανοῦ, *the*

host of heaven; but, in chap. xliv. 17, 18, 19. they render *τη βασιλισση το ουρανο*, *the Queen of Heaven*. [Eng. marg. *frame*, or *workmanship*, in verse 17. *Queen*, in verses, 18, 19. according to the Complutensian; which strangely varies the reading in these verses, though intending the same power.] These variations are sufficient proofs of confusion; and that, arising from a cause of no modern date.

But, by the help of our second extract from the *Desâtr*, we may, perhaps, be able to explain this. We there read that the planets, in succession, obtain first as associates, afterwards as principals, the office of King, each for a thousand years; and that the series ends with the Moon. It is evident, that when a feminine planet is *King*, whether as associate or as principal, she would be called *Queen*. Now the Moon is not feminine; but is addressed as "*Lord of Moistures*,"—and is, in many languages, as well as in these ancient Persian prayers, of the masculine gender. It follows, that Venus is the only planet which can be, properly speaking, *Queen of Heaven*; and during her millenium she would be the counterpart of all the characters described in this passage;—a female *Regent*, enjoying *dominion, rule, or superiority*; a *delegated agent*, especially, in association with a slow-moving Star; and, in such association, not only one of *the host of heaven*, herself, but also, and especially by her connection with her principal, according to the *frame, workmanship, or organization* of the Celestial Orbs in their courses, and mutual relations. [Is the personage we call *Queen*, strictly speaking, known in the East?]

We see now the reason why the women were principals in the idolatry so severely reproved by Jeremiah; they worshipped the female Regent in her grosser character of *Venus Genetrix*; and are therefore, threatened, in opposition to her character, with the very annihilation of their desires: "I will pour out my fury—upon man—and upon beast—and upon the trees of the field—and upon the fruits of the ground:" in short, on all the powers of increase, animal and vegetable. And this leads to a more correct, but not more decent, notion of the simulative *cakes* prepared in honour of this idol. They are called *placentas* by the Vulgate, *flat cakes*: but Jerom in his comment on Jer. viii. 20. calls them *præparationes*, whence it may be inferred, that he understood by the term something more than *flat cakes*: or, *flat cakes prepared to receive something more*. With this agrees the flippant reply of the women—"The men were as bad as we were;—" "Did we, women, exclusively of our men, make those cakes?" But, what business had the men in making of dough? *that* was at all times the proper employment of the women. The rite was, apparently, a *pooja*, worship to the goddess of fecundity, in which both sexes joined: the women prepared the *flat cake*, and their husbands completed the compound emblem, by an addition, of which Tacitus, speaking of the Paphian Venus, has described the figure, though he did not conceive the reason: *Simulachrum Dææ non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metæ modo exsurgens. Et ratio in obscuro. Hist. lib. ii.* [For a *cake*, or *cakes* made of oatmeal, &c. of a different kind, but used for equally superstitious purposes, see the *Addition* to the article BAAL, in the *Dictionary*.]

The prophet, in continuation, charges all the people as parties to the idolatry practised in their country:

At that time, saith Jehovah, shall they cast forth
The bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of the princes,
And the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets,
And the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves;
And they shall spread them before the Sun and the Moon,
And all the Host of Heaven, which they have loved,
And which they have served, and after which they have gone,
And which they have sought, and to which they have bowed down; &c.

Here we have the Sun, the Moon, and the Host of Heaven—the Stars, generally; but in 2 Kings xxiii. 5. we have a more particular enumeration—“they burned incense to Baal, to the Sun, and to the Moon, and to the Planets, and to all the Host of Heaven.” Here Baal may be distinguished from the Sun (to which interpreters unanimously refer the title: see the article **BAAL** in the *Dictionary*) but, certainly the Planets are clearly distinguished from the Fixed Stars, though usually reckoned among the Host of Heaven. It is possible the Sabians might distinguish between the Intelligence that animated the Sun, according to their system, and the Solar Orb, itself: Had the text read *Moloch*, or “King,” instead of *Baal*, Governor or Ruler, I should have inclined to deduce the title from the Royalty of a thousand years, to which each of the planets succeeds, in its turn.

But, as this text is the only one that separates the planets from the Host of Heaven, it deserves particular notice; and the rather, as Commentators incline to consider *Mazaloth*, the word here, as being the same with *Mazaroth*, Job xxxviii. 31. supposing that the γ having received a head became δ . This seems to me not so likely, as that δ should lose its heading and thereby become γ . Now *Mazaroth* in Job, they interpret the Zodiac, on the authority of St. Chrysostom; nevertheless, supposing the words to be distinct, as they stand in our Hebrew Bibles, I think the English rendering, “the planets,” may be supported; as this class of heavenly bodies is exactly what is wanted in the order of the words; *i. e.* according to the ancient Persian system, the swiftly-moving Stars, distinct from the slowly-moving Stars. It would, perhaps, be too bold, to conjecture some relation between *Mazaloth* מזלות, and the root *Mashal*, מָשַׁל, in which case *Mazaloth* would signify *those who rule*, *those who exercise dominion*; yet Montanus seems to have entertained an idea somewhat similar; for he renders *influentiis*, “to those who exercise influence.”

In the foregoing enquiry we have seen that the women charged their husbands as being partakers with them in the idolatrous rites of *Venus Genetrix*; but the present will refer to a still more dissolute instance, and perhaps, the earliest evidence of this depravity; for, though Job refers to the worship of the Sun and the Moon, he does not add the worship of any Star. In No. ccxiii. treating on **Succoth Benoth**, we took occasion to observe, that there was no need to suppose the tabernacle of Moloch, or the *star* of the god, carried about by the Israelites in the wilderness, Amos v. 26. was very public, or very pompous. A small tent, if dedicated, a small image, if consecrated, was sufficient to introduce the most flagrant idolatry. Nor was this without its arguments and its admissions; for so says the Desâtr; “After performing the worship of Mezdâm, worship the Planets, and kindle lights unto them. Make figures of all the Planets, and deem them proper objects to turn to in worship.” *After performing the worship of Mezdâm.*—This is exactly what we have supposed might be the conduct of Israel: they worshipped Jehovah; and after worshipping the Supreme Being, they went and took up the tabernacle of the reigning Planetary King מלכּם, Moloch, and the image of that Chiun, the *star* of your gods, which ye made to yourselves.” Nothing could be more easily formed than the figure of a *star*; a few cross pieces of wood joined together, or of metal, whether rough or polished, a small medal with a *star* embossed on it, answered the purpose, as completely as an image many feet in height. It is, then, most probably, strictly true, that the Israelites *made* these idolatrous images *with their own hands*; so, that, at first, the affair was an absolute secret, and was only known among those associates who had received (as was customary at initiation into the Heathen mysteries, especially the greater, as those at Eleusis, &c.) the token of assignation or of admission. Moreover, as the seductresses, the Midianite women, would concede that the previous

worship of the Supreme, was perfectly proper, and very consistent with the subsequent worship of the Planets, their deities, they would find no difficulty in overcoming any scruples which might occur to their Hebrew visitants; they might even encourage attendance on the Mosaic ritual, as it helped to cover the crime, and would allay suspicion; it was enough for them that they eventually deluded those whose company they courted, into the same maxims as they had themselves adopted; and dissipated all recollections of the worship attended in the first instance, by the enormities of that which they studied to render dazzling, voluptuous, and inextricable.

Israel joined themselves unto Baal-Peor,
And ate the sacrifices of the dead.—
Thus they provoked Him to anger with their inventions.—
Then stood up Phinehas—

It is remarkable that Manasseh, a tyrant who deluged Jerusalem with innocent blood, is said 2 Kings xxi. 9. to have *seduced* Israel to do more evil than did the nations which the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel; whereas, Moses cautions the people—"lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, all the Host of Heaven, thou shouldest be *driven* to worship them"—It might be thought that the terms should change places: it was not, however, because *Sabism*, the worship of the heavenly host, was the only kind of idolatry known to the Hebrew legislator, that he laid such a stress on this: for the connection of the passage shews that he equally warned his charge against corrupting themselves by making a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female [of mankind], the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth: [comp. the Second Commandment]. We infer, that images of all these were common accessories to idolatry, so early as the days of Moses;—but an attempt to account for this perversion of the Patriarchal Religion and of the human intellect must take the form of a subsequent Article.

No. DIV.

DEITIES TRANSFERRED FROM THE HEAVENS TO EARTH.

WHEN the imagination of man had discovered Intelligences, and consequently deities, in the celestial bodies, the way was opened for peopling the Earth also with inferior deities; and for believing the descent of the Superior, to take cognizance of mortals, their conduct and affairs. The inferior deities are thus announced:—"Below the sphere of the Moon was made the place of the Elements. Over the Fire, the Air, the Water, and the Earth, were placed four Angels: Aniráb, and Hiráb, and Senuráb, and Zehiráb... Whatever things are compounded of the elements are either impermanent or permanent. The impermanent are fog, and snow, and rain, and thunder, and cloud, and lightning, and such like. Over each of these there is a guardian angel. The Guardians of the fog, and snow, and rain, and thunder, and clouds, and lightning, are Milrám, Silrám, Nilrám, Mehtás, Behtám and Nishám, and so of others." The scheme of idolatry is now complete: the man who wished for rain implored it from the Guardian Angel of the Rain: and to that Guardian Angel, or his Principal, he attributed the fertility of his fields, in consequence of the heaven-descended showers.

True it is, that Jehovah claims to himself in numerous places in Scripture, the power of giving, or of withholding rain: and the prophet asks, Jer. xiv. 22. "Are

there any among the vanities of the Gentiles which can cause rain? Or, can the heavens (the heavenly powers) give showers? Art not thou He, (the giver of rain) O Lord our God? Therefore we will wait upon thee: for thou hast made all these things." Exactly analogous are the remonstrances of the apostles, Acts xiv. 17.—"Turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all things that are therein:—who hath not left himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from Heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." But, this history assists the progress of our argument; for, say the Lycaonians, "*the gods are come down to us in the likeness of men.*"—This was a current notion among the Heathen; and to say truth, it was no more than natural, and just, that the superior Deities should inspect the conduct of the inferior, as well in person, as by their agents: (so Satan roamed over the Earth, to make his observations, and report;)—nor less should they examine the maxims of men; and punish transgressors, or reward the obedient, in modes beyond the scrutiny of common observation. The Poets of Greece and Italy furnish abundant proofs of this. But, these were incidental and uncertain visits: there were others which by their regular returns, or by their uninterrupted permanency, announced the constant interposition of the supposed deity who presided over that meteor, or that phenomenon; insomuch, that while on some occasions the heathen insisted that "Jupiter is whatever exists, whatever you see;" on others, he was merely the god of the atmosphere, and directed the operations of the rain, the snow, &c. as supplicated by the Earth. Egypt only was an exception; and the exception confirmed the rule;

*Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi.*

Tibull. lib. i. Eleg. 7.

Among the most determinate and obvious gifts of the gods, Rivers held a distinguished place: in fact, not a few of them were considered as gods themselves, and this probably arose, not merely from a sense of the benefits they confer on a country, but also from appearances somewhat striking and peculiar in their sources. All who have read Homer—and who has not read Homer?—know, that the river Scamander was esteemed a deity, and venerated as divine. Herodotus says of the Persians, that they held rivers in especial veneration, that they worshipped them, and offered sacrifices to them; nor would they suffer any thing to be thrown into them, that could possibly pollute their waters. The like obtained among the Medes, the Parthians, and the Sarmatians. The Nile was certainly consecrated in Egypt, was called *Father*, and *Saviour*, (or protector); was esteemed their prime national deity, and was worshipped accordingly. They supposed it gave birth to all their deities, who were born, said they, on its banks. That the Nile concealed its head, was proverbial; somewhat of the same kind was, it is credible, believed of the other divine streams.—Take the Scamander as an instance:—

Scamander flowing from Idean Jove:

Ξάνθος—ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς. *Iliad.* Φ. 2.

All know that Ida was the seat of the Immortal Gods, of which Jove was the sovereign. But why, and how, was the Scamander said to flow from him, to be his offspring, &c.? Dr. E. D. CLARKE has set this in a striking light, *Trav.* vol. ii. p. 142. On ascending Gargarus, the chief summit of Ida, he says, "Our ascent, as we drew near the source of the river, became steep and stony. Lofty summits towered above us, in the greatest style of Alpine grandeur; the torrent, in its rugged bed below, all

the while foaming on our left. Presently, we entered one of the sublimest natural amphitheatres the eye ever beheld; and here the guides desired us to alight. The noise of waters silenced every other sound. Huge craggy rocks rose perpendicularly, to an immense height; whose sides and fissures, to the very clouds, concealing their tops, were covered with pines; growing in every possible direction, among a variety of evergreen shrubs, wild sage, hanging ivy, moss, and creeping herbage. Enormous plane-trees waved their vast branches above the torrent. As we approached its deep gulph, we beheld several cascades, all of foam, pouring impetuously from chasms in the naked face of a perpendicular rock. It is said the same magnificent cataract continues during all seasons of the year, wholly unaffected by the casualties of rain or melting snow. That a river so ennobled by antient history should at the same time prove equally eminent in circumstances of natural dignity, is a fact worthy of being related . . . it bursts at once from the dark womb of its parent, in all the greatness of the Divine origin assigned to it by Homer:—where the voice of Nature speaks in her most awful tone; where, amidst roaring waters, waving forests, and broken precipices, the mind of man becomes impressed, as by the influence of a present Deity.”

“ I climbed the rocks, with my companions, to examine more closely the nature of the chasms whence the torrent issues. Having reached these, we found, in their front, a beautiful natural bason, six or eight feet deep, serving as a reservoir for the water in the first moments of its emission. It was so clear, that the minutest object might be discerned at the bottom. The copious overflowing of this reservoir causes the appearance, to a spectator below, of different cascades, falling to the depth of about forty feet; but there is only one Source. Behind are the chasms whence the water issues. We entered one of these, and passed into a cavern. Here the water appeared, rushing with great force beneath the rock, towards the bason on the outside. It was the coldest spring we had found in the country . . . The whole rock about the source is covered with moss. Close to the bason grew hazel and plane-trees; above were oaks and pines; all beyond was naked and fearful precipice.”

Such is the source of the river—the offspring of Jove. On the summit of the mountain whence it flows, the Deities of classic antiquity held their court—Jupiter—Mars—Apollo—Venus—Mercury—Diana, &c. who were, in short, the Celestial Intelligences of the Planets transferred to Earth.

The Deities of Greece were not originally Greck; neither were they, strictly speaking, Egyptian; but, India was their primary station;—not the provinces now called Bengal, but those more to the north, where rises the long chain of Mount Himalaya, in all the pride of eternal snows, and endless peaks of ice. Surrounded by these mountains, the highest in the world, is the famous lake *Mansarowara*, whose capacious waters are deemed sacred by all the Brahminical tribes, and their followers. Here also rise the most famous rivers:—the *Bramahputra* (“ Son of Brahma,” the Deity)—the *Ganges* (Ganga, feminine) who sprung from the head of the Indian Jove,)—the Indus, or *Nilab*, with its contributing streams;—and the *Gihoon*, which runs northerly; a direction contrary from the former. As I am not able to offer so particular an account of the sources of these rivers as Dr. CLARKE has furnished of the sources of the river Scamander, I must entreat the reader to bear in mind the identity of the Grecian deities with those of the original India, and to expect to meet them again, in exactly the same situation,—at the summit of a mountain—at the source of a stream, rendered sacred by their presence, and doubly sacred, as being their offspring.—Change of name effects no change of character.

Our Plate of the Origin of the River Ganges, shews these ideas in the form of an Allegory, at once mythological and geographical ;—the principal deities of India, are represented on the summits of the Snowy Mountains, giving birth to the Ganges ; which, from those mountains, falls from precipice to precipice, till it reaches the entrance into the lower provinces, which it annually overflows. The river is seen to issue from the foot of *Vishnu*, the pervading spirit of the Supreme, who here assumes a female form, (marked A.) Behind her, B. sits *Nared* (Mercury) playing on the *bina*, a musical instrument, analogous to the lyre of Mercury ; and before her dances *Bhavani* (Venus) animated no doubt by *Nared*'s celestial melody ; near *Bhavani*, stands *Brahma* (Jupiter) who sanctions the joyful occurrence by his presence. Adjacent are the temples of *Scheu Log*, i. e. of *Siva*, (the changer of forms) ; of *Parvati*, (Cybele,) the “general mother ;” and in the sanctuary adjoining is *Ganesa*, with the head of an elephant. (Comp. PLATE of INDIA, No. 8.) The attached dwelling is that of *Chiven*, and of the Bramins engaged in his service. The next temple marked *Beschan Log*, “the residence of *Vishnou*,” is inhabited by the Bramins attached to his worship. Here are worshipped *Lachmi*, wife of *Vishnou*, the goddess of riches. The third structure, *Brem Log*, “the residence of *Bramah*,” was no doubt the dwelling of *Brahma*, and of the Bramins attached to him. It is said that this temple no longer exists ; which, if true, seems to prove that the *original* drawing of this subject was composed while it was standing ; which is allowing it considerable antiquity. *Gautris* and *Sarsatis* appear in the chapel of this convent ; the last is the wife of *Brahma*, and the goddess of the sciences, Minerva). *Sanoc Sanandam*, the eldest of her sons, is here in the chapel dedicated to his family.

The stream that issues from the foot of the goddess, dashes on the head of a deity, 2 D. sitting at some distance below, on a great rock ; and in the early part of its course it is visited by *Brahma*, (2 E.) who receives part of the water into a patera or vase, as if he intended to drink of it ; and by this he confers additional sanctity on the stream. From the head of the deity, 2 D. the water rebounds into another direction, and falls in a cascade, or cataract, forming a mass of spray, where it is received by a number of men (seven) the *Richis*, peculiarly holy persons, or devotees ; and it seems that baptism by being wetted with the falling spray of this cataract, is esteemed a very happy and sacred ablution ; and is a kind of baptism very ancient among the Hindoos, and others. These seven *Richis* are said to come every *seventh* day of the week, to receive this falling shower on their heads. From this cataract the river proceeds to another rock, N. signified by the head of a cow, and known under the name of “the Cow's Mouth ;” through this rock it passes, and is received into an octagon bason, O. apparently formed by art ; leaving which, it continues its course to another fall, near the city of Hordear, or Hardwar, (*Heridwar*) where it enters the fertile provinces of India.

The station of the Immortals on the summit of Ida, the source of the Scamander, has prepared us to admit the station of the Indian deities on the summit of Himalaya, the source of the Ganges : but, in fact, the Scamander was scarcely known eastward beyond the borders of his stream, and little more to the west, except as the subject of poetry ; whereas, the rivers which originated in the Snowy Mountains, were commemorated and celebrated throughout Asia ; and entered into the religion of many cities and people.

The image of *Vishnou* in the female form, as giving birth to the Ganges, is traced at large, on our Plate, No. 4. for the purpose of comparison with that class of medals which

which Mr. BRYANT selected as emblematic of the Deluge: these delineations present a goddess, crowned, sitting on a rock, at, or from, whose feet, flows a river, in which river a man is bathing: or else, this man is a personification of the river, itself. In Nos. 5, 6, 8. the goddess holds ears of corn, expressing the fertility of the territory. No. 6. has the additional idea of an eagle on the head of the goddess, holding in its beak a wreath (perhaps, of laurel.)—And this eagle may refer to a province, or mountain, *Ætia*. The temples of *Bavani*, and *Mahadeo*, which the Indian delineation places on the banks of the Ganges, are also traced at large, on our plate, Nos. 2, 3. for the purpose of comparison with certain medals, Nos. 4, 5. of the same city as the former, which represent a temple, with an eagle inside it, in No. 4.; and before it a river, in which a man is swimming, or bathing: this eagle connects with No. 6. as does the swimmer also. In No. 9. the bird in the temple is an owl.

I acknowledge, that I was long in doubt, whether this man denoted a religious person bathing in the river, or were the River itself, personified; but No. 7. a medal of Tarsus, shews the same goddess, crowned; at her feet the waves flowing, and the man as usual; but, he has *horns* on his head: which is expressly noted in the margin of Liebe, *Goth. Numm.* p. 452. *Fluvius caput cornutum ostentat*; being too small to be distinctly marked on the plate. This symbol strongly alludes to the horns on the Cow's Head, the rock through which the Ganges passes; and proves this figure to be that river. For, this figure cannot represent the Cydnus, a river of Tarsus; as Liebe supposes: for, what business has the Cydnus with these horns? Compare what is said in explanation of the medals of Tarsus, on the PLATE of CAUCASUS, Nos. 1, 2, 3. and PLATE of TARSUS, Nos. 5, 7. Now, the reader will observe that this symbol of the goddess and the man, *i.e.* the River flowing from her foot—(and what is very extraordinary, on all the medals of this subject known to Mr. BRYANT, and to myself, this figure, whatever be his action or attitude, is never separated from *the foot* of the Goddess) occurs in our Plates on Medals of Antioch in Syria, of Carrhæ, of Damascus, of Ptolemais, of Rhesen, of Singara, or *Shinar*, of Tartus; also of King Tigranes (Plate of Caucasus, Nos. 17, 18, 19.) and in fact, we find it on coins of very many other cities;—cities of the greatest antiquity; cities situated in the midst of deserts, and wanting water themselves; cities very distant from each other, and by no means likely to appropriate each other's device. The inference is conclusive, therefore, of a common and early origin to this type; and that origin could be no other than the country whence all these people drew their own origin; or, derived from localities, the memory of which they all desired to preserve; as in their religious rites, so also on their public tokens. But, if it be granted that these people commemorated the country of their common and early origin, and that origin was at, or near, the sources of the Ganges, it will lead to a conclusion, for which it has been the intention of this paper to prepare the reader.

No. DV.

ON THE RIVERS OF PARADISE, INDICATED BY MOSES, GEN. II. 8.

WHETHER the Ganges were one of the four famous Rivers of Paradise, or not, it is well to be acquainted with a stream which is not only esteemed sacred at this day, but which, so far as we can trace throughout the most remote antiquity, was no less sacred, and no less famous. Why should the most ancient cities known be those which most significantly commemorate the issue of the River Ganges? and, Why employ the same (Hindoo) symbol? Why should the cities of Mesopotamia,

Carrhæ, Edessa, Nisibis, Rhesen, Side, Sinar, and others, some of which had no plenty of water to boast of, but stood in dry and thirsty deserts,—Why should these take such interest in a distant River? What was the Ganges to them; or what were they to the Ganges?—Nothing as a River: but, if the source of the Ganges were the first seat of Idolatry,—if it were the spot where the deities first alighted on Earth—if from thence distant countries derived their religious rites,—then, it was but natural that some token of this communication should be preserved, notwithstanding the clear recollection of it was lost in the lapse of ages.—And farther

With these tokens we should connect the traditionary accounts, which long continued among the heathen, of that most memorable catastrophe the Deluge. There can be no doubt, but what many memorials of that event were popular, and even were venerated, throughout Asia: And with little risk we may affirm, that the country in which the great second father of mankind resided, gave occasion to various emblems, and to figures as well compound as simple, which entered deeply and extensively into the rituals and the mysteries of those tribes of his descendants which formed colonies and obtained settlements in distant parts.

In contemplating the Deluge we must acknowledge, that the highest Mountains on the surface of the globe would be the last overwhelmed by the mighty waters, and the first relieved from their prevalence. Here, then, would naturally be the first station of our renovated race; and if the same locality might also have been the first station of our original parents, we have not far to seek for the streams which took their rise in the Garden of Eden.

This train of argument demands that we should shew in the first place, that the mountainous district of Imaus, largely taken, is really the highest land existing. Those who know that within these few years these mountains have attracted great attention, have been measured at various distances, and, so far as was practicable, by barometrical experiment, would admit this, without farther explanation. To others, it may be satisfactory to learn that our excellent geographer, Major Rennell, distributes the elevated regions of Asia into three distinctions; and of that more immediately under our contemplation, he says,

“Mount IMAUS is situated beyond the fountains of the Oxus (*Jihoon*) and Jaxartes: and which forms the western border of a *yet higher and more extensive* region than either of the former (regions). This THIRD portion of elevated region of Asia is very unequal in point of breadth. In the western quarter, it is necessarily limited by the approach of the Caspian and Persian Seas, towards each other; but expands to a much greater breadth, beyond the Caspian, till again narrowed into a kind of *Isthmus*, by the valleys through which the Oxus and Indus flow: and whose fountains are separated only by the high ridge of the *Indian Caucasus*, or *Hindoo Kho*,” *Geog. Herod.* p. 177.

From this most elevated region flow the *Burhampooter*, the *Ganges*, the *Indus*; all great rivers, which run south; and on the north the *Jihoon*, and the *Jaxartes*, with others. Whether the sources of these ever communicated by means of one vast lake, it would be presumptuous to affirm; but, while one of these Rivers retains the name of the *Jihoon*, which reminds us of one of the Rivers of Paradise, we cannot but enquire, whether it be justly entitled to this distinction.

As the Article GIRON in the *Dictionary* is but meagre, the reader will be pleased to meet with some farther account of that River here. Our first extract is from Kinneir's *Memoir of the Persian Empire*, p. 178. *Lond.* 1813.

“Syed Mahomed Hassan, a respectable native of Sacterre, one day's journey north of Bockhara, informed General Malcolm, that he had been at the mountains

of Pameer, where the Oxus (*Jihoon*) has its source. He describes them as being thirteen marches, of thirty-six miles each, East of Fyzabad, in Buduk Shan, uninhabited, inaccessible, and *always white with snow*. He had followed the banks of the Oxus for hundreds of miles"——

Ibn Haukal in his "*Oriental Geography*" affords a copious description of this River, and the provinces lying on it; we shall at present content ourselves with a few extracts from Sir. W. OUSELEY's Translation.

"The River Jihoon is frozen in winter, so that loaded carriages pass over it. The ice begins at Khuarezm, which is the coldest place on the Jihoon . . on the banks is a mountain called Cheghagher: here the ice continues from winter till near the end of summer." p. 244.

"Of the places on the River Jihoon, we shall place Bokhara in Maweralnahr first: it is situated on a plain; the houses are of wood, and it abounds in villas, and gardens, and orchards; and the villages are as close to one another as the groves and gardens, extending for near twelve farsang by twelve farsang: all about this space is a wall, and within it the people dwell winter and summer; and there is not to be seen one spot uncultivated, or in decay. It has been at all times the seat of government." p. 245.

"In all the regions of the earth, there is not a more flourishing or a more delightful country than this, especially the district of Bokhara. If a person stand on the *Kohendiz* (ancient castle) of Bokhara, and cast his eyes around, he shall not see any thing but beautiful green and luxuriant verdure on every side of the country: so that he would imagine the green of the earth and the azure of the heavens were united. . . The walls, and buildings, and cultivated plains of Bokhara, extend above thirteen farsang by twelve farsang: and the Soghd, for eight days journey, is all delightful country, affording fine prospects, and full of gardens, and orchards, and villages, corn fields, and villas, and running streams, reservoirs and fountains, both on the right hand and the left. You pass from corn fields into rich meadows and pasture lands: the fruits are the finest in the world: among the hills and palaces flow running streams, gliding between the trees. In the mountains are all kinds of fruits, of herbs, and flowers, and various species of the violet: all these it is lawful for any one who passes by, to pull and gather." p. 237.

"Garments of silk and linen are brought from Balkh, and Nishapour. The best sheep are those of Ghizni; and the best water, is that of the Jihoon." p. 227.

"In Ferghaneh, [in the neighbourhood of the Jihoon], there are mines of sal-ammoniac, and of copperas or vitriol, and quicksilver and brass; and also of gold, and of turquoise stone; and in this mountain are springs of naphtha, and of bitumen and resin; also a stone that takes fire and burns." p. 250.

Elsewhere he mentions, the ruby, and other precious stones, as yielded by the mines of this country. Now, the reader will do well to bear in mind that, this was the original country of Abraham, and his family:—the motives which induced that patriarch to quit such a delightful situation must needs have been very cogent.

We know that the Burhampooter and the Ganges overflow, annually, the lower provinces through which they pass; and we know the same of the Gihoon; but, whether the latter river was ever worshipped, as the others were, and are, we are not sufficiently acquainted with its history to determine. The probability is, that as all considerable streams were held sacred, so was the Gihoon; and the same may be thought of all rivers that flowed from the mountains of Imaus. This, at least, is certain, that no locality on the globe offers the same peculiarities, or affords proba-

bilities of equal power. These mountains combine elevation with fertility ; the most friendly temperature to life in some parts, notwithstanding eternal snows in other parts : fruits of all kinds in the most perfect maturity, timber trees in vast forests in the utmost luxuriance ; and streams, the most pellucid and refreshing in every direction.

It should be considered, that it is only within a few years our knowledge of these mountains has been in any degree correct ; and that even now on many parts we are obliged to rest satisfied with descriptions at second hand, obtained from the reluctantly communicative natives.

No. DVI. HINDOO OPINIONS ON THE SITUATION OF PARADISE.

MANY attempts have been made to fix the *site* of the Garden of Eden. Some have placed it in Syria ; others at the head of the Euphrates, in Armenia ; Huetius placed it lower down on the Euphrates, approaching the mouth of that river. The Siberians told the Czar Peter, that Paradise was in Siberia ; while the supposition that it might be covered by the ocean, has been entertained by some, because they could not ascertain its locality on *terra firma* ; which very reason has led others to suggest, that the Paradise of Heaven was once let down to earth, but after a time was taken up again.

We have inferred from sundry considerations, that Paradise was placed on a Mountain, or at least in a country diversified with hills, because, only such a country could supply the springs necessary to form four heads of rivers ; and because all heads of rivers rise in hills, from whence their waters descend to the sea. Such a country has been found in Armenia, with such an elevation, or assemblage of elevations, also, as appeared to be requisite for the purpose. On these principles, the *Phasis* was the *Phison* of Moses, and the similarity of sound in the name seemed to confirm the opinion ; it was a natural consequence, that the *Araxes* should be the *Gihon* ; since its waters are extremely rapid, and the Greek name *Araxes*, like the Hebrew *Gihon*, denotes *the dart*, or *swift*.

Such were the principles most generally entertained among the learned ; when lo, forth comes Capt. WILFORD from his study of the Indian *Puranas*, and opens what is at least a *new source* of information ; to which we shall direct our attention, yet suspending our assent, till after it has been fully and fairly examined. The following are Extracts from “ A Dissertation on Mount Caucasus ; ” in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 455.—*Lond. Edit.*

“ Persian authors are constantly confounding *Bámiyan* and *Báhlac* together ; the first they call *Balkh-Bámiyan*, and the second *Bákh-Bokhárá*. When they speak of the metropolis of the fire-worshippers, it is to be understood of *Bámiyan* alone, according to the followers of Buddha, and the author of the *Buddha-dharmachárya Sindhu*. According to Persian authors, *Rámiyan* must have existed before the flood ; but the followers of Buddha insist that it was built by a most religious man called SHAMA, who appears from particular circumstances to be the same with the famous patriarch SHEM ; and that his posterity lived there for several generations. Hence *Bákh-Bámiyan* is said to be originally the place of abode of ABRAHAM, (TH. HYDE, p. 29. and 494.) who, according to Scripture, and the Hindu sacred books, removed with his father to distant countries westward.”

“ According to Diodorus the Sicilian, *Bámiyan* existed before NINUS : for this historian, like the Persian authors we have mentioned, has mistaken *Báhlac* for

Bámiyan; which he describes as situated among steep hills: whilst *Báhlac* is situated in a low, flat country, and at a great distance from the mountains."

"The natives look upon *Bámiyan*, and the adjacent countries, as the place of abode of the progenitors of mankind, both before and after the flood. By *Bámiyan* and the adjacent countries, they understand all the country from *Sistán* to *Samarcand*, reaching towards the East as far as the Ganges. This tradition is of great antiquity, for it is countenanced equally by Persian authors, and by the sacred books of the Hindus."

"According to the Puránas, SWAYAMBHUA or ADIMA, SATYAVRATA or NOAH, lived in the north-west parts of India about Cashmir."

"From particular circumstances it appears, that SATYAVRATA, before the flood lived generally in the countries about the Indus, between Cabul and Cashmir; and if we find him in *Dravira* or the southern parts of the peninsula, it seems that it was accidentally; and that he went there only for some religious purpose. Even after the flood, he resided for some time on the banks of the Indus. According to tradition, which my learned friends here inform me is countenanced by the Puránas, he lived and reigned a long time at Bettoor, on the banks of the Ganges and to the south of Canoge."

"Thus, according to an uniform tradition of a very long standing, as it is countenanced by the Hindu sacred books and Persian authors, the progenitors of mankind lived in that mountainous tract which extends from *Bálkh* and *Candahar* to the *Ganges*; we may then reasonably look for the terrestrial Paradise in that country: for it is not probable, that ADIMA and ADIME or IVA should have retired to any great distance from it. Accordingly, we find there such a spot, as answers minutely to the Mosaical account; a circumstance, I believe, not to be met with any where else on the surface of the globe. A small brook winds through the *Tágavis* of *Bámiyan*, and falling into a small lake, divides itself into four heads, forming so many navigable rivers. "The first called *Phison* compasses the whole country of *Chavila*, where gold is found; and the gold of that country is good: There is also *Bdellium* and *Sardonyx*." The country of *Chávilá* is probably that of *Cabul*: it is a very ancient denomination; for Ptolemy calls its inhabitants *Cabolitæ*, and the town itself *Cabura*, which is obviously a corruption from *Cabul*; so the Persian name for a *shed* or *pent-house* is indifferently pronounced *Cabul* and *Cabur*. Tradition says, that *Cabul* was built by an ancient king of that name; and the place where he lived, is still shewn near *Cabul*: they generally call him *Shah Cabul*. Gold is found in the sands of the Indus, above *Derbend*, but in greater quantity about *Cábul-grám*, to the north of *Derbend*, and in the rivers, which fall into the Indus from the west. It is found also near the surface of the earth in these parts, but the natives are too indolent to dig for it. The gold found in the sands, I am told, is not so pure as that found by digging the earth to a considerable depth. This country abounds with divers sorts of precious stones, such as the *Lapis Lazuli*, the *Yacuth* or hyacinth; crystal, marble of various colours, and razor stones of a superior quality. The *Phison* appears then to be the *Landi-Sindh*, or lesser *Sindh*, called also *Nilab*, from the colour of its waters, which are deep and limpid. This river, is also denominated the *Nila Ganga*, or simply *Ganga*, by Hindus; and it is called *Ganges* by Isidorus, when he says that the best *Assa-fætida* grows on the mountains of *Oscobagi*, at the source of the *Ganges*. *Oscobagi* is obviously derived from *Jeshu Beg*, the lord *Jeshu*, another name for the famous *Ra'sala* or *Brongus* who dwelt at *Bámiyan*, whose colossal statue is to be seen there to this day, and of whom I shall speak more fully

hereafter. The true name of that place commonly called *Ybaug*, and *Jy buck* by Major Rennel, between Cabul and Bákh, is *Ai Bég*, *Dominus Lunus*, our *Lord the Moon*. There are in its vicinity, in the mountains, several curious remains of antiquity. Jerome says also, that the *Phison* was called *Ganges* in his time. They were both perfectly right; though it is almost certain, that they understood by it the great *Ganges*. Hesychius says, that the *Phison* was thus called, because it flowed from a *fissure, gap, or mouth*. If so, this appellation is synonymous with *Cophes*, the ancient name of the *Landi-Sindh*, as will appear hereafter."

"The second river was the *Gihon* which compassed the land of *Cush*:" this is the *Hir-Mend*; and the country is the original land of *Cusha* of the *Puránas*, which begins near Candahar, and includes part of Iran or Persia.

"The third river is the *Hiddekel*, which runs toward, or through, the eastern parts of the land of *Assur*." This appears to be the river of *Báhlac*, which runs through the eastern part, and seems to have been once the eastern boundary of the land of *Hassarah* or *Házarah*. This country extends from Herát to *Báhlac Bámíyan*. From the unsettled disposition of its inhabitants, its boundaries cannot well be defined. They consider themselves as the *aborigines* of that country; and like the Arabs, were never thoroughly subdued. They are very numerous and brave, but incapable of discipline. They are Musulmans; but retain many heathenish and superstitious customs, at least in the opinion of their neighbours. The principal tribes are the *Daicándi*, *Taimáni*, &c. the first live between Herát and Dower: and the others toward *Marr-Shájéhár*. This is probably the country of *Arsareth* of the apocryphal book of *Esdras*. "The fourth is the *Erat*," of which no particulars are recorded. It is the river of *Cudnuz*.

"It appears from Scripture, that *ADAM* and *EVE* lived afterwards in the countries to the eastward of Eden; for at the eastern entrance of it, *GOD* placed the angel with the flaming sword. This is also confirmed by the *Puránic*s, who place the progenitors of mankind on the mountainous regions between Cabul and the *Ganges*, on the banks of which, in the hills, they shew a place, where he resorted occasionally, for religious purposes. It is frequented by pilgrims, and is called *Swayambhuva-sthán*: I have not been able yet to ascertain its situation; being but lately acquainted with it; but I believe it is situated to the north-west of *Sri-Nagar*."

"At the entrance of the passes, leading to the place where I suppose was the garden of Eden, and to the eastward of it, the Hindus have placed a destroying angel, who generally appears, and is represented like a cherub; I mean *Garud'a*, or the *Eagle*, upon whom *Vishnu* and *Jupiter* are represented riding. *Garud'a* is represented generally like an eagle; but in his compound character, somewhat like the Cherub, he is represented like a young man, with the countenance, wings, and talons of the eagle. In scripture, the Deity is represented riding upon a Cherub, and flying upon the wings of the wind. *Garud'a* is called *Vahán* (literally *the vehicle*) of *Vishnu* or *Jupiter*, and he thus answers to the Cherub of Scripture; for many commentators derive this word from the obsolete root *C'harab* in the Chaldaean language, a word implicitly synonymous with the Sanscrit *Vahán*.

"The city of *Bámíyan* being represented as the fountain of purity and holiness, it was called with propriety *Pará-Bámíyan*, or *Bámíyan* the pure and holy; for the same reason the district of *Bámíyan* might be called *Paru-désa*, or *Pará-désa*, the pure and holy country. This district is now barren, and without a single tree. The sacred books of the Hindus, and of the Bauddhists, do, however, declare most positively, that it was otherwise formerly. Tradition informs us also, that the

number of inhabitants was at one period so prodigious. that the trees, underwood, grass, and plants were destroyed. The vegetable soil being no longer protected, was in the course of ages washed away by the rains. Certain it is, that the soil in the valleys is most fertile, and the whole district, such as it is now, is still a most enchanting and delightful spot. The country to the eastward of *Bamíyan*, as far as the Indus, is the native country of the vine, and of almost all the fruit-trees we have in Europe: there they grow spontaneously, and to a great degree of perfection. When the natives find a vine, an apple-tree, &c. in the forests, they clear all the wood about it, dig the ground, and by these means, the fruit comes to perfect maturity. When we are told in Scripture of Noah's cultivating the vine, we may be sure, that it was in its native country, or at least very near it."

We have ventured, elsewhere, to suppose that the genealogy descending from Adam to Noah, is that of princes or sovereigns, over the same country; and that Noah resided before the deluge, nearly on the same spot where afterwards he quitted the ark; in the country which had been the original birth-place of mankind; at no very great distance from Paradise: though all distinction of Paradise, as to its super-eminent fertility, &c. was defaced, not to say destroyed, by the waters. We shall add a few words from Capt. WILFORD on this subject.

"The summit of *C'haisá-ghar* is always covered with snow; in the midst of which are seen several streaks of a reddish hue, supposed by pilgrims, to be the mark, or impression made by the feet of the dove which Noah let out of the ark. For it is the general and uniform tradition of the country, that Noah built the ark on the summit of this mountain, and there embarked: that, when the flood assuaged, the summit of it first appeared above the waters, and was the resting-place of the dove, which left the impression of her feet in the mud, which with time, was hardened into a rock. The ark itself rested about half way up the mountain, on a projecting plain of a very small extent. There a place of worship was erected, near which is a caldron of copper of such dimensions, that one hundred maunds of food may be dressed in it at the same time. Near it is an hermitage inhabited by several Derveishes, and a little above, is a flag. The inhabitants of the country resort there occasionally on Fridays. With respect to the foot-steps of the dove, they are known only by tradition, for the inhabitants of that country assert, that they have never heard of any body going up so high on account the ruggedness of the mountain, and of the snow. The Bhauddhists, who were the first inhabitants of that country, are, I am told, of the same opinion as to the place where the ark rested; but hitherto I have been able to procure a single passage only, from the *Buddha-dharma-chárya-Sindhá*, in which it is declared that SHAMA or SHEM, travelled first to the north-east, and then turning to the north-west, he arrived on the spot, where he built afterwards the town of *Bamíyan*. SHAMA they say, having descended from the mountain of *C'haisa-ghar*, travelled north-east, as far as the confluence of the Attock with the Indus; where he made *Tapasya* [settled worship]: he then proceeded north-west to *Bamíyan*."

"The Pauranics insist, that, as it is declared in their sacred books, that SATY-AVRATA made fast the ark to the famous peak, called from that circumstance *Nau-bandha*, with a cable of a prodigious length; he must have built it in the adjacent country. *Nau* (a ship) and *bandha* (to make fast), is the name of a famous peak situated in Cashmir, three days' journey to the north-east of the purganah of Lar. This famous place is resorted to by pilgrims, from all parts of India, who scramble up among the rocks to a cavern, beyond which they never go. A few doves,

frightened with the noise, fly from rock to rock: these the pilgrims fancy to be their guides to the holy place, and believe, that they are the genuine offspring of the dove, which Noah let out of the ark. At all events, in the numerous legends which I have extracted from the Puránas relating to SATYAVRATA and the ark, no mention is made of his letting out the dove."

"The mountains of *Coh-Suleiman* are sometimes called by the natives the *mountains of the Dove*; the whole range as far as Gazni is called by Ptolemy the *Paruetoi Mountains*, probably from the [term] *Pár'vata* or *Párávat*, which signifies a *dove*.

"The followers of Buddha acknowledge that the ark might have been fastened to *Nau-bandha* near Cashmir; but surely, they say, the ark could not have been riding perpendicularly above this peak, and such a vessel required a vast length of cable: in short though the cable was made fast at *Nau-bandha*, the ark was riding above *C'haisa-ghar*. According to the Pauranics and the followers of Buddha, the ark rested on the mountain of *Aryavarta*, *Aryawart* or *India*, an appellation which has no small affinity with the *Ararat* of Scripture. These mountains were a great way to the eastward of the plains of *Shinar*, or *Mesopotamia*, for it is said in Genesis, that, some time after the flood, people journeyed *from the east*, till they found a plain in the land of *Shinar*, in which they settled. This surely implies that they came from a very distant country to the eastward of Shinar. The region about *Tuckt-Suleiman* is the native country of the olive-tree, and I believe the only one in the world. There are immense forests of it on the high grounds; for it does not grow in plains. From the saplings, the inhabitants make walking-sticks, and its wood is used for fuel all over the country; and as Pliny justly observes, the olive-tree in the western parts of India, is sterile, at least its fruit is useless, like that of the Oleaster. According to Fenestalla, an ancient author cited by Pliny, [*N. Hist. lib. xii. c. 6.*] there were no olive-trees in Spain, Italy, or Africa, in the time of Tarquin the eldest. Before the time of Hesiod, it had been introduced into Greece: but it took a long time before it was reconciled to the climate, and its cultivation properly understood: for Hesiod says, that, whoever planted an olive-tree, never lived to eat of its fruit. The olive-tree never was a native of Armenia; and the passage of Strabo, cited in support of this opinion, implies only, that it was cultivated with success in that country."

In justice to Capt. WILFORD it should be remembered that several among the Fathers of the Christian church, believed the *Nile* to be one of the rivers of Paradise; and—whether they have not properly explained themselves—(or, have only reported the words of others, without justly understanding them): or—whether because western writers are best acquainted with it, we have been induced to look to the *Egyptian Nile* as what they intended; which river rising far enough south in Africa, to render the application ridiculous, it has been passed over with a smile. But if the *Nilab*, or *Indus*, was the river they had in contemplation, then their words assume a very different import; and they furnish a testimony very consistent with that extracted from the Puranas.

This is farther supported by a letter of Alexander the Great, written when he was far advanced towards India: he informs his mother that he approached the head of the *Nile*. Hence some have thought he meant the head of the *Egyptian Nile*: but this, as all geographers know, would have been contradictory and senseless: whereas, if it were the *Nilab* to which he referred, then it accords with the antiquity of this name: while it shews by what means the Christian Fathers might become acquainted with a *Nile*, that was not the Egyptian. But why should
Alexander

Alexander pay such attention to this river, or, why desire to explore it?—Connect this with his writing by way of information, that the gods had been human persons, and had lived on earth,—with his wishing to pass for a son of Jupiter (who dwelt on mount *Casius*; *i. e.* mount *Cau-casus*;) and with the well known proverbial saying, that the head of the Nile [the residence of the gods?] had never been discovered.

If the foregoing suggestions be admissible, the consequence will follow, that it was not the *Egyptian* Nile whose head *originally* and primarily occasioned the proverb; but there was couched under the expression an allusion to a dogma of Pagan theology; and from the various opinions to which the question of the Situation of Paradise has given rise among Jewish rabbins and Christian divines, we see the same inquiry continue equally embarrassing in another form. The reason for this ignorance might probably be, the prohibition among the Hindoos of passing these sacred rivers; which, if it were an *early* appointment, might be long maintained by tradition; though subsequent circumstances have induced a few individuals on incidental occasions to evade it.

To conclude, we observe, 1. that the head of the *Egyptian* Nile is very far south (and west) in Africa; and that between this source and the Euphrates, in Asia, there is such an intervention of land and water, as renders perfectly laughable the conception, that these rivers might spring from the same source *under ground*, though they appeared so distant from each other above ground. The *Egyptian* Nile must certainly be excluded from among the rivers of Paradise.

2. The labour employed to find Paradise in Judea, (as at Jerusalem) or in Phœnicia, or in Syria, has evidently been misapplied;—no lake in that country has the power of furnishing four streams from one reservoir.

3. The same, I think, must be said of the notion of Huetius, who placed Paradise on the lower branches of the Euphrates and Tigris: two streams above the garden running *into* it, and the same two streams below the garden running *out* of it, could never be the four *heads* which Moses describes:

4. The Situation of Paradise, in Armenia, where the heads of the Euphrates and Tigris spring, where the head of the Araxes, and a branch of the Phasis, rise not very distant from each other, according to the best accounts we are able to procure of that country, (which, however, are not altogether satisfactory) has many plausibilities in its favour. Nevertheless, there is this to be said against it, that mankind could not journey *from the East* to Babylon, if Armenia were the seat of Noah's deliverance; and if that seat were adjacent to Paradise, as we have uniformly supposed.

5. The Situation of Paradise on the Indian Caucasus, or Inaus Mountains, unites all those requisites which are deemed necessary coincidences with the Mosaic narration. Mountains furnish the sources of rivers; many great rivers rise in these mountains. Paradise furnished four rivers; four rivers rise in these mountains, in a vicinity sufficiently near, though not *now* from the same lake. Mankind travelled *from the East* to Babylon; these mountains are *East* of Babylonia. But the names of these rivers are utterly unlike those of Moses:—This must be acknowledged, [unless we ought to except the *Gihoon*]; yet, perhaps, when their ancient names, or the import of their names, *as descriptive appellations*, shall be ascertained, this may be reconciled; and this demands, and deserves reconciliation.

Those places which have been proposed as Situations of the Garden of Paradise, are marked in our Map by circles of dots. Nobody can imagine that we attach to them any precision; they merely denote that an extent of country was probably included in this highly finished Garden of Pleasure. The reader will judge on the nature and properties of each of these countries, and will accept as perfectly open to assent or dissent, every sentiment contained in this endeavour to assist his determination.

NO. DVII. OF THE INDUS, AS A RIVER OF PARADISE.

A FEW words may be proper here, in relation to the *Indus*, another River which we have supposed might be one marked as deriving its source from the Garden of Eden, the Paradise of our first parents. Like the others, this River annually overflows, and, in consequence, diffuses fertility around its course. And, if the *Indus*, which retains the name of the *Nilab* to this day, were truly the *Nile* referred to by the early Christian Fathers, and other writers, we cannot well forego the opportunity of obtaining some acquaintance with it.

That this River was a sacred stream, and even a Deity itself, like its fellow streams the *Ganges* and *Burhampooter*, scarcely admits a question; especially after considering the sentiments of Alexander, who, doubtless, was well informed on its nature and character. The following extracts are from Kinneir's *Memoir of Persia*. 4to. Lond. 1813.

“Of the four frontier Rivers the most considerable is the *Indus*, called by the Eastern nations the *Sinde* and *Nilab*. The true source of this noble River, it is generally admitted, is unknown. It is formed, according to Rennell, by about ten principal streams, which descend from the mountains of *Persia*, *Tartary*, and *Hindostan*. Uniting near *Moultan*, they form a Delta in the province of *Sinde*, and enter the Indian Ocean by several mouths. p. 8.

“The River *Indus*, with its branches, intersect this country (*Scind*) and increase its fertility, forming a Delta, in length about one hundred miles along the coast. The collective waters throw out many branches, which fertilize the country to a great extent on both sides. The principal stream separates into two channels . . . The most eastern branch, now called the *Nulla Suncra*, formerly entered the sea at *Lukput Bunder*, but is now, if we are to credit the reports of the natives, entirely lost in the sands. . . Mr. Maxfield, of the Bombay Marine, who went as far as *Hydrabad*, describes the principal stream, as being in general about a mile in breadth, but varying in depth from two to five fathoms. The swelling of the *Indus*, occasioned by the melting of the snow, in the mountains of *Kashmere*, generally commences in the beginning of July, and continues to increase until the latter end of August.” p. 228.

Major Wilford, speaking of the remaining places of worship still resorted to by Hindoo pilgrims, says “The principal are. . . *Hinglaz*, or *Anclooje*, near the sea, and about eighty miles from the mouth of the *Indus*: it is now deserted; but there remain twenty-four temples of *Bhavani*: This place, however, is seldom visited, on account of the difficulties attending the journey to it.” *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 397. If *Bhavani* (*Venus*) had so many temples here, doubtless, the whole district, and the River itself, were deemed sacred.

No. DVIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS,
ON THE FIRST RESIDENCE OF MANKIND.

IT remains that we close this subject, with a general Remark, or two.

It should appear that the sacred writer selects two districts: *First*, that of *Eden*, which we presume included a considerable space, and this space is left undetermined: perhaps a wide and diversified country was called by this name, as we say India, or Tartary, including a large region. *Secondly*, He selects from this extent of country “a *Garden* which was in *Eden*,” but, as I understand it, beyond *Kedem*, which *Kedem* we shall find to be a country, a province, itself, “and the Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, *beyond Kedem*,” verse 8. As this view of the passage is unusual, we postpone farther remarks, till we speak of Abraham, who was a native of these parts: yet, if it may be admitted, it obliges us to look “beyond *Kedem*,” for the whole of the track to which the history of our First Parents is attached.

Was the Garden of Eden so called *before* the flood, or *after* it?—We observe, by way of answer, that the names of the Rivers seem to be those *after* the flood: and the names of the countries which they are said to encompass, are clearly those imposed *after* the flood; as *Cush*, so named from a person born after the flood, and *Ai Shur*, named from occurrences after the flood. Now *Adon*, *Adonis*, (“lord”) seems to be one name of the patriarch *Noah*, and if *Eden* might be coincident with this name, that also might originate after the flood: but, nothing which I am aware of, prevents its having been given to this country both before and after the flood: as I am not certain that every part of this territory was absolutely destroyed by that terrible desolation.

We have supposed, that the seat of Paradise before the Deluge, was nearly, or altogether that of the first Residence of the patriarch Noah and his family after the Deluge. It is proper, therefore, to notice that the sacred writer speaks of the Ark as resting on the mountains (*plural*) of Ararat. Now, this was not possible, strictly speaking; but the mode of expression indicates, that a number, or what we call a *chain* of mountains, was known under this appellation; and on one of these the Ark rested. This seems to exclude Mount Ararat in Armenia; especially, when taken in connection with its situation; which is direct North,—and, rather West than East of the plains of Shinar, and the site of Babylon. That the mountains of Ararat were the chain of *Taurus* and *Caucasus*, [rather *Imaus*, or *Himalaya*] is no new idea; it was contended for by Sir Walter Raleigh, in his *History of the World*, p. 68. *Lond. edit.* 1677. and was adopted by Bishop Patrick, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, chap. viii. 4. It has since been supported by able scholars; and is confirmed by the latest discoveries. It is by no means likely that Noah at his advanced period of life, should journey far from his customary residence; and it may be thought certain, that he never witnessed the proceedings on the plain of Shinar; which he would, no doubt, have interposed all his authority to prevent, if he could. In fact, we shall see that the intention of those his descendants was commemorative; and that, the object of their idolatry was no other than the great patriarch himself; and events in which he was immediately concerned.—But this opens a distinct field of inquiry, and demands a separate Article.

No. DIX. ON COMMEMORATIVE IDOLATRY, AND ITS EMBLEMS.

THE progress of error is generally from bad to worse. We have seen Idolatry addressed in the first instance, to the Celestial Luminaries: next it transferred the Intelligences with which it had animated those luminaries, to the seats of their conspicuous effects on Earth, and invested with a thousand imaginary powers, the Guardians which it appointed over the permanent and non-permanent meteoric phenomena of the globe we inhabit, and the atmosphere that surrounds it.

We are now about to notice a third step in this downward progress; which leads to consequences and to practices more degrading to the human mind, more fatal to human life, and more detrimental to morals, than either of those which preceded it.

And yet, it seems difficult to conceive of notions more revolting to the good sense and feelings of mankind, than those which attended the second general declension, at which we have hinted. For what could be more base than the deification of diseases, with their offensive accompaniments, “which flesh is heir to”? What can we think of rational beings, who exalted to the rank of Divinities,—Fever, Cough, Fear, Calumny, Envy, Impudence; and even the excrementitious discharges of the body, Cloacina, Crepitus, and Mephitis.

Our contempt for the second series of Deities, strongly prompts us to wish, in behalf of decorum, and the honour of human nature, that mankind had stopped at the first: our abhorrence of the third series will still more strongly excite our regret that the folly of Idolatry had not terminated with the second. The first may pass almost for innocence, when placed in comparison with the second: the second may pass almost with indifference, when placed in comparison with the third.

That mankind should retain a respect for departed worth, should tread with reverence the places formerly inhabited by their great forefathers, should venerate such memorials of them, as bear the stamp of antiquity and authenticity, is a natural sentiment, neither despicable nor blameable. Hence the value generally set on portraits and other recollections, of the mighty dead, or of those who rendered themselves illustrious by the benefits they conferred, whether such benefits were public or private, national or individual, intellectual or practical;—whether they improved the condition of man, by institutions of the legislator, or the statesman, or by teaching the most effectual processes of handicraft, of mechanics, of agriculture, or of domestic establishment. But, of all persons who ever breathed, none could possibly be so singularly distinguished beyond compeers as the patriarch Noah. His history was a tissue of wonders of the most striking kind; his sufferings and his deliverance were of a nature to make an indelible impression on the minds of all who knew them, of all who were interested in them. Add to this, the deference and obedience due to parental supremacy;—and it must be acknowledged, that the motives of unlimited respect to the great second-father of our race, might be justified on some of the noblest principles of humanity.

But, not content with this—his posterity, profoundly venerating his piety, doubted not of his reception to celestial glory—nor of the immortality that awaited him, when he exchanged his tabernacle of clay for a spiritual existence—nor of his power, connected with that spiritual existence—nor of his good-will to interpose that power in favour of those whose advantage he had promoted, by all possible means, when on earth. In short, their unbounded affection, their sympathy, their duty, their

reverence, were not satisfied till they had raised their father and benefactor to the rank of deity; and his name, his person, and representations of his person, gradually assumed as well the form as the fervency of the most direct, and eventually of the most perverse, Idolatry. The events of his life were commemorated by images, by symbols, by expressive appellations infinitely varied, by imitative processions, extensively practised, by whatever art could devise, or ingenuity could execute, or language could express. By degrees, the allusions, the processions, the symbols, the images, though nothing more than shadows were contemplated as the substance; and *they* remained, long after their original intention had been buried in the depths of oblivion.

Will the reader believe, that from the deification of the best of men arose the custom of deifying the worst? that the *apotheosis* of eminent personages who had departed this life, was gradually abused and debased, till the living also claimed divinity; and to gods who were yet to die, were erected temples, statues, altars, and were consecrated priests, victims, and incense, with all the pompous paraphernalia of sacrifice. To the most infamous of men,—to murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers,—to tyrants who shed blood without limitation, and without remorse—but, it is enough to glance at the magnitude and multiplicity of the crimes which history imputes to those, who, during life, were adored as immortals; at once the terror, the contempt, and the abhorrence of their votaries. We return, therefore, to our immediate subject; and propose to examine some of the more early symbols adopted in the infancy of Idolatry; but which subsequently became fixed, and to this day include no small portion of the human race among those who resign their understanding and manners to their influence.

Our first attention is directed to the various symbolical representations of events in which all mankind were interested through the medium of their progenitor, Noah. And we rather direct our considerations personally to the great Patriarch, in this place, because the reader will have observed in many articles in the *Dictionary*, a reference to him introduced, where, formerly, it was not discerned. Many places by their names, especially temples, in the land of Canaan, appear to have been dedicated to the AUN, or ON, or OM, of such or such a character, or attended by such or such a symbol. In general, nothing more than the name is preserved; and *that*, it may be questioned, whether in its original form, or in the form of a translation into the Hebrew language; from the roots of which language, we are under the necessity of deriving the import of the term. A list of these places would be tedious; but, we might instance in, —*Baal-Herm-ON*, the Lord of Radiance—*Baal-Me-ON*, the Lord of Generation—*Ba-bel-ON*, the Infant Lord of Generation—*Beth-aven*, *i. e.* *Beth-AUN*, the Temple of the Generator—*Cab-AUN*,—*Hebr-ON*, &c.

Among the number, some are plain enough; we cannot mistake their meaning: many are obscure, by reason of our imperfect acquaintance with their history; however, there is one, *Dag-AUN*, which is marked with a particularity that strongly distinguishes it: and this we shall treat on, as a specimen of the whole. If we could obtain as much information on the others, as is, happily, afforded on this, no doubt but the principle might be established with equal certainty throughout the series.

DAGON employed our researches formerly: [Comp. Nos. CXLV. CCXXIV. CCCCLXX.] as well with intent to discover the etymology of the name, as to direct that etymology to a particular purpose. At present, we shall enter somewhat more into his history, under the idea of its being an illustrative instance of the progress and nature of the third (and latest) species of Idolatry.

As we assume, without hesitation, that this Emblem, with its worship, originated in India, we shall give the first place to the Indian representation of it.

[For the Indian History of the Deluge, see No. xx.]

NO. DX. HINDOO EMBLEMS OF DELIVERANCE FROM THE DELUGE.

DAGON, PLATE III.

No. 1. Represents the allegorical figure of the deity *Vishnuh*, copied from M. LE GENTIL, (*Mem. of French Academy*, 1782.) who received it on the coast of Coromandel, and who observes on it, “ In my opinion, it is to be wished, that in the times of the early historians, as Berosus, &c. it had been customary to unite figures to historical narration. It is, I say, desirable, that Berosus had given the figure of *Oannes*, which he says, was preserved at Babylon, and was not lost: perhaps we should find in it a resemblance and conformity to that of the *Vishnuh* of the Bramins. At least it seems to me very probable, that one is traced off from the other, for, if we compare what they relate of the incarnations of *Vishnuh*, with the narration of Berosus and Helladius, every body, I think, must believe that he sees in this figure the image of *Oannes*, whose representation was preserved at Babylon. The Indians gave me this, with others of their divinities, as being the chief of them; it has none of the attributes which appear in those published by father Kircher; and in this I think it original, and much more ancient than they are: and likewise more conformable to that which Berosus describes as being extant at Babylon, in his time: for all those attributes seen in the others, such as the book (the *Vedam*) and the ring, in the [two] right hands, the shell in which *Vishnuh* found the book, and the sabre in the two left hands; are doubtless added afterwards. We ought to remark here, that the *Vedam*, that book so precious (and sacred) to the Indians, teaches them almost all which Berosus says *Oannes* taught the Chaldeans.”

No. 2. in the same Plate, is traced from Baldeus's *Voyage to India*, reprinted in Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 745. [where those of a like nature published by Mr. Maurice in his “ History of Indostan,” may be seen, with some slight variations.] It represents the same allegory as that of No. 1. and is the figure referred to by M. LE GENTIL, as having the book, (the *Vedam*, or system of laws, moral, political, &c.) and the ring—or regulated connubial intercourse of the sexes; these are in his right hands: in his left hands are the sword—of magistracy and of war,—and the shell, or place of security from punishment and devastation.

Observe, that No. 1. in our Plate, has *two* legs, covered rather with the skins of fishes, than being properly the hinder parts of a fish; one of them has *scales*, like those of a fish; the other has a kind of *stripes*, marking indeed places where scales might be, but very ill consorting with the fellow leg. It is clear, therefore, that these two legs could never pass for the extremity of *one* fish:—the body of a fish would be single, not duplicate.—[Is this difference significative of male and female?] Observe what is said by Berosus, “ *Oannes* had human feet, which came out from *each of the two sides of the tail*.” the Babylonish figure then, had *two sides*, like this of M. LE GENTIL; not one fish-like termination, as in Nos. 2, 3. Moreover, in order to render the allegorical *fish* still more evidently allegorical, the Babylonian *Oannes* had *human feet* below the tail of the fish; a circumstance not hitherto discovered among the Indian delineations.

Plate II. DAGON, No. 2. offers a third instance of this Indian Emblem: on com-

paring these figures, we observe, that though the first has four hands, only two of them are employed; they hold a flower and a fruit; the other two hands appear to be in action, as if the figure were speaking, or teaching. The immense richness of this dress, with the garland hanging round the neck, cannot escape the reader. I should think this the most ancient Emblem. The second figure shows the fish more completely, with the human person evidently issuing from it: he holds the ring—the book—the sword—and the shell: his dress is rich; but, apparently, less costly than that of the former. The third figure is more firmly connected with the fish;—which is not divided, as the first is; he holds the ring—the shell—a mace—and a flower: his dress is, comparatively plain. The first figure is of grave and dignified aspect; the second is sprightly and full of youth: the third is more robust. Notwithstanding these variations, it is evident the Emblem is the same.

Fig. 7. on DAGON Plate III. is copied from an ancient Indian Zodiac, in *Phil. Trans.* for 1772, p. 353. It represents *two* animals, a *goat* and a *fish*: this association is remarkable, because the goat is a land animal, and can have no natural occupation in the water, and because the fish is precisely a *sword-fish*; it deserves therefore to be distinguished in illustration of what was formerly hinted of “a class of ships, which had long beaks, called by the Greeks *galia*, from *galeopsis*, the Sword-fish:—they were rowing vessels, of considerable swiftness, and the origin of the modern *gallies*.” [*Vide* No. ccxv.] This fish was venerated by the Egyptians under the name of *Oxyrinus*, as Plutarch observes, *acuto rostro*; they considered him as the sign of floods and inundations. Here then is, to say the least, a proof of the duplicity of language; the same word denoting the long-beaked Sword-fish, or the long beaked galley; but, perhaps, it may imply somewhat more—for how came the idea of this fish to be associated with that of a ship?—was it *only* by the coincidence of the beak? In this Zodiac this Sword-fish and his companion the goat compose the sign Capricorn. In another Indian Zodiac, given in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. 303. *Calcutta Edit.* (copied in Fig. 8. on this Plate) we have a fish *discharging* a goat: a very singular action! The goat is evidently not *going into* the fish but *coming out* of him, for he comes head foremost, holding his head and his horns erect, without any sign of pain, or distress; indeed, lest this incident should appear any way terrific, the painter has added a couple of ducks, or other water-fowl, reposing in full security close beside the main subject. This is evidently a large fish; what can it allegorize? Has it afforded safety to this goat, during a tempest, and now, the tempest being over, and all calm again, it discharges what it had preserved? If such be its interpretation; this fish also denotes the ark of preservation; and this action is the renewal of life; of animal life; a reviviscence, after a state of disappearance and death. N. B. In the modern manner of delineating Capricorn, on globes, &c. the *mouth* of the fish is omitted; which totally destroys the original idea of the symbol.

Among the Burmah constellations, published by Dr. BUCHANAN, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 196. No. 35. we find a gallant vessel, of considerable size, rising at each end almost to the form of a crescent, with a house, or dwelling, occupying great part (the centre) of it. [See No. 6. on DAGON, PLATE III.] The explanation of this ship in the Burmah language is, “The *Brahmen's Buchia* has a *boat's* picture, and [refers to] the *Dagoun* country.” Dr. BUCHANAN adds, “*Dagoun* is the great temple near Rangoun.” Rangoun is one of the capital cities of the Burmah empire; and this great temple is called *Shoe Dagoun*, or the *golden temple of Dagoun*, great part of its surface being gilt. From this incident I think it *possible*, that the name as well as worship of *Dagoon* is preserved in the East. The attributing a *ship* to *Dagoon*, with the re-

ference of that ship to the *Brahmen*, looks at least as if there were some acknowledged connection between them.

Such were, and are, the Emblems, sacred in India, by which is commemorated an event analogous to that of a Sovereign issuing from the interior of a fish. In this country the figure originated: but others readily adopted it.

NO. DXI. CHALDEAN EMBLEMS OF DELIVERANCE FROM THE DELUGE.

AS we have no figures derived from Chaldea, to offer, we can set description only, before the reader.

The following is from Syncellus. "In the first year there came up, according to Berossus, from the waters of the Red Sea [the Indian Ocean] and appeared on the shore contiguous to Babylonia, a creature void of reason [this is a palpable error, as the whole history shews; therefore, for ζῶον ἀρρεῖον read ζῶον εὐφρον, a creature TRULY WISE] named *Oannes*; and as Apollodorus reports, having the whole body of a fish; above the head of this fish, rose another head (of a man); he had human feet, (or legs) which came out from each of the two sides of the tail: he had also human voice and language. They still preserve at Babylon, says Berossus, his resemblance painted. This creature remained some time, during the day, among the natives, without taking any nourishment, and conversed with them from time to time: he taught them letters and learning; shewed them the arts of life; instructed them to build cities; to raise temples to the deity; to institute laws; to study geometry: the various manners [and seasons] of committing to the earth the seeds of fruits, and of gathering their productions: and generally, whatever conduces to soften and to polish the manners of mankind. Since that period nothing more has been heard of him. After the setting of the sun, this creature, *Oannes*, went toward the sea, plunged into it, and passed the night in the water. Afterwards, other similar creatures appeared; concerning whom Berossus promises to relate many things, in his history of the Kings." This "history" is unfortunately lost: but *Oannes* is thus mentioned by Apollodorus (in Syncellus). "Berossus reports," says he, "that Alorus was the first king of Babylon, native of that city; he reigned ten *sari*: then came Alasparus and Amelonus, of the country of Pantibiblos; then the Chaldean Ammenonus, under whose reign was seen to issue from the Red Sea [the Indian Ocean] that *Oannes* which Alexander Polyhistor, by anticipation of time, placed in the *first year*, and which we place after a lapse of forty *sari*. Abydenus places the second *Oannes* after a period of twenty-six *sari*."

Apollodorus goes on to mention other Kings, as Meg Alorus, [*Megas Al-Orus?*] Da-onus, [possibly, *Dé-AUN-us*] and Evedorachus, in whose time appeared another creature, half man, half fish, named ω Δαγῶν, o DAGON—THE *Dagon*."

Helladius, an author of the fourth century, cited by Photius (*Biblioth.* p. 194.) also, reports "that a person named OAN, was seen in the Red Sea: who had the body of a fish; but his head, feet, and hands, were human; he taught the use of letters and astronomy. Some said he was born of the *first parent*, which is the *egg*. This OAN was altogether a man; and he appeared like a fish, only because he was covered with the skin of a fish." It seems proper to read this name as with the Greek article—o AUN—THE *Aun*.

It is clear that *Oin* is the same as *Oannes*; and that *Oannes* is the same as THE *Dagon*. "He was a man, but clad with the appearance of a fish;"—"he was born of
of

of the first parent, the *egg*."---This *egg* once contained all mankind; *omnia ex ovo*; this fish once preserved not only the human race, but the races of animals:---*Magna Deum Mater, Materque Ferarum*.

Unquestionably, these accounts, though mutilated, contain much truth; but, most probably, the later appearances of this personage may refer to the introduction of his worship; or the renewal of its rites, by priests devoted to him. (If not rather traditions of his *first* appearance, erroneously placed.) It is by no means improbable that his earliest name was *Oän*, [AN, AN] which afterwards received a terminating syllable, *Oannes*, or even *Oannaus* or *Oannaos*, for the last syllable is *long*, and *accented*; so that the pronunciation easily slides into this difference. This would denote—the *nes*, *naus*, i. e. the ship, or vessel, of *An*; and as we read that *Oän* retired every night to the sea, it must imply a vessel, where he abode during night, and whence he appeared in the morning. This is the principal point to be established: and the consideration of it leads us to observe, that the compound name of the deity *Dag-AUN*, has precisely the same meaning as *O-AUN-nes*; *dag* signifying a ship, or vessel,—*q*. “the ship of *Aun*.” So far these titles agree. Scaliger thinks that both have suffered in their true spelling; though perhaps it still represents their pronunciation in ancient ages.—Our current pronunciation is notoriously incorrect; for we ought to say *Dagoon*, or *Dagoun*; and *Ouannes*, or *Ouaunnees*, *q. o Aunnees*: which would be literally “the *Aun* vessel;” the vessel, or ship of *Aun*.

We cannot expect to find the allegorical deity, *Dag-Aun*, represented both in the (allegorical) state or form of a fish (or included in a fish) and in the form of a ship, at the same time: because, the fish signifying a *ship*, when it is used as implying *Dagaun*, there is no need of the *ship*; and when the *ship* is used, there is no need of the *fish*. This interchangeableness of these symbols, the *fish* and the *ship*, must be insisted on: and indeed, is implied in the histories extracted above: for the *egg* which contained all mankind within it, is said to have floated on the Red Sea, and to have come on shore in the Euphrates (in Babylonia, says Berosus). Hyginus has this historical fable, 197. “An *egg*, of a wonderful magnitude, is said to have fallen from heaven into the river Euphrates, which was conducted to the shore by fishes: over this brooded a dove, whose warmth hatched it, and produced *Venus*, subsequently called *The Syrian Goddess*: after which, as rectitude and probity directed, and as was appointed by Jupiter, the fishes were inserted among the heavenly constellations. For this reason, the Syrians, though they have numbers of doves and fishes, do not eat them.” A story to the same effect is told in different words by Lucius Ampelius, in his work addressed to Macrinus. [See Bayer, *Additions to Selden*.] It is said, that in the river Euphrates the *egg of a fish* was brooded over by a dove during many days, from which *egg* issued the Goddess benign and propitious to men, leading them to the most excellent life.” This is clearly the *Venus* of Hyginus’s fable. It is evident, that the *egg of a fish* in these histories is a vessel.

Another—a direct, proof that the word *Dag-aun* signifies “the *ship* of *Aun*”; is derived from Philo Biblius, who says expressly, “*Dagaun* is *Sidon*”; and this identity is universally received among the learned. Now, this word analyzed divides into *Sid-aun*; or rather, as written in the Hebrew, *tzidé-Aun*:---the name of the ancient city *Sidon*, which has preserved its true name, and is called at this day *Seidé*: so we read of *Beth-Saida*, Matth. xi. 21. i. e. the temple of *Seidé*; which shews the true pronunciation of this word. *Sidon* would therefore be at full length in Hebrew *צידון*, *tzidé-Aun*; melted by common speech into *tzid-Aun*—*Sidon*. What is this *tzi* (צ)?—All our dictionaries and lexicons answer, *undá voce*, “*tzi* is a decked ship

or vessel, which carries men and goods *dry*, as distinguished from an open boat." Consequently, this is the same as *Dag*, which also imports a vessel, that preserves in security what has been committed to it, by keeping its contents from the water; *i. e.* preserving them *dry*. These appellations illustrate each other: *Dag* and *tzi* are the same, in nature and application; but the final *dé* ought properly to be retained in pronunciation, as in *Saïda*, being the Chaldaic *da*; "THE *tzi*." This reference is strengthened by analyzing the Greek name of the deity *Poseidon*, which written at length, is Ποσειδάων,--and divided, is PO-SEIDA-ON, or SEIDA-AUN; now *Po-seida-aun* is addressed in the Orphic hymns as "Father of gods and men;--the author of peace and rest;--the cause of affluence;" *i. e.* the second Father of mankind, who taught them husbandry, &c. &c. By the later Greek writers, this name is given to Neptune, the god of the sea, and of ships:--It is clear, therefore, that this deity is the *Seida-AUN* of Syria; nor is the conjecture amiss which finds in this compound name a symbolical expression equivalent to--"the opening of the ship of Aun." The relation of this to O-AUN-*nes*, and to *Dag-aun*, needs no enlargement.

The separate investigation of the word *Aun*, may convince us, that it conveys precisely the same idea, as the issuing of *Venus*, &c. from the *egg*, in the extract from Hyginus. The Hebrew import of this word is, exactly, "prolific power:" in this sense it is used, Genesis xlix. 3. "Reuben thou art my first-born, my might, and the beginning of my--*prolific power*." Also, Deut. xxi. 17. "He shall acknowledge the first-born--for he is the beginning of his strength."--See also Job xl. 16. If this appellation then, be taken as signifying a person, we may say, on the authority quoted, that--"o *Aun*, the great Patriarch, taught men husbandry, astronomy," &c. and this we have every reason to believe was the fact. We may say--"the Ship of the great Patriarch was venerated;" which is equally expressed by either term, o-*Aun-nes*,--*Seidé-Aun*, or *Dag-Aun*. Or, to take this appellation *impersonally*, we might say, in perfect coincidence with the Gentile mode of expression,--o *Aun*, the prolific power, was worshipped at Babylon;--the ship of the prolific power was commemorated, sometimes under the compound emblem o *Aun-Nes*; at other times under that of *tzidé-Aun* (Sidon) or of *Po-tzidé-Aun*, or of *Dag-Aun*. These inferences are undeniable, on the usual and customary reception of the terms, as they stand in the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages. The following arrangement shews the identity of these compound terms, at one view:

1. o AN, or o AUN—is the great patriarch himself, saved in a ship, or ark, from the Deluge.
2. o AUN-NES, is—"the *Aun*, or Noah, of the ship."
3. o DAG-AUN is—"the *ship* of *Aun*, or Noah."
4. TZIDE-AUN is—"the *ship* of *Aun*."
5. DAG-AUN is—the *ship* of *Aun*, being the same as *Tzidé-aun*.
6. DAG-oon—is referred to "a BOAT's picture" in Asia.
7. DAG-aun is by the LXX. substituted for *Nebo*, the productive power, revived from a *ship*.
8. DAG-AUN is—the "*Aun* in a fish;" but "the fish was no real part of him": it was only allegorical.

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In Isaiah xlvi. i. where the Hebrew reads "*Bel* boweth down, *Nebo* stoopeth;" the LXX. substitute *Dagon* for *Nebo*: Συνεπίβη Δάγωνα. This change of one deity for another, should seem to evince that the LXX. knew that both were equally worshipped in Chaldea; for, had *Dagon* been a Syrian deity, only, it is by no means likely that the LXX. would have introduced him in this passage, in conjunction with *Bel*, the paramount deity of Babylon.

Several of the Western writers, knowing nothing of the Indian *Vishnuh*, and his character, ascribe a Babylonish origin to the history of *Derketos*:

*Cogitat, et dubia est, de te Babylonia narret
Dercoti, quam versâ squamis relantibus artus,
Stagnæ Palæstinæ credunt celebrâsse figurâ.*

Ovid. *Met. lib. iv.* 44, 45.

*Scilicet in piscem sese Citharea novavit,
Quum Babylonicas submersa profugit in undas.*

Manil. *Astron. lib. iv.* 577.

No. DXII. EGYPTIAN EMBLEM OF DELIVERANCE FROM THE DELUGE.

THE Egyptian kings, who knew not Joseph, were derived from Hindostan; and their deities are essentially the same; insomuch, that the Brahmens attached to Sir David Baird's army, which from India entered Egypt, to assist in the expulsion of the French, in 1801, recognized most, if not all, of their own deities, among the sculptures in the ancient Egyptian temples.

Sir W. JONES alludes to a strong coincidence in the religious feelings of these people.

" . . . The triple divinity, *Vishnuh*, *Siva*, *Brahma*; for that is the order in which they are expressed by the letters, A, U, M, which coalesce, and form the mystical word O'M; a word, which never escapes the lips of a pious Hindu, who meditates on it in silence. Whether the Egyptian O N, (which is commonly supposed to mean the Sun) be the Sanscrit monosyllable, I leave others to determine." *Asiatic Researches. Calcutta Edit. vol. i. p. 242.*

SIR WILLIAM'S hint must certainly be taken in the affirmative; it is well known, that the Hebrew letters M and N are often interchanged in Scripture, as they are closely allied in sound; and the Hebrew A, U, N, may fairly be taken as parallel to the Sanscrit A, U, M; which, equally with the Hebrew word, implies the great progenitor, or pro-generative power. Nor should it be forgot, that so early as the days of Joseph, Gen. xli. we read of Potipherah, priest of A N, verse 45. [which is the very mode of spelling adopted by Helladius, who reads 6 AN;] while in verse 50 this same name is written in full length A, U, N. These variations prove the little importance of slight differences in spelling this name among Greek writers: when, even in Scripture, it is thus varied in the compass of a few verses. In composition also (*Sidon*, *Dagon*) it is varied by omitting the A, following no doubt the general pronunciation—*Sid'-un* instead of *Sidé-aun*:—*Dag'-un* instead of *Dag-aun*. It appears then, that the great progenerative power [or person] is called A U M, in India; A N, or A U N, in Egypt, and A N, by the Greek writers. Nevertheless, under this mutation of letters the appellation is but one, and denotes but one personage:—the most venerable second father of mankind, miraculously preserved from a Deluge of waters, by inclosure in an ark, or vessel, or ship;—a floating habitation.

No. 3. on DAGON Plate III. is copied from an ancient Egyptian Zodiac: it may be seen in Mr. MAURICE'S "History of Hindostan," vol. i. from the Barbarini Museum. Under it is written, "*Ichthon, seu Dagon.*" [The *Fish-Aun*, otherwise *Dag-Aun*,—in which inscription the terms *fish* and *Dag* are evidently equivalent to each other; as are the finals, O N in *Ichthon*, and O N in *Dagon*.] Without scrutinizing the authority for these inscriptions, I agree with Mr. MAURICE that this "exhibits too exact a resemblance of the *Dagon* of Chaldea, and the Indian *Vishnuh*, in the *Matsya* (fish)

Avatar, to leave a doubt in my mind on the identity of the persons, as well as the mythology . . the great *Oannes*." Such are the sentiments of that laborious and well-informed writer.

It may be remarked, that this figure is female, yet it is called *Dagon*; perhaps, in strict propriety, she should have been called *Derketos*; but, we know, that change of sex was nothing among the deities. She holds in one hand an infant, the sign of renewed life; in the other hand a square, possibly, symbolizing the great *Demiurgus* or *Machinator*.

The Egyptian name of Venus was *Athor*, says the *Etymologicum Magnum*; and Strabo says expressly, *lib. xvi.* "*Atargatis* was the goddess *Athar*," but the import of this term is *black* or *dark*, *i. e.* deep azure (Venus *Μελανίς*, or *Μελαινίς*) referring rather to the azure complexion of the Hindoo deities, *Vishnu*, &c. than to any supposed connection with dark night. There were in Greece, several temples to Venus under this denomination *Αφροδίτης Μελανίδος* (Paus. *lib. ii.* at Corinth: *lib. viii.* near Mantinea: *lib. x.* at Thespiæ: also at Ephesus; and this was the colour of the Ephesian Diana.) The Venus *Scotia* of Hesychius, to whose temple in Egypt, he alludes, *Art. Σκοτία*, was, doubtless, of the same almost sable hue; as are other Egyptian divinities.

No. 8. DAGON Plate III. This figure is taken from the same Egyptian Zodiac as No. 3. It represents the god *Pan* (whose name is inscribed below it) leading the goat, out of what should be the mouth of the fish. "*Pan curat oves oviumque magistros*," says Virgil.—It were a bold conjecture to consider this sign as marking that month of the year after the Deluge, when the animals quitted the ark, under the direction of Heaven and Noah. It is well known that the stars which compose the signs in the heavens, do not now coincide with those signs which refer to them on our globes; but, in order to make the place of the sun correspond to its ancient situation when the signs of the Zodiac were first established, not merely many degrees, but considerably more than two whole signs, must be calculated backwards; and this would reduce *Capricorn* from the place of January and December, to that occupied by November and October, in which month (October 27, according to M. Basnage's *Calendar of the Year of the DELUGE*, see the article in the *Dictionary*) Noah with his family quitted the ark.

No. DXIII. PHENECIAN EMBLEM OF DELIVERANCE FROM THE DELUGE.

IT has been usually said that Phenecia received her deities from Egypt: it might be so; but we have rather found reason to imagine that the settlers in Phenecia were emigrants from a much more remote country (see the articles *CAPHTORIM*, *GIBEONITES*, *PHILISTINE*, &c. in the *Dictionary*), and rather Hindoos than Egyptians. However that might be, we know, from descriptions left us by Lucian and others, that the same Emblem which originated in Hindostan was adopted in Phenecia, and that it was there worshipped under both sexes as *Dagon* or *Derketos*. Of this our *Plate III.* of DAGON, affords evidence in the Medals, Nos. 4, 5.

We have seen in the extract from Hyginus, the relation of a *dove* and *fishes* to the parent egg: this, No. 4. is from the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxii. p. 346. Mr. SWINTON says of it—"On one side we discover *Atergatis*, *Adergatis*, or *Derceto*, taken by several learned men, for the *Dagon* of Scripture, nearly as we find that Pagan divinity described by Diodorus Siculus, (*Bib. lib. ii.*) and Lucian, with a *pigeon* before her [on her thigh or knee] and a *fish* in her right hand. On the other side, we perceive a galley, or small vessel, on the sea, with rowers in it; under which

appears a sea horse, or rather a sea monster, of a very particular form. That this silver medal must have been anterior to the dissolution of the Persian empire, we may fairly collect," &c.---" That this was struck at Asklalon, there is, I think, little reason to doubt." In the next medal, No. 5. "brought from Syria . . . *Atergatis* or *Derceto*, holds a *concha marina*, or sea-shell, in her left hand:" which indeed is the same shell as *Vishnuh* holds in his hand, in the Indian representation. *Vide* No. 2.

Here, then, we have this Emblem in both sexes; both being human upwards, and piscine downwards; the union of the parts taking place at the lower belly. It was not always so, for sometimes only the head was human; and Lucian (*de Deâ Syria*) says, she was wholly a woman, at Hierapolis.

No. DXIV. GRECIAN EMBLEM OF DELIVERANCE FROM THE DELUGE.

THE most complete series of Emblems coincident with our subject, which I have been able to procure, is given on the Plate MEDALS OF CORINTH. Nos. 10--17. They represent so very distinctly the Ark, with the infant rising into renewed life, after having been preserved by the fish, (the Ark) that scarcely any thing can be added in the way of explanation. It may be remarked, however, that the child in the act of coming out of the fish, does not occur among them: yet, that compounded figures of the kind were known to the Corinthians, appears clearly from No. 19. and from the Plate of ASHTAROTH, No. 12. The gem on our first Plate of DAGON may be added, in proof that this Emblem was adopted among the Greeks; while the two faces of the head of Janus, below the gem, one of them expressing an old man, the other a young man, both marked with scales of fishes about the eyes and the breast, with fishes' fins at the ears, shew, not only the reference of the character of Janus *bifrons* to the sovereign of the ocean, the man of two ages at once, but also, what refinement was gradually employed; and to what absurdities the artists submitted, rather than forego entirely that reference which the *original* Emblem imported.

That numerous and expressive memorials of the Deluge existed among the ancients appears, not only from our No. CCCXVII. extracted from Lucian, but from various ceremonies described by other writers. The Apamean medal on the Plate FORM OF NOAH'S ARK contains a history of that event, rather than an Emblem of it.

The reader will find additional evidence on the plate of SUCCOTH BENOTH; not only in the center-piece, Venus rising from the sea, starting, as it were, out of the shell, and attended by Tritons, half-man half-fish; but also in No. 9. a medal of Marseilles, which represents a Sea-Venus, half-woman half-fish. Hence we learn that the Emblem was popular from Asia to Western-Europe. Numerous figures of the kind occur in all collections of Antiquities; as the learned well know; and indeed, they are so numerous, in the form of Sea-Nymphs, Tritons, &c. &c. that a mere allusion to them is sufficient.

No. DXV. DRUIDICAL EMBLEM OF DELIVERANCE FROM THE DELUGE.

I expected to have found the Symbolical Fish among the Druidical rites of Britain; but, though the "*Goddess of the Egg*," or, the "*Lady of the Egg*," is mentioned; and *Ceridwen*, and *Ked*, may be accepted as personifications of Diluvian events; yet I do not find that the *fish* occupies a place suitable to our purpose; the *Avanc* or Beaver, (the "*Fish-tail* animal", as the Welsh call it,) being substituted; and instead of the ocean a lake of unfathomable depth: but perhaps, this amphibious creature, the Beaver, is at least equally expressive, as the complete fish.

No. DXVI. SYMBOL OF THE DELUGE, THE EGG.

THE incidental mention of the "Lady of the Egg," the "Goddess of the Egg," venerated among the Druidical Britons, incites me to wish to add a few words in illustration of that appellation. I do not know, indeed, that it occurs expressly in Scripture; yet, if the Rabbins have (or had) any authority for explaining the import of the terms *Succoth Benoth* by reference to the Emblem of a Hen and Chickens, [the *Doves*, among the Greeks;] the occurrence of the title alluded to, is not impossible. Many creatures lay Eggs: perhaps most; perhaps, in effect, all with which the unassisted eye is conversant; and the seed of a plant is but another term for an Egg. The title "Goddess of the Egg," may, therefore, be taken in a general sense, as denoting the procreative power universal; otherwise, with a stricter reference to a specific object, symbolized under the type of an Egg. And this was adopted among the Asiatics and the Greeks.

ON OUR MEDALS of TYRE, No. 12. is seen the Emblem of a Serpent enfolded an Egg. Now, the Serpent, as we have already observed, was on many occasions significant of benevolent superintendence. This is expressly recorded on the Medals of Egypt, No. 21. by the motto ΝΕΟ ΑΓΑΘ. ΔΑΙΜ. *the New Good Genius*, inscribed around a serpent crowned; on either side of which are, the Symbols of Peace and Plenty, poppy-heads and ears of corn, marking also, *increase*, fertility. The type is well known. (Comp. the Serpent *Vedanta* of India; also, the preserving power of the Great Serpent, in FRAGMENTS, No. xx.)

The Egg was that great and important object on which the power of benevolent superintendence was most assiduously employed, most eminently, on a particular occasion. It was no other than the Ark, with the world, its contents. But, the difficulty of shewing the issue of living beings, thousands of living beings, of different kinds, from an Egg; when reduced to a type, is greater than the reader can conceive of [and the *enclosure* of them cannot be shewn under any device.—This, though impossible, is nevertheless attempted, in the Egyptian Symbol of an Egg carried in a ship. See the gods of Upper Egypt, in Montfaucon, *Antiq. tom. ii.* Plate, 142. p. 350.] The sculptors, and painters, and medallists, of antiquity have rather chosen to represent the same thing under Emblems derived from vegetable nature; the poppy-head, or the pomegranate, contains thousands of seeds, each possessing, as is well known, the power of eventual life; whereas, an Egg conveys the idea of a single life, only, at the utmost, unless explained; and delineation cannot explain it. It might be thought, that the Egg should properly refer to the Creation; especially by those who render Gen. i. 2. "the Spirit of God *brooded* (as a bird over her Eggs) on the face of the deep:" but, the second creation, *i. e.* after the Deluge, seems to be a more satisfactory reference. The following extracts are from Mr. BRYANT, *Anc. Mythol.* vol. ii. p. 352.

"At this season, according to Aristophanes, *sable winged night produced an Egg; from whence sprouted up like a blossom, Eros [Love] the lovely and desirable, with his glossy golden wings.*" The Egg is called *ωον ὑπηνεμιον*; which is interpreted *Orum absque concubitu*; but it likewise signifies *ὑετιος*, *rainy*. This was certainly an Emblem of the Ark, when the rain descended: and it may, I think, be proved from a like piece of mythology in Orpheus (Hymn 5) concerning Protogonus—"I invoke Protogonus, who was of a two-fold state or nature, *διφυν*, who wandered at large under the wide heavens, *Ωογεν*, Egg-borne,—who was also depicted with golden wings." [Comp.

Plates TAURUS Nos. 12, 13. also PERSIA, Nos. 5, 6.: and the winged Jupiters in Winklemann's *Monumenti Inediti, et al.*]

"I have before observed, that one Symbol, under which the ancient mythologists represented the Ark, was an Egg, called *Ovum Typhonis*. Over this sometimes a Dove was supposed to have brooded, and to have produced a new Creation . . . At other times, a Serpent was described round it; either as an Emblem of that Providence, by which mankind was preserved; or else to signify, a renewal of life from a state of death; which circumstance was denoted by a Serpent; for, that animal, by annually casting its skin, was supposed to renew its life, and to become *positis novus exuvii*, vegete and fresh after a state of inactivity. [More accurately still, it denoted the *year* at the end of which Noah, with his entombed companions, obtained a renewed vitality.] By the bursting of this Egg, was denoted the opening of the Ark; and the disclosing to light, whatever was within contained." p. 361.

Mr. Davies informs us, *Mythol. Brit. Druids*, that *Ceredwen* the goddess of the boat, had a daughter, whose name is sometimes written *Creirwy*, the *token of the Egg*, sometimes *Creirvyw*, the *sacred token of life*. She was the most beautiful damsel, in the world," p. 189. "*Creirwy*, the *token*, or *sacred symbol of the egg*, (was) otherwise called *Llywy*, the *manifestation*, or *putting forth of the egg*; (she) is not the least remarkable of *Ceridwen's* children . . . *Creirwy*, as daughter of *Ceridwen*, or *Ceres*, was the *Proserpine* of the British Druids. The attributes of the mother and daughter, in the Bardic mythology, as well as in that of other heathen, are so much confounded together, as not to be easily distinguished. All the difference which I can conceive in their character, is this: *Ceridwen* was the genius of the Ark throughout its whole history; hence she was viewed as a severe matron, supposed to preside in those public sanctuaries, where the Arkite rites were celebrated; while *Creirwy*, was regarded as the genius of the same sacred vessel, only during its perilous conflict with the waters of the Deluge; and therefore was represented as a helpless virgin exposed to dreadful calamities, from which at length she was delivered . . . This mystical lady is also called *Creiddylad*,—the *token of the flowing*, or *floating*; and is described as the daughter of *Lludd Llaw Eriant*, the *chief who governed the vessel*; or of *Lllyr*, the *margin of the sea*: and here she is an old acquaintance of the English nation, being no less a personage than *Cordelia*, the daughter of King *Lear*." p. 206.

No. DXVII. INCIDENTAL REMARKS.

IT is proper to mention a re-action to which some of the principles adduced have given occasion; it is that of placing in the heavens in the form of Constellations, memorials of those transactions which so greatly interested mankind. The constellation of the Ship [Argo]—of the Raven—of the Dove—of the Altar—of the Victim, and the Sacrificer, bear no incompetent witness to the History of the Deluge. Orion has been thought to be Noah; and the *asterism of the river*, as Ptolemy calls it, the head of which river commences at the foot of Orion, will be easily understood by the reader of the foregoing pages.

As I am not aware of any allusion to this re-action, in Scripture, it may be passed over with this slight notice. But, the subject may bear a few general Remarks.

The first Remark is, that since Idolatry had several sources, and more than one origin, it is not correct to refer all the idols of the Gentiles, without exception, to a single source. When Macrobius affirms that all deities run ultimately into the Sun, he is certainly mistaken; nor is Mr. Bryant less mistaken, when he refers all deities to

persons and events connected with the Deluge. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that many deities coalesce in the Sun, and that many memorials of the deluge became, eventually, objects of veneration, and gradually of worship. Nor must we forget that the Intelligences, or Guardians of the Elements, &c. were multiplied, till every hill, and dale, and tree, and grotto, had its titular protector or protectress. That the Magian notion of Guardians over the elements, was by no means confined to Persia, is evident, from the opinions of the Egyptians, who, says Porphyry, commenced the worship of Serapis *by fire and water*. Says Diodorus, "The Egyptians esteemed Fire, which they called *Hephaistus*, to be a great god:"—They even thought it to be a *living animal, endowed with a soul*, says Herodotus, *νενομισται το πυρ θεριον ειναι εμψυχον. lib. iii. cap. 16.* And this, as the reader has seen, might be independent of reference to the Sun. Moreover, every traveller into Greece and Italy, knows abundance of caves, and forests and rills, which formerly were haunts of Dryads and Nymphs.

A second Remark is, that it is desirable in reading Scripture [and not Scripture, only, but other Historical writings, also,] to distinguish the species of Idolatry alluded to, where it is possible. For instance, the *Teraphim* of Laban, may be the earliest Idols mentioned; yet, whether they were commemorative of the Deluge, or of Noah, the principal personage of the Deluge, may be questioned. The time seems to be too early; and probably, there would be a feeling of opposition in the families descended from Shem, to all the proceedings at Babel, where, certainly, Idolatry of the commemorative kind was patronized. The *Teraphim* were, doubtless, *Guardians*: and Laban supposed that with them was connected the prosperity of his residence and his family. On the other hand, the temples dedicated to *Aun*, could neither be sacred to the Planetary Intelligences, nor to Elementary Guardians. We find them in connection with almost all the strangers who had inhabited the land of Canaan; and under the greatest variety of circumstances. We read little, or nothing, about them, till the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites; when the names of towns imposed by the expelled residents evince their previous character.

The Prophets allude to many Idols which do not occur in the historical books of Scripture: and to several among other nations than their own. It is well to be able to distinguish these, because, for want of such distinction, the threatenings, &c. directed against them, are unintelligible; or, at least, their forcible import remains undiscerned.

The Apostles and writers of the New Testament, had the same Deities to contend against; but under another form, and presented under the more elegant fashion of Grecian skill. Hence the originals were forgotten; *Vishnu* and *Bhavan*, *Nared*, and *Sereswatti*, gave place to *Jupiter*, to *Venus*, to *Mercury*, to *Ceres*: and the Deities best known, held their court on Mount Ida, not on Mount Meru; at the head of the Scamander, not of the Ganges. Still, their attendant emblems continued much the same: the same animals marked their shrines; and these gave occasion to a worship directed to brutes, to plants, to insects,—to every kind of absurdity, at which the mind revolted while it complied. Our Plates of Medals bear but too decisive evidence of the fact: by means of these Plates however, we trace the worship in various instances, and they afford us this consolation, that as the western Idols disappeared before the light of the truth of the Gospel, so the eastern Idols, though the parents of the other, may in time, be expelled from their station; and their influence, their dominion, and their destructive powers, may become matters of history, and of wonder to succeeding generations.

The reader will not be displeased, perhaps, with two reflections by way of close to
this

this article: the first is, the extent to which Symbolical commemorations of the Deluge, as to events, and personages, had extended:—from India to Britain;—we may say, all over the world. The second is, the strong hold which these Symbols and the titles and *dogmata* connected with them had obtained on the popular mind. The Druidical tales are not without recollection and influence, to this day; we find them in our own country, in various forms, and in almost all parts: can we wonder that they, their cognates, and their descendants, still maintain their empire, in countries where they originated;—where they have been established by all the efforts of ingenuity and superstition, and by all the energies of power, civil and sacerdotal, supported by all the recollections of national distinction, and all the pride of personal and family ancestry.

No. DXVIII. ON THE FORM OF NOAH'S ARK: WITH A PLATE.

IT has, I confess, rather the appearance of romance to attempt at this period of time, to demonstrate, or accurately to describe, the Form and general appearance of that very ancient edifice, the Ark of Noah: the mere mention of it seems like sporting an effort of imagination, rather than the result of rational investigation and matter of fact. Nevertheless, as it connects with a very important event in the history of the human race, a most prominent fact in Scripture history, and of lasting consequences, it is well entitled to our closest attention. We shall place first the assistance derived from Scripture; and then shall advert to *memoranda*, preserved among other families, and other settlements, of mankind.

The Ark of Noah, Gen. vi. &c. is called *tebeh*, or *thebeh*, or *thebet*: this name is given also (and only) to the *ark* of bulrushes in which Moses was preserved, Exod. ii. 3, 5. It signifies a *hollow—empty—void*: meaning, it is presumed, not an *open* basket, or any other *open* receptacle, but a strictly *closed—shut up*, coffer, box, or trunk: and the notion of a *trunk* most accurately suits its use; an infant might be securely enclosed in a trunk, and a trunk would float safely on the waters.

Having ventured to consider the Ark of Noah, as merely a variation from the customary construction of houses for residence—and to change its character, from that of a house for standing, to that of a house for floating, we shall in the first place compare it with the ordinary houses of the East, [*Vide* Fig. 1. on the Plate, FORM OF NOAH'S ARK: this is from NIEBUHR'S *Travels in Arabia*,] observing, that the sides are constructed of upright supports (quarterings) of timber, which are plastered over with clay,—as this on the Plate appears to be, both externally and internally. The application of canes, split and laid across these quarterings, is so like the usage of laths, which are common every where, and the idea is so simple and natural, that merely to mention it is sufficient. The same may be said of the coating with bitumen. This substance was employed on account of its property of resisting water: the mode of its application might be similar to our plastering. [On the subject of filling the interstices between the timbers, &c. with bitumen, it is curious enough that a patent should lately have been obtained, in this country, in favour of a principle, the practice of which is as old as Noah!]

We find Gen. vi. 16. that the Ark was to have “a door *in the side thereof*,” admitting ingress and egress: this figure shews, that such is the station of the door, in the houses of Arabia. Beside this, a window (*transparency*, literally) was made in this Ark; “and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above,”—literally, “even to the supports shalt thou extend it, from the risings, or, from the elevations;” [compare the

Plate, CONSTRUCTION of NOAH'S ARK, Fig. 1.] meaning perhaps, "it shall extend from end to end of the Ark, except where intercepted by the finishing posts, at the ends, and by those strong timbers, which running up the sides join others in the roof." [see ELEVATION, Fig. 3. *ib.*] The usual situation of the windows is seen in this Arabian figure; and being immediately under the projecting eaves of the roof, such an opening would thereby be defended from the falling rain.

The attention of the reader is farther requested to the trunk-like shape of this dwelling; such an inclosure was very fit to contain the infant Moses, supposing the lid, as in ordinary trunks, to be moveable.

Since then, we find in this figure of an Oriental dwelling such correspondence to the *thebet*, as described by the sacred historian, we may inquire what memorials of its form and construction have been preserved in any other manner, and to what extent they agree with that under examination.

We must at once take *Dionysius*, or the *Indian Bacchus*, for a personification of the great patriarch Noah; and without enlarging in proof of it here, must assume, that the *cista mystica*, or sacred allegorical chest, anciently carried in the Dionysiac processions, commemorated the instrument of preservation, by means of which a family of mankind had escaped destruction when involved in the calamities which accompanied the Deluge. It will be recollected, that this *thebet* has been supposed only to float, hovering about the place where it was stationed; to be gradually (and comparatively, slowly) surrounded by the flood, and to be lifted up, for a short time only, on the face of water 22 feet in depth; and moreover, to be re-settled on its broad basis, and its projecting supports, by the earliest diminution of the retiring waves.

No. 2. In a series of pictures, representing Ceremonies in honour of Bacchus, in the *Antiquities of Herculaneum*, vol. ii. p. 135. appears, what may be thought with great probability the nearest approach in form to the Noachical Ark. A woman is carrying on her shoulder a square box, having a projecting roof, and at the end a door. This door is a distinguishing circumstance; for it plainly marks this receptacle as a house: it cannot be a mere box for ordinary uses, as the difficulty of putting things in, and taking them out, through so narrow an aperture, sufficiently demonstrates: neither is the angular roof, with its considerable projection, analogous to the purposes of a mere box; moreover, being carried in a commemorative procession, it is clearly a sacred *thebet*, or trunk, *i. e.* that in which Dionysius was preserved. [It has no pillars, to characterize it as a votive temple; neither is the door-way proportioned to the entrance of a temple; it rises nearly to the roof.]

To illustrate the nature of these sacred trunks, it may be proper to abstract some remarks from the notes on the volume which has furnished this subject. Oppian (*Cyneg.* iv. 253.) calls the Ark of *fir-wood* that had contained the infant Bacchus, and which was carried in procession by the sacred choir, *χηλον αρρητην*, *Arca ineffabile*; "the most venerable Ark;" the word *chelos* is used by Homer in this signification; and both Suidas and Hesychius say, *chelos* is *Kibotos*: *i. e.* an Ark. Pausanias, *lib.* vi. says, that Vulcan made a small statue of Bacchus, and gave it to Jupiter, who gave it to Dardanus the Trojan. In the sacking of Troy the portion of Euripilus was an Ark (*λαρναξ*, *larnax*) wherein was contained this statue; Euripilus took it away; but, at his first attempt to look into this Ark, to examine the statue, he was deprived of his senses, and became insane. (Compare 1 Sam. vi. the punishment that visited the men of Bethshemesh.) Moreover, the Ark, was esteemed a symbol appropriate to Bacchus; and, in his processions, idols, or other mysteries referring to that deity, were enclosed in it. The same among the Egyptians. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v.

Observe farther, that the LXX. in Genesis translate *thebah*, "kibotos"; in Exodus they retain the original, *thebin*: whereas Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Theophilus of Antioch, and others, use the word *larnax*; the same as among the Gentiles described the Ark of Bacchus. The *cista mystica* of the Bacchic rites, contained the most direct allusion to the great Progenerator of mankind: when it was not the God himself, it was the virile part of him; but, sometimes, a basket of early *fruit*, or *seed corn*, was substituted; implying, that Bacchus was the person who first taught mankind husbandry, [Comp. DAGON, Plate]; and that *fertility* was his character and essence.

Theocritus says, *Idyll.* xxvi. that Pentheus was pulled to pieces by the female Bacchantes, for prying into the sacred things which they took out of the *cista* to place on the altars; and Catullus says, the rites of the *cista* were celebrated in the utmost secrecy:

Pars obscura cavis celebrant orgia Cistas.

The heathen always carried the *cista* on the shoulder; and the person who carried it was called *Kistophorus*, says Suidas. [*vide* Exod. xxv. 14. and UZZAH, in the *Dictionary*.] It was the same, or nearly, with the *mystica vannus Iacchi*, of Virgil, *Geor.* i. 166.

Our next figure No. 3. is from vol. i. of the *Antiquities of Herculaneum*, p. 67. It is part of an ancient picture, representing Orestes and Pylades brought for the purpose of being sacrificed, to the altar of *Diana Taurica*: but recognized by his sister Iphigenia, one of Diana's votaries: behind Iphigenia are two attendants, one holding a sprig, bason, &c. the other occupied about a trunk which recalls very strongly the form of the *thebet*; it is longer than it is broad, and is supported at the corners by strong posts; it has a projecting roof, and this roof is *rounded* at the top; whereby *it agrees with the Arabian house, No. 1. This similiarity is increased (accidentally, no doubt) by an appearance, on the side, as if it were covered with plaster; of which a part is peeled off. The *cista mystica*, or somewhat equivalent, was carried in the ceremonies of Diana; also in those of Ceres, and of Isis: for, in fact, these deities differed in little more than in name; being varied characters of a similar divinity. The reader will observe the conformity of this trunk, coffer, or ark, with that of the foregoing figure; except in the shape of the roof, and the absence of a door: at least, on this side of it.

On the following figures, Nos. 4, 5, 6. it is proper to state explicitly, that the extremely remarkable nature of the type, with the singularity of the legend, on some of them, has, ever since their discovery and publication, been considered as justifying strong *hesitations* respecting their authenticity; nevertheless, since so many as *nine* medals are known, whose types, though greatly alike, yet differ in some particulars, it seems difficult to account for their manufacture, if all be spurious. However, we give up eight out of the nine, (three or four being absolutely condemned as forgeries, by the best judges) and restrict ourselves to that ONE which is admitted to be a genuine medal, No 4. It is preserved in the cabinet of the king of France. It has been admitted by Vaillant; and having been particularly scrutinized by the late Abbé Barthelemy, at the desire of the late Dr. Combe, was, by that able antiquary, pronounced authentic. It bears on one side the head of Severus; on the other a history in two parts; representing, first, two figures enclosed in an ark, or chest, sustained by stout posts at the corners, and well timbered throughout. On the *side*, are letters; on the top is a dove: in *front*, the same two figures which we see in the ark, are represented as come out, and departing from their late residence. Hovering over them is the dove, with a sprig in its bill. (Double histories are common on medals.) The

situation of these figures implies the situation of the door: which is not on the side but agrees with that of No. 2. this medal therefore clearly commemorates an escape from the dangers of water, by means of a floating vessel. The water is conspicuous in Nos. 5, 6. Whether these particulars can be, without difficulty, referred to the history of Deucalion and Pyrrha, as usually understood, will be strongly doubted by all who duly contemplate the subject. Moreover, the Abbé Barthelemy informs us, that the letters on the ark are,—“the letter N, followed by two or three others, of which there remain only the slightest traces; or to speak more accurately, there is nothing but the contour of the second letter to be distinguished, which according to different lights, appears sometimes an Ω (O) sometimes an E.” Had the forger of the non-genuine medals met with a true one, which, having these letters well preserved, he was solicitous to copy? It is certain, that he only wanted the E to appear as the third letter, in order to justify his legend; for, “the first letter N” seems to be unquestionable; and “there are traces of two or three others;” say of *two* others; one of which “in some lights appears to be O (Ω);” [but an E would do as well.] Accept this O, as the second letter of the inscription. The Abbé admits traces of a *third* letter; and if *any* respect be due to the forged medals, if the forger had *any* genuine original before him, which by the rarity, the singularity of its type, induced him to imitate it, (the only reason assignable for his imitation) if any *one* of the eight repudiated instances had such a prototype, then the third letter was E. It is unwise to depend too strongly on a single evidence; but it is not improper to submit, 1. that the Patriarch was known in Grecian antiquity by the name NOE; 2. that it is not impossible to explain the cause why *all* the medals, including the genuine, purport to be struck at Apamea.

Philo Judæus says, (*De Prim.* vol. ii.) “The Grecians call that person Deucalion; but the Chaldeans style him NOE (NΩE) in whose time happened the great eruption of waters.” NOE is mentioned several times in the Orphic hymns; and, if any traces of his name were preserved among the eastern Greeks, as *Naus, Da-Naus, Nous, Mi-Nous*, &c. [which Mr. BRYANT has clearly proved,]—then, there is no difficulty in admitting, that at Apamea he was called *Noe, Noeh, Noue, or Nous*, either of which modes of spelling his name would justify this medal.

That these medals should be referred to *Apamea*, will not seem wonderful when we recollect, what has been already stated, that the LXX. translate *thebah*, “Kibotos;” the Apostles do the same, Heb. xi. 7. 1 Pet. iii. 20. Now, there was a city named *Kibotos*, in Phrygia, on the river Marsyas; this city was afterwards named *Apamea*, says Strabo, *lib.* xii. and a medal of Adrian inscribed with both names of this city, APAMEON KIBOTOS (on the river) MARSYAS, is given by Patin, *Num.* p. 413. *Kibotos* is not a Greek term; but apparently Oriental. Possibly, a colony from the East had settled here, or, this town might value itself on preserving correctly the memorials of *Kibotos*, whence it took its name: and this the rather, as *Kibotos* signifies an ark, or repository (coffer) for things of value. In a *Kibotos* were carried the sacred emblems, says Pausanias, *lib.* x. so that it was similar in nature and use to the *cista mystica* of Dionysius; and Dionysius (the Indian) was a personification of Noah, to whom this *Kibotos* undoubtedly refers. Enlargement is unnecessary in proof of the propriety of such a subject as the present on medals of Apamea; and it reduces those who refer this type to the Greek Deucalion, to the necessity of proving, that the title *Kibotos* was, or could be, appropriated to Apamea, on account of *that* event, or of some commemoration of it, peculiar to that city. Compare the article APAMEA in the *Dictionary*. Also, No. CCLXXXI. MISCELLANIES, PLATE II.

These evidences combined lead to the conclusion that the Ark of Noah was simply a large house, the timbers of which instead of penetrating into the ground, whereby they would have been *held*, were *detached* from it; which left the structure free to float, whenever the waters approached to "lift up the Ark."

We conclude by this farther argument, that had the Ark been a *keeled* vessel, it would from its tonnage have drawn so much water, that it could hardly have floated where it stood; for the mountains were covered only *twenty-two* feet deep, and less can hardly be allowed for its draught of water. Many ships in the British navy draw much more; but, if the bottom were flat, (or nearly) then, allowing it ten, or twelve feet draught, there would still be a sufficiency of water below its bottom. This flatness of its bottom is perfectly coincident with the representations in our figures. How much a flat bottom would *ease* the construction of this machine, will be best understood by those who are best acquainted with the several courses of lines, and their variations, which are employed in moulding a keeled vessel of magnitude.

Supposing these arguments to be conclusive on the Form of the Ark, we proceed to suggest, that the *cista mystica*, the memorial of the Ark, has not always this house-like form [*temple-like* form, if the reader pleases: for the ancient *temples* may be considered as *memoranda* of this subject.] Ordinary baskets, of any shape, would answer the purpose, and such were usually employed; but, it will not escape observation, how nearly basket-work imitated the construction of the Ark,—by its upright stems, and its crossing withes. Without adopting Dr. GEDDES's notion, that the Ark itself was *wholly* of *wicker-work*,—wicker-work was certainly employed in composing those portable resemblances of it, which were designed to perpetuate its history. Medals are frequent, in which the serpent, the *good demon* is represented as entering the Ark, or coming out of it. They clearly denote the import of this sacred utensil. See Nos. 7, 8. and compare the Plates, MEDALS of CRETE, No. 21. of EPHEBUS, Nos. 15, 16. of SARDIS, No. 3. &c.

It is possible, that the reader may not *at first* perceive the propriety of attaching so great importance to the history of Noah's deliverance, and its commemoration. Our not-unlaborious investigations mark our opinion; and a little reflection will justify it. The out-cry of a certain class of *reasoners* against Revelation has long been, "Bring us FACTS WHICH ALL THE WORLD AGREE IN: FACTS ADMITTED, ESTABLISHED BY UNBIASSED EVIDENCE, &c." If, in answer to this, we adduce proof that the Christian dispensation is from above; we are reminded,—"how few of mankind receive it: Christ's own nation deny the subject of it: heathen lands refuse him." If we advert to Moses,—"What! a leader of a pitiful horde of leprous slaves! at most, a legislator acknowledged by a single nation! and that a stupid nation too." Well then, to establish the assertion, that Deity *has* condescended to make known its intentions to man, investigate the instance of Noah:—Was the Deluge a real occurrence?—All mankind acknowledge it. Wherever tradition has been maintained, wherever written records are preserved, wherever commemorative rites have been instituted, what has been their subject?—the Deluge: deliverance from destruction by a flood: the savage and the sage agree in this: North and South, East and West, relate the danger of their great ancestor from overwhelming waters,—but he was saved: and how?—by personal exertion? by long supported swimming? by concealment in the highest mountains? No: but by enclosure in a large floating edifice of his own construction—his own construction, for this particular purpose. But this labour was long: this was not the work of a day; he must have *FOREKNOWN* so astonishing an event, a considerable time previous to its actual occurrence.—Whence did he

receive this FOREKNOWLEDGE? Did the Earth inform him, that at twenty, thirty, forty years' distance it would disgorge a flood?—Surely not. Did the Stars announce that they would dissolve the terrestrial atmosphere in terrific rains?—Surely not. Whence then had Noah his FOREKNOWLEDGE? Did he begin to build when the first showers descended? That was too late. Had he been accustomed to rains formerly,—why think them now of importance? Had he never seen rain,—what could induce him to provide against it? Why this year more than last year;—why last year more than the year before? These inquiries are direct: we cannot flinch from the fact: erase it from the Mosaic records; still it is recorded in Greece, in Egypt, in India, and in our Britain: it is registered in the very *sacra* of the Pagan world; and is annually renewed by commemorative imitation, where the liberty of opinion is not fettered by prejudices derived from Hebrew institutions, or by the “sophisticated” inventions of Christianity.—Go, infidel, turn to the right hand, or to the left hand: take your choice of difficulties: disparage all mankind as fools, as willing dupes to superstitious commemoration, as leagued throughout the world to delude themselves in order to impugn your wisdom, your just-thinking, your love of truth, your unbiassed integrity; or allow that THIS FACT, at least, this ONE fact, is established by testimony abundantly sufficient; but remember, that if it be established, it implies a COMMUNICATION FROM GOD TO MAN.—WHO COULD INFORM NOAH? Why did not that great patriarch provide against *Fire*?—against *Earthquakes*?—against *Explosions*?—Why against a *Deluge*?—why against *Water*?—Away with subterfuge. Say frankly, “This was the dictation of Deity;” say, “Only HE who made the world, could *predict* the time, the means, the causes of this devastation; only HE could excite the hope of restoration, or suggest a method of deliverance.” Use your own language: but permit a humble believer to adopt language already recorded: “*By faith, Noah---being warned of God---of things never seen as yet---in pious fear---prepared the Ark (Kibotos) to the saving of his family---by which he condemned the world.*”---May a similar condemnation never rest on us, who must at least admit the truth of *one* text in the Bible---or stand convicted by the united voice of all mankind, and by the testimony of the earth, the now shattered, the now disordered earth itself!!!

No. DXIX. ON MOUNT CAUCASUS.

BEFORE we proceed to accompany the emigrating tribes of mankind, it is proper that we should obtain, so far as we can, a distinct idea of those particularities in the region they quitted, which were most likely to strike their senses, and to be maintained in their recollection. Always bearing in mind, that the medium of proof, though derived from themselves, has undergone various interpolations, and has come down to us confused by many diversities, imagined at different places and times, in so long a period. We cannot, therefore, adopt indiscriminately all which is presented by antiquity; but must select the most chaste, the least embarrassed with later conceptions, or intermingled with notions of generations so far removed from the source of original information as to have forgot almost every thing of consequence; as to have retained---as the Greeks and their connections did retain---a few words only, and they unintelligible; with a few facts only, and they enveloped in mysteries, dark as the night in which they were usually performed.

CAUCASUS is the name of a series of mountains of which *Ararat* is a part; and another part of Caucasus is named *Taurus*: or else, the names of *Taurus*, and *Ararat* are general throughout the ridge, and denote nearly, or altogether, the same as *Caucasus*. This is not easily determined; as ancient authors seem to use these

names without sufficient precision to direct our opinion. We shall, however, consider *Taurus*, as a mountain forming part of *Caucasus*: Capt. WILFORD gives the following account of its Hindoo appellation:

“ The true Sanscrit name of this mountain is *C’hasa-giri*, or the mountain of the *C’hasas*, a most ancient and powerful tribe: who inhabited this immense range, from the eastern limits of India to the confines of Persia; and most probably as far as the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. They are often mentioned in the sacred books of the Hindus.

“ Their descendants still inhabit the same regions, and are called to this day *C’hasas*, and in some places *C’hasyas* and *Cossais*. They belonged to the class of warriors, or *Cshettris*: but now they are considered as the lowest of the four classes; and were thus degraded, according to the institutes of Menu, by their omission of the holy rites, and by seeing no Brahmens. However, the vakeel of the Rajah of Comanh, or *Almora*, who is a learned Pandit, informs me, that the greatest part of the zemindars of that country are *C’hasas*; and that they are not considered, or treated, as outcasts. They are certainly a very ancient tribe; for they are mentioned as such, in the Institutes of Menu; and their great ancestor *C’hasa* or *C’hasya* is mentioned by Sanchoniathon, under the name of *Cassius*. He is supposed to have lived before the flood, and to have given his name to the mountains he seized upon. The two countries of *Cashgar*, those of *Cash-mir*, *Castwar*, and the famous peak of *C’has-gar*, are acknowledged in India to derive their names from the *C’hasas*. The country, called *Casia* by Ptolemy, is still inhabited by *C’hasyas*; and Pliny informs us, (*lib. vi. cap. 20. Cesi montani*, &c.) that the inhabitants of the mountainous region, between the Indus and the Jumna, were called *Cesi*, a word obviously derived from *C’hasa*, or *Chésai*, as they are denominated in the vulgar dialects.

“ The appellation of *Caucasus*, or *Coh-CAS*, extended from India to the shores of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas; most probably, because this extensive range was inhabited by *C’hasas*. Certain it is, that the mountains of Persia were inhabited by a race of people called *Cossæi*, *Cussæi* and *Cissii*; there was mount *Casius* on the borders of Egypt, and another in Syria; the *Caspian* sea, and the adjacent mountains, were most probably denominated from them. *Jupiter Cassius*, like *Jupiter Peninus* in the Alps, was worshipped in the mountains of Syria, and on the borders of Egypt: moreover, we find, that the titles of *Cassius* and *Cassiopæus*, given to Jupiter, were synonymous, or nearly so. In Sanscrit the words *C’hasapa*, *C’hasyapa*, and *C’hasyapati*, signify the lord and sovereign ruler of the *C’hasyas*: *Chasyapéya* or *C’hasapéya*, in a derivative form, implies the country of *C’hasapa*. [For *Jupiter Cassius*, comp. Plate II. CAUCASUS, Nos. 3, 4, 11 to 16.]

“ The original country of the *Chasas* seems to have been the present country of *Cashgar*, to the north-east of Cabul; for the *C’hasas*, in the Institutes of Menu, are mentioned with the *Daradas*, who are obviously the *Dardæ* of Ptolemy, whose country now called *Darud* by the natives, and *Dawurd* by Persian authors, is to the north-west of Cashmir; and extends towards the Indus: hence Ptolemy with great propriety asserts, that the mountains to the north-east of *Cabul* are the real *Caucasus*.

“ The country of *Cashcar* is situated in a beautiful valley, watered by a large river, which, after passing close to *Chágá-Seray*, *Cooner* and *Noorgul*, (*Cooner* and *Noorgul* are called *Guz-noorgul* in the Ayeen Akbery) joins the *Landi-Sindh*, or little *Sindh*, below Jálalabad; in the small district of Cameh (for there is no town of that name), and from this circumstance the little *Sindh* is often called the river *Cameh*.

“ The capital city of Cashcar is called *Chatraul*, or *Chatraur*, and is the place of

residence of a petty Mahomedan prince, who is in great measure tributary to the emperor of China; for the Chinese are now in possession of *Badacshan* as far as Baglan to the north-west of Anderab."

"Pliny, *lib. vi. cap. 30*, informs us, that mount *Caucasus* was also called *Graucasus*; this appellation is obviously Sanscrit; for *Grava*, which in conversation, as well as in the spoken dialects, is invariably pronounced *Grau*, signifies a mountain, and being a monosyllable (the final being surd) according to the rules of grammar, it is to be prefixed thus, *Grava-C'hasa*, or *Grau-C'hasa*.

Isidorus says (*Orig. lib. xiv. cap. 28.*) that *Caucasus*, in the eastern languages, signifies *white*; and that a mountain, close to it, is called *Casis* by the Scythians, in whose language it signifies *snow* and *whiteness*. The *Casis* of Isidorus is obviously the *Casian* ridge of Ptolemy; where the genuine appellation appears stripped of its adjunct. In the language of the Calmuck Tartars, *Jásu* and *C'hásu* signify *snow*; and in some dialects of the same tongue, towards Badacshán, they say *Jushá* and *Chushá*, *Tushá* and *Tuchá* or *Tuca*. These words, in the opinion of my learned friends here, are obviously derived from the Sanscrit *Tushára*, by dropping the final *ra*."

"The words *Chasu* or *C'hasa* are pronounced *C'hasa* or *Cas*; *Chusa* or *Cusa*, by the inhabitants of the countries between Bahlac and the Indus; for they invariably substitute *ch* or *c* in the room of *sh*."

"This immense range is constantly called in Sanscrit *Himáchel*, or "Snowy Mountain;" and *Himálaya*, or the "Abode of Snow." From *Hima*, the Greeks made *Imaus*: *Emodus* seems to be derived from *Himoda*, or "snowy:" *Himána*, *Haimána* and *Haimánas*, which are appellations of the same import, are also found in the Puránas: from these is probably derived *Amanus*, which is the name of a famous mountain in Lesser Asia, and is certainly part of the *Himá-laya* mountains; which, according to the Puránas, extend from sea to sea. The western part of this range was called *Taurus*; and Strabo says (*lib. xi. p. 519.*) that Mount *Imaus* was called also *Taurus*. The etymology of this last appellation is rather obscure; but since the Bráhmens insist that *Toc'hárestán* is corrupted from *Tushára-sthán*, by which appellation that country is distinguished in the Puranas; and that *Tunan* is derived from *Tusharan*, its Sanscrit name, the *sh* being quiescent; may we not equally suppose, that *Taurus* is derived from *Tushara* or *Tusharas*: for this last form is used also, but only in declensions, for the sake of derivation. *Tushara* signifies "snow;" *Tushara-sthan* or *Tuc'haras-sthan*, the place or abode of snow; and *Tusharan* in a derivative form, the country of snow."

The etymology of this last denomination does not seem quite satisfactory: but, possibly, if we consider the animals as issuing from the Ark on this mountain, and of what transactions it was the scene, in consequence, we may see why it received its name from an animal. The word *Taur* in many languages signifies a *Bull*: it is so in Spanish, French, &c. at this time: it was so in Latin, Greek, Arabic, &c. and above all, as being most ancient, it was so in Chaldee; which language was little distant either in time or place, from the first settlement on Mount *Taurus*. To account for this name, observe, 1. that Noah on coming out of the ark sacrificed to God, *inter alia*, a young *bull*, or beeve, as the most valuable offering in his power:--the place of sacrifice *might* be denominated from this first offering. 2. As Noah was of pastoral manners, no doubt he kept around him all the valuable domestic animals he possibly could; these he cherished, these he multiplied, these he employed: the chief of these, the bull, might give name to the mountain where they pastured.

And

And not only was this mountain called the "Mountain of the Bull," or beeve; but it was also, as appears to me, *commemorated* under the figure of a Bull:—though possibly sometimes under that of other domestic animals. The number of animals companions to mankind by their nature, is not very great; after the beeve, the goat and sheep, the dog, the swine, the horse, perhaps the elephant, and the camel; I say, *perhaps*, because the elephant could not breed in a mountainous region; neither could the camel walk on crags or precipices; the swine, though domestic, is unclean:—the number of birds also is not great, the house cock, the swan, and especially the pigeon or dove: among reptiles, though it may startle us, is the serpent, of which some kinds are esteemed in many parts of India to be guardians of the house and premises, and are accordingly admitted as inmates to every apartment. Indeed, of the whole serpent tribe, terrible as its very name sounds in our ears, not one kind in ten is venomous; and those which are fatal, seldom strike without provocation. To the serpent we may add the lizard. Among insects the bee.

Such are the chief pastoral riches of mankind; and such were the pastoral riches of Noah. From these must have descended whatever breeds afterwards roamed the earth; and the mountain on which these first swarmed, seems to have been typified by the figure and appellation of some one, or more of them; while distant parts of the same range of mountains, to which the savage creatures were exiled, were typified by figures and appellations of them; as the lion, the tyger, &c. among beasts; the eagle, &c. among birds. And in like manner, as parts of these mountains might derive names from the bull, or beeve, so might other parts from the lion, or from the eagle; which suggests one reason, why the gods of the heathen were accompanied with images of those kinds of creatures which referred to these mountains. So Jupiter had the eagle, originally in reference

'Eagle Mountain,' or a district called 'The Eagle:—the *Garoorasthan* of the present Bramius. Dionysius had the bull; Cybele had lions: Venus had doves, bees, &c. Hence in after ages, the imaginary improvement, but really great deterioration of symbolic lore, by combination of figures into unnatural forms: as a bull, with a human head; meaning "bull mountain," with the man who *headed* it, *i. e.* governed it; this composes the Minotaur—*i. e.* *menuh-taur*, [*taur*, or bull, of *Menuh*?] By equal perversion, the goat and the lion, are compounded: and, when a delineator, or his patron, who directed the representation, dissatisfied with a single mountain, or district, [perhaps, dominion], was desirous of including the whole range (or Caucasus, at large) he combined, in one most monstrous form, the lion, denoting one mountain, the goat another mountain, and the tail he converted into a serpent. See the plate CAUCASUS, Nos. 1, 2, 3. also, CORINTH, No. 1. Hence originated the griffin,—an eagle's head (Mount Eagle) on a lion's body (Mount Lion) with a multitude of other compound emblems, all referring to the region where mankind originally settled, or to events principally connected with that region.

Nor let it be thought strange, that names of animals should be given to mountains, since we know they are so given at this day, no less than to rivers and plains: indeed, whoever reads the histories of late discoveries will readily admit that names are often assigned to places, from occurrences of much less consequence.

The Hindoo emblem of the Cow of Plenty, is not alien from this idea, since the same authority informs us, that the earth took the form of a cow, in order to represent to the deities, her sufferings under recent ill usage: if the earth, (*i. e.* the ground) might assume this symbol, so, certainly, might a district, [and it must also be *this* district] that was subjected, as the earth complained, to perpetual irritations and

lacerations by the spade and the plough, to ensure fertility. Comp. Plate, TAURUS, No. 14. The cow suckling her calf; the ear of corn, and the plough. The sex is nothing in mythological emblems.

There is yet another thought entitled to consideration: that the great Patriarch himself was symbolized under the figure of a bull: but, I incline to think, that this application of the emblem was subsequent; and not adopted till after the more accurate discrimination of persons and places had given way to a confusion of ideas, originating (and terminating) in error.

These emblems were in later ages so confusedly associated, that we often look in vain for correct meaning or commemoration among them; sometimes the person was mistaken for the dwelling; sometimes the dwelling for the person; and sometimes by means of additions, considered as improvements, the original ideas were overwhelmed: which has always been the case with religious memorials when varied from their primitive simplicity.

The Indian Apis as well as the Egyptian, was certainly an emblem of the first tillage of the ground; rather by the labouring beeve than his master, as I suppose. As this has been somewhat misunderstood by more than one learned writer among us, it may be proper to refer the reader to the authorities furnished by our Plates. For the *Minotaur*, the bull's head on a man's body, see the Medals of ATHENS, Nos. 13, 14. CRETE, No. 8. INDIA, Nos. 8, 9. For the *Tauromen*, a man's head on a bull's body, see INDIA, No. 10. PERSIA, No. 9. TAURUS, Nos. 15, 16, 17. It is extremely unlikely that both parts of this compound emblem should represent the same individual person; for, then, why not rest satisfied with one of these emblems? In Nos. 12, 13. on the plate, TAURUS, we certainly see the governing power, a Janus looking both ways, presiding over---not himself, surely,---but, his district, typified by the single-horned Minotaur. For the bull in company with (or, contending against) a lion, see INDIA, the center-piece; MACEDONIA, Nos. 13, 14. PERSIA, No. 10. CYPRUS, Nos. 1, 2, 4. TAURUS, No. 13. Now, if the Patriarch were figured both by the bull and the lion, (as some have supposed) it would follow, that the lion devouring the bull, is the patriarch devouring himself; which is absurd: whereas, if we suppose these types to represent countries, they denote, naturally enough, wars or contests, in which the lion country overcame the bull country. For the bull with a single horn (*i. e.* a mountain; or, rather the chief city, called *Carina*; which may be derived, from, or at least, allied to, the Hebrew *Keren*, קֶרֶן, a HORN.) See CRETE, No. 9. CYPRUS, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. For the bull on board a ship, his legs tied, see CRETE, No. 19. He is often represented *butting* with his horns; but, this appears to be a later Dionysiac emblem.

As clear an instance as I know of this language of reference, is afforded by a medal of *Perinthus*, in the cabinet of the late Dr. HUNTER: see Plate TAURUS, Nos. 1, 2, 3. The coin is in good preservation, and I have examined it very carefully: it represents a *bull* (Mount Taurus) *supporting between his horns the egg* (of mankind; *i. e.* the Ark) *in which is the serpent*, the *agatho-demon*, or good genius (Noah.) These three allusions are distinctly marked in this type: and we cannot mistake one for the other, as is frequently the case. The obverse of this medal contains the heads of Serapis and Isis; which also lead us to the great patriarch. Here the bull cannot signify *Noah*, for he is denoted by the serpent; and the bull supporting the serpent, would be Noah supporting himself, which is preposterous: neither can we here, as Mr. BRYANT has done, take the bull to signify the *ark*; for that is certainly denoted by the *egg* which includes the serpent:---but, to render it intelli-

gible, we must read it, as implying, that on the head of (Taurus) Bull Mount, the ark rested, with its inclosed progeny. Comp. Plates, EGYPT, No. 17. INDIA, No. 7.

If we reflect, that great part of mankind travelled westward, we shall find, that with respect to them Mount *Taurus* assumed, and preserved, an *eastern* bearing, of course; and the east being that quarter of the heavens in which the sun rose, every rising sun would remind such *western* migrators, that in *that* direction resided their great ancestor.—Hence, among other causes, their worship of the *rising* luminary; wherein they paid homage to their distant parent; and hence, they continued to worship the *rising* sun, as it reminded them of their origin, and of him whom they peculiarly venerated. For this reason we often find on medals a bull with a star (or sun) between his horns, *i. e.* the sun on the *head* of Mount *Taurus*. Comp. Plate SMYRNA, No. 20. The same principle, explains the standard of the Great Mogul, which is, the sun rising behind a lion;—implying, that in the original country where the royal race was native, the sun rose behind “Mount Lion.” Much the same may be thought respecting the moon, which also rising in the east, reminded western nations of their eastern connections. The idolatry of the nations east of Mount Caucasus adopted these ideas but little, if at all, because the course *they* had taken was contrary to these principles; which are strictly geographical. That the worship of Boodha, with other Hindoo notions, has been carried east-ward in subsequent ages, is no impeachment of this argument.

As to the extent of Mount *Taurus*, we find the name applied to the whole range of mountains from India to Western Asia: no doubt, this was originally otherwise, but, as mankind travelled along, or around, this ridge, they continued the name wherever the ridge continued. The same may be said of Mount Caucasus: hence we have Caucasus in Armenia; a part, to be sure, but a very distant part of the original: and beyond all doubt, many names were prolonged in those early ages, much beyond what modern geographers could wish. Hence many things are said to have been done in such or such a place, which were not done in the *original*, but in the *secondary*, place of that name: or *vice versa*, events have been attributed to the first, which truly belonged to the second: to the great embarrassment of those who have directed their labours in search of truth.

It is natural, and customary, for mankind when forming colonies, distant from the parent state, to retain the appellations of their previous dwellings, and to annex the old names to their new towns: we see this in our own colonies in America; where we have New-London, in memory of old London; New-York, in memory of old York; and so of other places in Britain, as Boston, Halifax, &c. &c. The same principle prevailed anciently; whence Carthagera, or New Carthage, &c. This has misled many men of learning, who stopped at the colony, instead of going to the *original* station:—so Cush, for instance, sent out many tribes, which retained his name; but perhaps the *original* Cush has not yet been acknowledged: many towns were called *Thebes*, from *Thebet*, the ark, but the *first* of this name, perhaps, remains unknown. The *Thebes* of Egypt, is probably a repetition of the name, though now most familiar to us; and so of many others.

No. DXX. DISTINCTIONS IN MOUNT CAUCASUS.

WE have seen unquestionable evidence that the persons saved in the deluge, with the means of their safety, were recorded in the memory, and in the *sacra* also, of their descendants. This has been supposed by the learned, heretofore; but, the idea

that among the emblems adopted by the ancients, some were geographical, has escaped them. Nevertheless, there is really, nothing more incongruous in typifying Mount *Taurus* (Bull) by the figure of a bull, or Mount Lion by the figure of a Lion, than in adopting other emblems, for other purposes. As this is of some consequence as a branch of ancient Idolatry, and is connected also, with places which have been scenes of Scripture events, on which we cannot bring too much evidence to bear in the way of illustration, we shall attempt to trace the notion somewhat farther: it will be found, eventually, to contribute to our general purpose.

We have seen that Major Rennell has, with other able geographers, noticed three distinct elevations in Asia, the highest of which is the mountainous ridge, or region, of the Hindoo Kou, better known to us under the appellation of Mount Caucasus.

In farther consideration of this Mountain, its districts and adjacencies, we should always bear in mind, that the character and description of places by original authors, is much preferable to the application of those descriptions by later writers: for instance, the following testimony is not true, if it be referred to *Armenia*, west of the Caspian, but it is perfectly descriptive of Caucasian *Aramenia*; and we shall find the three mountains [*i. e.* ridges, or chains of mountains] remarked by this author, have not escaped the notice of others: but on the contrary, have been adopted, as a discriminating character.

“*Armenia Alta* is one of the highest regions in the world,” says Moses Chorenensis, “for it *sends out rivers* in contrary directions towards the *four cardinal points* in the heavens. It has *three mountains*, and abounds with wild animals, and [many] species of fowl for food: also, with hot baths, and mines of salt, and other things of utility; and the chief city is called *Carina*.” [The *keel* of a vessel, as some suppose, deriving its name from the Latin: but, much rather allied to the Hebrew *keren*, a HORN; as already remarked.]

The reader will recollect that in coincidence with this testimony, Moses, in Genesis, specifies *three* provinces, adjacent to Paradise: I say, though the number of his rivers be *four*, the number of his provinces is but *three*; Ethiopia, Havilah, and Assyria: and we can scarcely doubt, that this number (three) was received in like manner among the ancients.

In proof of this might be quoted the well known emblem of Caucasus,—a *lion*, a *goat*, and a *serpent*, three:—or, the *bull*, the *eagle*, and the *man*, three: or, the *lion*, the *eagle*, and the *human head*, three: hence, also, the griffin: and the sphinx. But, I think, a yet more simple proof of this *triplicity*, exists in the figure called *triquetra*, which is formed by a disk, or round, in the center, from which issue three bended legs, in their bendings following each other; now, these are sometimes separated by ears of corn, implying so many provinces, fertile in grain; (coincident with the ears of corn in the hand of the tutelary goddess, from whose foot issues the river, as seen in our Plates;) if these legs be thought to hint at long journeys, migrations, devious ways, and these ears of corn to signify provinces, around a disk, or mountain in the center; then it must be owned, that their emblematic meaning is not undeserving attention. The conjecture may be farther supported, if this disk or center be a *head*, from which the legs are departing; and to mark from what point of the globe such departure commences, we find an eagle forming part of the emblem; call this “Mount Eagle,” the intention of the type is manifest. In like manner, other medals exhibit the *triquetra* on one side; the bull, or the lion, winged or not winged, on the other side: take these for “Mount Bull,” and “Mount Lion,” originally, the allusion may be said to explain itself.

No. DXXI. OF MOUNT CAUCASUS, AS A SEAT OF FIRE.

MOUNT Caucasus has always had the reputation of furnishing one or more orifices, whence issued fire; it did so anciently, it does so, at this day: but fire may be either destructive, or innocent; either volcanic, phosphoric, or aërial, of the nature of those lambent flames which are fed by certain inflammatory vapours, and commit no devastation. We have in our own country burning wells (as that of Broseley) and other spontaneous flames, which are truly earth-born, and never spread beyond their original limits. On the shore of the Caspian Sea is a famous station of spontaneous fire, named *Baku*; which is an object of worship [and is visited by devotees, even from India] and in general, *Naptha* springs are susceptible of this placid ignition. That this was the kind of flame attributed to Caucasus, seems likely, inasmuch, as we have no marks on medals of its having been at any time volcanic; no thick and heavy clouds, no falling stones, or, &c. It furnished thunder and lightening, as appears from the symbols and arms of Jupiter, but countries not seats of eruptive fires are subject to those meteors. However that might be, we certainly find Caucasus expressed on medals with flames rising from it; and not only from among its prominences, but also from its summit; perfectly coincident with an Indian representation of Vishnou, in which his head appears surrounded by flames, while two of his hands hold each a trident, the sign of a triplicate partition; but he has no emblems of vengeance about him, to characterise this fire as destructive, but rather as a mild, or harmless flame, diffusing illumination and radiance.

Such, I presume, was the flame placed at the entrance of the garden of Eden; not vindictive but gentle: and whether it be too much to suppose the worship of the gentle vapour-fires which is still practised, originated from that emblem, or from a commemorative symbol of that emblem, is submitted to superior judgment.

Very often however, we find this mountain without flames, merely an assemblage of huge rocks; nor should we be able to identify the application of such types to this mountain, since all mountains have a general resemblance, had not the commemorator kindly inserted an inscription, *Zeus Kasios*, meaning, no doubt, "to the divinity of Mount *Casus*:" and we occasionally find this written *Kassios*, which determines the pronunciation to this notion of it. The memorial of Mount *Cassus*, or rather *Cas*, is sometimes a rude mass of stones, exposed to the open air; sometimes a mass inclosed in a temple, but that temple open, having no side walls: and to determine the reference beyond ambiguity, on the apex of this temple is placed an eagle, emblematic of the district so often alluded to under the name of that bird.

If Mount *Casus* were the first residence of mankind after the flood, the first habitation of Noah and his family must have been some cleft or grotto in it, till more commodious dwellings could be erected; accordingly, we find in some medals of *Caucasus*, such a kind of cavern particularized; and hence temples cut into mountains, as in India, at Elephanta, Ellora, &c. which in after times were formed with great labour, and prodigious application; in resemblance, and consequently in commemoration, of that original recess of the human race, where first the sacred fire glowed, and the altar of devotion first diffused its bright beams around.

The Hebrew word, *Casa*, signifies a throne, or royal *settle*, and most commonly, *Zeus Kassios* is *seated* on a throne; marking no doubt, the original *Zeus*, who first

had any right to that distinction, and office, over the second race of mankind ; and if the Hebrew *Casa* had the same reference as *Cas*, in *Cau-casus*, and *Kassios*, then the meaning is “ the royal mountain”—the mountain dignified by royal residence. Now, where the royal residence *settled*, there, no doubt, were religious rites performed, which consisted much in sacrifices ; hence the combined dignity of religion and government distinguished, most especially, this mountain, their first *seat* and *settlement*. We know that the throne, the habits, &c. of royalty, were esteemed sacred, and still are in the east : and that kings combined the priesthood, as part of their official supremacy.

The natural form of an assemblage of stones, thrown together to imitate a mountain is, that of rising in the middle, and spreading at the base ; stones so combined give the idea of steps, and suggest the form of a pyramid : with which is connected a variety of religious ideas, of the most remote period.

That not the mountain only, but the resident on it is commemorated on western medals, as on eastern delineations, appears from representations of *Zeus Kassios* in the form of an old man, holding the staff of dignity, and when not seated on a throne, sitting on a mountain or rock ; occasionally, he holds a patera (not unlike the Indian Brouna, in the Plate ORIGIN OF THE GANGES), at other times he is accompanied by an eagle, and that eagle not infrequently grasping a serpent. Sometimes, the reverse of such medals is an old man (the divinity) standing under an entrance or arch-way, adorned with pillars.—In others, the reverse is a goddess, holding a flower with the motto *Agreus*, “ the Hunter,” which no less refers this symbol to forests and mountains than to laboured and cultivated plains. These particulars the reader will find illustrated chiefly on the Plates of CAUCASUS I. II. and TAURUS : with their explanations. It is sufficient here to remark, that these emblems prove that the western countries were peopled from the eastern parts of Caucasus ; of which they preserved memorials by types and figures, hitherto contemned as mere caprices, but when properly understood, of manifest utility in the study of ancient geography, by which only, they can be satisfactorily explained. As we conceive, Scripture affirms the same migrations of mankind from Caucasus ; but, as these *memoranda* were afterwards perverted to *idolatrous* commemoration, Scripture avoids reference to them. The purpose of Revelation being to counteract idolatry, the less that was said about it the better ; and could it have been totally omitted, better still : this the superstition of the nations prevented, since idolatry was but too successful in “ drawing aside through the lusts of the flesh those who were clean escaped from such as lived in error.”

No. DXXII. OF THE NATIONS SETTLED ON AND AROUND MOUNT CAUCASUS.

THE customary accounts of the origin and settlements of nations, seem to be deficient in at least two particulars. 1. It is entirely unaccountable, and incredible, that all mankind should have journeyed *west*, from any supposable point where they originally settled ; and that none should have journeyed *east*.—Were not the eastern parts equally inviting, and are they not at this day, equally populous as the west ? The reason why we attribute so much to the west is, because being seated in this portion of the globe, we derive our notions from writers whose works have most easily reached us, writers nearest to our own situation ; but, had we been equally conversant with eastern writers, or had we sufficiently esteemed their authority in this inquiry, we should have seen the propriety of settling some early tribes in the extreme east of

Asia; and should have inquired, whether certain names of fathers of nations recorded in Scripture, are not still preserved in parts, whereof we have some, though it may be imperfect information. A second particular depends on the situation assigned to Paradise, and its identity with the first settlement of Noah after the flood. The Indian accounts, which remove Paradise much farther East than is usually allowed, in the same proportion facilitate the population of the East of Asia. Nor is this all, for as we must suppose migratory Colonies to have been influenced by natural causes anciently, as they are at this day, so we cannot but observe, that the rivers must have been then as they are now, the guides of emigrants, and of tribes in a state of progress. The reader by casting his eye on the Map of Asia, will perceive, that most of the considerable streams issue from Caucasus; and that, from this mountain, largely taken, the course of these streams may be considered as marking the course of mankind to remote parts of this continent. In fact, they diverge on all sides: South to India, East to China, North to Siberia, West towards the Caspian, and this, I think, is decisive evidence, that mankind could not have been originally stationed *west* of the Caspian, whence none of those mighty streams, which water, while they divide the provinces of Asia, either issue, or are easily attainable.

But, as it is not sufficient to point out difficulties or errors, without endeavouring to diminish or correct them, we shall attempt to shew the true state of this inquiry; and in so doing, shall take advantage of many ideas and authorities adduced by the very learned Mr. BRYANT; at the same time differing from him in the application of some of those authorities, by considering as *colonies* certain people and cities, which he considers as *primitive stations*; and by considering as *primitive stations*, certain which he considers as *colonies*.

That the names of the Provinces where Paradise was situated, were imposed on them *since* the deluge, is a very rational presumption: there are three, 1. HAVILAH, 2. ETHIOPIA, or CUSH, 3. ASSYRIA. We shall consider in the first place ETHIOPIA or CUSH.

No. DXXIII. OF THE ORIGINAL CUSH, OR ETHIOPIA.

IT is necessary to recollect, that there are several countries in Scripture named *Ethiopia*; [see the article CUSH, in the *Dictionary*.] and properly so named, their inhabitants being derived from the same family: our present business is to determine where that family was *first* situated, and in this we may be assisted by inquiring to what country these colonies referred their origin.

Ethiopia, south of Egypt, was well known as *western* Ethiopia, and this implies another, an *eastern* Ethiopia; so Strabo, *lib. i. p. 60.* calls the *Ethiopians* a TWO-FOLD people; they lie extended, in a long tract, from the *rising of the sun*, to the setting of the same." Homer coincides with this;—

The God, remote, a heavenly guest,
In Ethiopia grac'd the general feast,
(A race divided, whom with sloping rays
The rising and descending sun surveys);

Odyss. A. 22.

and Apuleius, *lib. xi. p. 364.* mentions "*Ethiopians* and Arrians, born of the God, the Sun, whose rays *first illuminate their country*:" this Eusebius describes, as "*Ethiopia which looks towards India to the South-east.*" *Chron. p. 12.*

Arrian, in his *Periplus*, 2. describing the course of the Indus, says, "After the country of Ora [*i. e.* AURA] the continent now by reason of the great depth of its gulphs and inlets, forming vast promontories on the river Sindus [Indus] which is the largest river of any, that runs into the Erythrean [Red] Sea:" or Indian Ocean.

These testimonies prove, that *Ethiopia* was very far East: now, it is impossible to suppose that the *African* Ethiopia sent colonies to such a distance eastward; but, we learn, from all evidence, that these western Ethiopians were the emigrants; and that they migrated from near the river *Indus*, *i. e.* from a situation north-west of it.—"About this time," says Eusebius, "a colony of *Ethiopians*, taking leave of their country, upon the river *Indus*, came and settled in Egypt." *Chron.* p. 26. Syncellus, p. 152. When we read that "*Ethiopia* looks toward *India*, to the South-east," it implies a situation North-west of that country; and the antiquity of these people is witnessed by Stephanus the Geographer, who says, "The *Ethiopians* were the *first nation constituted in the world*; the first which enacted laws, and taught men to reverence the Gods." All this is true of the *Chaldaic Ethiopians*, observes Mr. BRYANT.

Moreover, as the Hebrew name for Ethiopia is *Cush*, we should bear in mind the testimony of Zonaras, who says expressly, p. 21. "*Chus* is the person, from whom the *Cuscans* are derived. They are the same people as the *Ethiopians*."—The same says Eusebius: "*Chus*, from whom the *Ethiopians* descended."—"Chus, was the father of all those nations stiled *Ethiopians*," says Josephus, *Ant. lib. 1. cap. 6*.

Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* is thus addressed by the divinity of the Moon, "Those who are enlightened by the *emerging rays of the rising sun*, the *Ethiopians*, and the Arrians——and the powerful in ancient learning, the Egyptians,——call me Isis." From the connection of these *Ethiopians* with the Arrians, whose situation we know to be west of the Indus, we find this Author also acknowledging *Oriental Ethiopians*.

By these testimonies we are fixed,—to the country of *the rising Sun*,—to the vicinity of the River Indus, and—to the neighbourhood of India, as the region of this CUSH, *i. e.* the original *Ethiopia*.

No. DXXIV. ON THE ORIGINAL ASSYRIA.

WE proceed to consider the character of another country, noticed as marking the situation of Paradise, *Assyria*, and this appellation no doubt, should be resolved into two parts, *Ai* [א] signifying *Region, District, or Country of*—and *Syr*;—but this syllable being differently pronounced by the Hebrews and Chaldeans, was either *Syr*, *Shur*, or *Tyr*;—so that the compound word might be *Ai-syria*, or *Ai-shyria*, *Ai-thyria*, *Ai-theria*. [*Ai-Thuria* would signify in Chaldee, "the Region of the Mountains;"] These last compounds denote in some writers *Ethiopia*, but that was certainly *Cush*; though the same name might sometimes be attributed, especially by distant colonies, or by strangers, to part of the same country, from which in fact it was only separated by a river. We say, therefore, that *Ai Syria*, or *Ai Shyria*, or *Ai Serai*, was *radically*, that appellation, which is here rendered *Assyria*. We have already laid it down as a principle, that colonists repeated the names of their former country, and we are not to be surprised at finding another *Assyria*, independent of the primary.
"Serai,"

“*Seira*,” says Hesychius, “means a bee, or the house of a bee:” and it may refer to the first swarm of mankind, which from *Ai Seira* spread throughout the earth. It might also refer to the insect cultivated by mankind; and possibly there is some reference to this, Isaiah vii. 18. “The Lord shall hiss for the *bee* that is in the (distant) land of *Assyria*,—the *Oriental Ethiopia*; and for the fly [the *zimb*] that is in the uttermost part of the Rivers of Egypt,” i. e. the African *Ethiopia*.

Some nations had the name of *bees*, as others had of *serpents*, &c. Herodotus says *lib. v. cap. 10*. “The Thracians affirm that all the places beyond the Ister [Danube] are possessed wholly by *bees*,”—at which he wonders: but, understand a people, as we well know those countries were very populous, and the wonder ceases. Nor is this singular, *bees* are said to have fed Jupiter on Mount Ida; and other things are said of *bees*, which must refer to persons. And if, as is very possible, the first dwelling of Noah (the first temple) was a cave in a mountain, a hive, *Seira*, might become its emblem. This thought derives support from the passage, Judges iii. 26. “Ehud escaped to the *quarries* [Eng. Tr. others render, *images*] and escaped unto *Seirath*—more properly, *in the Seirath*, &c. which leads to the inference that the *Seirath* was a place of some kind, which could be entered, a temple, grotto, cavern, &c. cut in the rock; like those of India. Nor should we overlook the testimony of Josephus, *Ant. lib. i. cap. 2*. who says “the sons of Seth erected pillars—which are still in being in the land of *Seirath*.” This land then, must have been so named *after* the flood; and the writer gives us two names “*Seirath* or *Syrias*.” Manetho, in Eusebius, and Syncellus call it “the land of *Syriad*, or *Syriadice*.”

In fact, the ancients often confounded *Syria* and *Assyria*, but, as Syria (of Palestine) was near them, it is probable their error arose from confused ideas of another *Syrias*, *Seriath*, much beyond Assyria on the Tigris. Pliny’s observation, that “Letters were always extant in *Assyria*, as I think, but others say *apud Syros*, among the *Syrians*,” has the air of a mere error of appellation, both parties meaning the same country, *ultimately*. Mr. BRYANT refers to various authorities in proof that the same people were called *Syri*, *Assyrii*, *Chaldaei*, &c. *Ant. Mythol. vol. iii. p. 466*. Diodorus, in *Euseb. P. E. lib. ii.* quoting the Sacred History of Euhemerus, says, “Jupiter came into *Syria*, to *Cæsius*, who was then king there: the same as gave name to Mount *Cæsius*.” Mount *Cæsius* is *Caukasios*, *Vide Diod. lib. v. cap. 29*. Herodotus, describing the army of Xerxes, *Polh. cap. 63*. mentions the Persians, Medes, *Assyrians*, Bactrians, Indians:—this arrangement, by placing these Assyrians between Persia and India, places them far east of the Tigris. He says the Persians were once called *Cephene*s (from *Cophene*, a branch of the Indus?) The *Assyrian forces*, says he, had brazen helmets of a barbarous form. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Egyptians; they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirasses. These people which the Greeks call *Syrians*, the Barbarians call *Assyrians*: mixt with these were the *Chaldeans*.” He mentions also *Arabians*, *cap. 69*. which cannot possibly refer to Arabia on the Red Sea. Those *Ethiopians*, says he, who came from the more *eastern* parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the *Indians*. The *Oriental Ethiopians* have straight hair. Their armour resembled that of the *Indians*.” *cap. 70*.

A passage in Virgil’s famous fourth Eclogue is usually thought to refer to the country which witnessed the fall of man; and is therefore to our subject. Speaking of the expected progeny who should unite the lion and the lamb, he says,

Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet; ASSYRIUM vulgo nassetur amomum.

“ He shall slay the serpent: he shall also slay the delusive empoisoned vegetable (fruit); and cause the *Assyrian* delightful vegetable (fruit) to become common.” A poetical allusion, surely, to the tempter-serpent, the tree of knowledge, and the tree of life: placed by the poet in that *Assyria*, into whose situation we are now inquiring.

Josephus says, *Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 12.* that “ the *Syrians* of Damascus, were sent by Tiglath Pileser to UPPER MEDIA; and he substituted a colony of *Assyrians*, in their room.” If these people changed places with each other, as is certain, it demonstrates an eastern *Assyria* much beyond the Tigris. The book of Tobit acknowledges this Upper Media as the place of the Israelites’ deportation; and Josephus says, “ the Israelites when carried away were replaced, by people out of *Cuthah*; or the land of *Cush*,” the primary *Ethiopia*; they were, then, in a general sense, *Assyrians*. *Ant. ix. cap. 14.*

With this coincides another medium of proof: for the *Assyrians* were always reckoned the first of men, in respect of antiquity:—this could not be true of the *Assyrians* on the Tigris; no doubt exists on the migration of their forefathers from the East: consequently, their original must have been more ancient than they were.

Pausanius says, *Attic. cap. xiv.* “ in Athens is the temple of the Celestial Venus, who was first worshipped by the *Assyrians*.”—Natalis Comes (quoted in BRYANT) says, “ *Let us sing the SEIREN, the many-named, of the Sea-born Venus, and the great fountain of kings,*” &c. The *Seiren* of the poet seems to be the same as the *Assyria* of the traveller: and apparently means the same as *Seirath*, already explained. The prophet Ezekiel also, calls Venus *daughter of the Assyrians* [*Vide* No. CCXVII.] and we may discern an allusion to the original *Assyria* in the same prophet, chap. xxxi. “ The Assyrian—all the trees in Eden, in the Garden of God, envied him:”—but, why “ *in Eden, in the Garden of God,*” unless they were, poetically within sight of each other? To the same *Assyria*, as the original seat of idolatry, may be the allusion chap. xxiii. 7. “ the chosen men of *Assyria*.” *i. e.* idolaters: and no doubt the *Suria Dea* of antiquity was originally the Venus, the Deity of *Seira*, or *Seirath*. After these testimonies is it possible to doubt the existence of an *Assyria* very far east? But, if any should suppose that *Ai shur*, or *Ai tur*, whence *Assyria*, more strictly taken, may mean the “ land of *Taurus*,” or the *Bull*, the supposition is far from improbable: with this limitation, that we generally find *Taurus* described as a mountain rather than as a country; whereas, the word *ai* seems to import a *region*.

It will follow, from our principles, that adopting for the purpose of symbolical commemoration, any species of domestic animals rather than another, according to the inclination of the community desiring to call to recollection their original country, involved no inconsistency, or contradiction. And as this depended in part on pronunciation of names and words, it should appear not unlikely, that different nations, according to their different dialects, as well as to their different fancies, fixed on these emblems. Hence we discern a principal cause of variations in national idolatry; and may farther remark, that the Chaldee pronunciation *tur*, seems to have prevailed among most nations we are acquainted with; therefore *Taurus*, the *bull*, continued the name of the patriarchal mountain among them. Under this figure, we find it frequently; and it will afford us farther illustration: moreover, these different symbols admit a complete conciliation, if the mountain were known under one title, while the province or region around it was known under another.

No. DXXV. OF HAVILAH.

IF what has been said be sufficient to shew the situation of two of the countries adjacent to Paradise, the third, *Havilah*, *Chabilah*, or *Chabuleh*, may be trusted to what Mr. WILFORD has advanced; [but not without remarking, the resemblance to this name in that district in our map marked *Chaulanei*; which might easily be *Chavilanei*, or, the inhabitants of Chavilah, which perfectly agrees with the Hebrew text.] this will leave us at liberty to proceed in investigating the situation of some of the Regions occupied by the early, but secondary, races of men.

No. DXXVI. OF KEDEM, OR "THE EAST."

WE read that mankind departed from *Kedem*; in our translation "the East." There are several districts in Scripture so called; some were in a manner close to Syria, but, for this *Kedem* we must direct our researches to a country far east of Babylonia: since the inhabitants of Babylonia came thither after a long journey "from the East." Observe therefore,

1. That *Kedem* was a *mountainous* country; we read, Gen. x. 30. "as thou goest unto Sephareh, a *mountain* of *Kedem*:"—to the same purpose *Balaam* says, Numb. xxiii. 7. "*Balak* hath brought me from the *mountains* of *Kedem*." 2. We must find a mountain named *Sephareh*, in a suitable district, to mark it decisively. Dr. WELLS has laid down Mount *Sephar* in his map, west of the river Indus, but east of the Caspian Sea; and this situation is decided by that of a town named *Sephar*, marked in the maps: I suppose, the place from whence came the *Sepharvaites*, or people of the *two Sephars*, associated with *Cuthah* (Ethiopia), 2 Kings xvii. 24. It appears to me, also, that Herodotus mentions these *Sepharvaim*, *Mel. cap.* 40. where he says, "To the east, beyond Persia, Media, the *Saperians* (or *Sepherians*) and Colchians, the country is bounded by"——This situation agrees with that we have assigned to *Sippara*, or *Sepher*, which is to the east, beyond Persia. The word *Sephar*, signifies a book; q. "Book-town," and it is every way likely, that this place is named among the ancient writers of antiquities *Biblos*, *Pantibiblos*; "Book-town"——"Many-book-town." It was, probably, a seat of learning, or colleges, a University. It gave early Kings to Chaldea: Berosus mentions Amillarus from the city of *Pantibiblus*, also Amenon, Megalanus, Daus; to whom Apollodorus adds, Aedorachus; hence it is inferred, that this must have been an important town, a town of religious and regular study. Beside this, Berosus says, Sisuthrus, previous to the flood, was ordered to bury some writings, in the city of the Sun, at *Sippara*, (the *Sepher*, *Sephareh*, of the Mount *Sephar* of Moses)—afterwards, his descendants were ordered to dig up these writings from *Sippara*, and to communicate their contents, which they did. Might the place, from this circumstance, obtain the name of the "city of books?" This city was near where the Ark rested; which Berosus says was on one of the Corcyrean [*Caucasean*] mountains, in Armenia [*Aramenia*.]

The verbal import of KEDEM is, ancient, primary, the origin, in which sense I apprehend it is applied geographically; and in that acceptation implies *the primary province*; that where mankind was first settled; accordingly, we shall find, in proceeding, that this application of it is adopted with extremely expressive propriety.

No. DXXVII. ON THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE SONS OF SHEM.

THE sons of Shem, as we learn from Gen. x. 21. were,

1. Elam. 2. Ashur. 3. Arphaxad. 4. Lud. 5. Aram.

ELAM we conceive to be *Persia*, and as this is the usual opinion, we shall not enlarge on it.

As to ASHUR—possibly the original country of *Ai Shur*, was inhabited by him whence the name afterwards became confounded with his: but, more probably, he settled in *Assyria*, on the Tigris, where certainly we find his descendants: in this case, the original *Ai Shur*, might rather give him name, than receive name from him.

On ARPHAXAD, I shall attempt nothing new. Appearances seem to indicate, that he remained with his father; or at least that he removed not far from him.

Of ARAM. In CALMET, *Article* SYRIA, we have ten or eleven countries named *Aram*, or *Syria*; we are warranted nevertheless, in adding another. Strabo says, “Those whom we Grecians call Syrians, are by the Syrians themselves called *Armenians*, and *Arameans*.” On the other hand, says Mr. BRYANT, the people whom Diodorus, by mistake, styles *Armenians*, were the same that were in aftertimes called *Arabians*.” He adds this note, “*Arabia* has more than once been put for *Aramia*, or rather for *Armenia*. A mistake of this sort is to be found in Theophilus. Every body knows, that the Ark of Noah is said to have rested on Mount *Ararat* in *Armenia*. But this writer makes it rest on the mountains of *Arabia*, instead of *Armenia*.” But, with all deference to so great an authority, I am of opinion, that the countries of the *Arabes* and of the *Aramites*, were not far from each other: and that both were in the vicinity of Mount *Caucasus*, and the river *Indus*. Eusebius, describing the people east of Babylonia, specifies—the Elymeans [Persians], *Arabes*, Arkaians, Kedrosians (Gedrosians), Scythæ.

As we should not expect to find *Arabes* so far east, neither should we look for *Armenians*; but oriental authority leads us to an *Armen* as the father of *Armenia*, and certainly the word is more regularly formed from this primary than from *Aram*: so that wherever *Aram* might settle, we cannot with propriety place him in *Armenia*. I incline therefore to station him farther East: but refer to what may be said on the subject of *Aram Naharaim*, in the History of Abraham.

The settlement of Uz, literally *Outj*, may possibly be marked by traces of his name in the *Outzi*, a tribe placed west of the Gihoon, by writers: and indeed the Gihoon itself is called *Oxus*, by the Greek pronunciation, and the *Oxii* Mountains adjoin it, east. North of the Gihoon are the tribes of *Uzbecks*, or *Uzbegs*. This may be one division of the family, or possibly, the first settlement. A Colony may also have passed down the *Indus*, where we have the district of *Outch*, on the east, and the *Billouches*, on the west of that river.

Now, if we could establish *Uz*, or *Outj*, near the Gihoon, as I think likely, then we may consider whether this eldest son of *Aram* did not settle in the lot of his father; and consequently this would guide us to his father's settlement.

Hul, or *Chul*, seems to have some remains of his name in *Chol-as* and *Chol-besina*, situated as may be seen on our Map, which is not inconsistent with the situation assigned to *Uz*.

Dr. WELLS in a manner abandons the hope of marking the situation of *Geter*: but if we assign him the region of *Gedrosia*, on the Erythrean Sea, between the Indus and Persia, then we shall find the sons of Shem settled almost in a circle around Mount Caucasus, or the head of the Indus: which leads to a very natural conclusion, that this family did not migrate so much, or so far, as those of Japhet and Ham.

ELAM, it is admitted, settled on the Persian Gulph.

ASHUR, is always placed on the Tigris.

ARPHAXAD.

LUD, inhabited and gave name to LYDIA.

ARAM, peopled the east, west, and south of the Caspian.

The Sons of Aram settled:—

Uz, east and west of the Gihoon, north of Caucasus.

Hul, or *Chul*.

Gether, west of the Indus: south of Caucasus.

Mash, south-east of the Caspian, north-west of Caucasus.

Joktan, from *Mash*, north-west of Caucasus, to *Sephareh*, west.

Mash, or *Meshech*, I conceive, seated himself about the district and mountain marked *Maxere*, where the city *Mesheh* stands: east of the Caspian, south and west of the *Outzi*.

It is open to remark, how properly this distance marks a district of country, wherein any tribe or family is described as dwelling; “the dwelling of the sons of *Joktan* were—from *Mesha*, as thou goest to *Sepharch*, a mountain of *Kedem*.” the expression *as thou goest*, implies the journey of a day, or a few days, at most; whereas, as this has heretofore been placed, a journey of many weeks, if not months, intervenes from Mount *Masius*, in Armenia, to *Sephar*, in *Kedem*: a strange mode of particularizing a district!

The reader will judge, whether this disposition of the families of SHEM, may not plead great probability, in its behalf: especially, when we consider the uninterrupted tradition, that SHEM built and resided in *Bumyan*; which is in a manner, the center of the circle occupied by his family.

There still remains the direct East of Asia to be peopled; and in some degree the North-East, and South-East: but we should remember, that Noah himself was, after the Deluge, the father of a numerous family, and these we must allow room for somewhere on this Continent.

Moreover, we ought not so strictly to station one family, as to suppose that none of the other families mingled with it, either at first, or in process of time: Beyond all doubt, individuals accompanied, or visited colonies, on various occasions, and sometimes, also, settled with them; thereby mixing the races, the posterities, of mankind together, and losing all remembrance of their distinctions, and diversities.

No. DXXVIII. ON THE SETTLEMENT OF CERTAIN NATIONS; FROM ORIENTAL AUTHORITY.

SCRIPTURE does not always give exactly the same account as other writings give of the sons of the patriarchs, in other words, the heads and fathers of nations; yet their coincidence is wonderfully striking.—The following Extract from the *History of the World*, translated from the *Khelassut ul Akhbar*, of Khondemeer, in the Calcutta *Asiatic Miscel.* 4to. p. 148. affords an instance not to be overlooked.

N. B. The sons of NOAH, in this work are placed in the order, " 1. JAPHET, 2. SHEM, 3. HAM : from whom the whole human race are descended."

" SHEM

" Was appointed NOAH's successor by his will ; and he is reckoned among the number of those prophets to whom the written law was revealed."

" According to tradition, God bestowed on him nine sons ; namely *Arphaxad*, who is the father of the prophets ;---*Kiumers*, the father of Kings ;---*Aswed*, who, according to the *Tarikh Benagutty*, built the cities of Nineveh, Rabah, Aklah, and Medain ;---*Turekh*, of whom historians have recorded nothing but his name ;---*Lawed*, among whose descendants are the Pharaohs of Egypt ;---*Elam*, who is said to have founded Khuristan ;---*Irem*, among whose descendants were Shidad and the tribe of Aad ;--- *Cured*, who according to the *Tarikh Gozideh* had four sons, *Azerbaijan*, *Arran*, *Armen*, and *Mughan*."

Here we find nine sons instead of the five, Gen. x. 22. but, the five of Scripture are easily identified, and it may be, that Shem had the additional sons, either after the record of Scripture had quitted the original establishment of the Patriarch, or after the Patriarch himself had quitted that station.

It should be remarked farther on this extract, that the name *Aswed*, clearly points out the *Ashur* of Gen. x. 11. " Out of that land went *Ashur* (אשור or אשוד *Ashued*) and builded Nineveh, Rehoboth (*Rabah*), Calah (*Aklah*), Resen, [and Medain]. This sets at rest the question how *Ashur* should be introduced among the sons of Cush, a son of Ham, when he was in truth a son of Shem, whose family Moses had not mentioned. It justifies also the construction of the passage, in our English translation : and now it is pointed out, the resemblance of the letters, as the reader will perceive, might easily mislead a transcriber, though for want of knowing any variation of the name, its obscurity has, hitherto baffled the most learned commentators.

The reader will observe too, that *Armen* is enumerated as a grandson of Shem, and, no doubt, from him *Armenia* took its name.

As the chief difficulties which have hitherto been proposed from the Bible, refer to the children of Shem, we shall notice in a succinct manner only, the settlements of other nations. But we must observe, previously, that Scripture gives to Ham, *four* sons, whereas in the lately quoted *History of the World* in the *Khelassul ul Akhbar*, we read thus :

" HAM.

" In the *Rozit ul Suffah* it is written, that God bestowed on HAM nine sons : *Hind*, *Sind*, *Zenj*, *Nuba*, *Kanaan*, *Kush*, *Kopt*, *Berber*, and *Hebesh* ; and their children having increased to an immense multitude, God caused each tribe to speak a different language ; wherefore they separated, and each of them applied to the cultivation of their own lands." *Ibid*.

Most of these nations may be placed with tolerable certainty.

Hind must be the origin of—(the *Hindoos*?)

Sind, the origin of the nations bordering on the Indus.

Zenj, may we place in Zanguebar? in Africa, E.

Nuba, father of the Nubians, more central in Africa.

Kanaan, and *Kush*, the same as are well known from Scripture.

Kopt, the Egyptians: hence, it appears, that this people did not receive name from any town called *Coptos*; as the learned have usually said, but from a father of this name, after whom such a town might be called.

Berber, whence the *Barabari*, beyond Nubia, and remotely *Barbary*.

Ilebes, Abyssinia: its present name among the Turks, and Arabs, is *Habesh*.

We find then, that *Hind*, *Sind*, and *Kanaan*, with more or less of *Kush*, remained in Asia, notwithstanding Africa was the allotted portion of Ham. With this agrees, in part, the tradition of the Bramins, who acknowledge that they are not *originally* of India, but they came into India through the pass of Heridwar, or Hardwar. This also contributes to account for the existence of Hamite kingdoms, and powerful kingdoms too, in western Asia. But the reader will recollect, in perfect coincidence with this observation, that “God caused each tribe to speak a different language; wherefore they separated”—this restricts the interference of Deity in the confusion of tongues to the sons of Ham; which certainly accords with the true import of the Mosaic history of that event: not—all mankind on the face of the earth; but—all the tribes connected with *Shinar*, and its population.

No. DXXIX. ON THE SETTLEMENT OF CERTAIN NATIONS, FROM THE
INDIAN PURANAS.

AFTER the Arabian account of the Settlements of the early Nations, we place the Indian, which is no less corroborative of the Mosaic Geography, and *this* representation can never be suspected of being drawn, by any medium whatever, from the writings of the great Hebrew legislator. These extracts are from Captain WILFORD'S *Essay on Egypt and the Nile, Asiat. Res.* vol. iii.

“It is related in the Padma-Purana, that SATYAVRATA, whose miraculous preservation from a general deluge is told at length in the Matsya, [or *Fish*-avatar] had three sons, the eldest of whom was named JYAPETI, or “*Lord of the Earth*,” the others were CHARMA and SHARMA, which last words are, in the vulgar dialects, usually pronounced *Cham* and *Sham*, as we frequently hear Kishn for Krishna. The Royal Patriarch, for such is his character in the Puran, was particularly fond of JYAPETI, to whom he gave all the regions to the north of Himalaya, or the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend from sea to sea, and of which Caucasus is a part: to SHARMA he allotted the countries to the south of those mountains: but he cursed Charma; because, when the old monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, CHARMA laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers.” [Compare the cautionary note at the head of No. XIX.]

Afterwards, we are told that, “The children of SHARMA travelled a long time, until they arrived at the bank of the river *Nila*, or *Cali*, in Egypt; and a Brahmin informs me, that their journey began AFTER the building of the Padma-Mandira, which appears to be the TOWER OF BABEL, on the banks of the river Cumudvati; which can be no other than the Euphrates. On their arrival in Egypt, they found the country peopled by evil beings, and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitation: their leader, therefore, in order to propitiate the tutelary divinity of that region, sat on the bank of the Nile, performing acts of austere devotion, and praising Padma-*Devi*, or the *goddess* residing on the lotos (that is, the Spirit that floated on the surface of the waters; as is the nature of that aquatic

plant.) Padma at last appeared to him, and commanded him to erect a pyramid, in honour of her, on the very spot where he then stood. The associates began to work, and raised a pyramid of earth two *cross* long, one broad, and one high, in which the goddess of the lotos resided, and from her it was called Padma-Mandira, and Padma-Matha. By *Mandira* is meant a *temple* or *palace*, and by *Matha*, a *college*, or *habitation of students*; for, the goddess herself instructed SHARMA and his family in the most useful arts, and taught them the Yacsha-Lipi, (or writing of the Yacshas, a race of superior beings, among whom Cuvera was the chief.) It does not clearly appear on what occasion the *Sharmicas*, or sons of Sharma, left their first settlement which had so auspicious a beginning; but it has been intimated, that they probably retreated to Ajagara, in the reigns of Sani and Rahu; at which time, according to the Puran, the *Devatas*, [or Demi-gods] among whom the *Sharmicas* are reckoned, *were compelled to seek refuge in the mountains.*"

"The Padma-Mandir seems to be the town of *Byblos*, in Egypt, now called Babel; (or rather that of Babel, from which original name the Greeks formed *Byblos*) it stood on the canal which led from the Balbitine branch of the Nile to the Phatmetic; a canal which is pretty well delineated in the Peutingerian table; and it appears, that the most southern Iseum of that table is the same with the *Byblos* of the Greeks. [As *Mandir* imports a *palace*, and *Matha* imports a *college*, the reader will observe how accurately it conforms to what has been already hinted on the character of *Sippara*, *Biblos*, or *Panti-biblos*: i. e. "Book-town," which furnished kings to Chaldea.] Since this mound or pyramid was raised but a short time after that on the Cumudvati, or Euphrates, and since both have the same name in Sanscreeet, and it should seem, that both were inscribed to the same divinity, we can hardly fail to conclude, that the Padma-Mandiras were the two Babels; the first on the Euphrates, the second on the Nile.

"The *Sharmicas*, we have observed, rank among the *Devatas*, or demi-gods; and they seem to have a place among the Yacshas of the Puranas, whom we find in the northern mountains of India, as well as in Ethiopia. The country in which they finally settled, and which bore the name of their ancestors, was Sancha-Dweepa [*Dweepa* signifies a continent,] and seems to comprise all that sub-division of it, which, in the Bhagavat, and other books, is called Cusha Dweepa *without*.

"Several other tribes, from India or Persia, settled afterwards in the land of Sharma: the first and most powerful of them were the Pallis, or *shepherds*, who probably gave birth to the shepherd-dynasty of Egyptian kings."

"The source of the NILA is in the extensive region of SHARMA, near the mountains of Soma, (the moon) in the masculine, or *Dei Luni*; and it issues from the "Lake of the Gods," in the country of *Ohandri*, in the feminine, or *Deæ Lunæ*. The land of Sharma, or Sharma-*Sthan*, called also the mountainous region of Ajagara, is said in the Brahmanda, to be 300 yojans, or 1476.3 British miles in length, and 100 in breadth, or 492.12 miles. But we cannot exactly distinguish its boundaries: however, it included Ethiopia above Egypt, as it is generally called, with part of Abyssinia and Azan, and received its name from Sharma. His descendants, being obliged to leave Egypt, retired to the mountains of Ajagar, and settled near the "Lake of the Gods." Many learned Brahmins are of opinion, that by the children of Sharma we must understand that race of *Devatas* (good genii) who were forced to emigrate from Egypt during the reigns of Sani and Rahu, or Saturn and Typhon (evil-dæmons, oppressors and tyrants, in other words,

words, *Cuthites*;) they are said to have subsisted by hunting wild elephants, of which they sold or bartered the teeth, and lived on the flesh. They built the town of *Rupavati*, or the *beautiful*; which the Greeks called *Rapta*, and thence gave the name of *Raptii* or *Rapsii* to its inhabitants."

"We now come to the sons of HAM, the *Hasyasilas*, or *Habashis*, who are mentioned, I am told, in the Puranas, though but seldom; and their name is believed to have the following etymology: CHARMA, having *laughed* at his father SATY-AVRATA, who had by accident intoxicated himself with a fermented liquor, was nick-named *Hasyasila*, or "the Laugher;" and his descendants were called from him *Hasyasilas* in Sanscreeet, and, in the spoken dialects, *Hasyas*, *Hanselis*, and even *Habashis*; for, the Arabic word *Habesh*, is supposed by the Hindoos to be a corruption of *Hasya*. By those descendants of CHARMA they understand the African negroes, whom they suppose to have been the first inhabitants of Abyssinia; and they place Abyssinia partly in the *Dweepa* of Cusha, partly in that of Sancha proper."

Cush, says Moses, was the eldest son of HAM: we have already seen that the "Land of Cush," was encompassed by the Gihoon, one of the rivers of Paradise; and it is very remarkable, that the north of India, is denominated in the Sanscreeet geography *Cusha-Dweepa*, the *continent of Cush*. All must allow this to be an effectual corroboration of the correctness of the Hebrew historian. But, it appears, that there are *two* Cusha-Dweepas: that of India is *Cusha-Dweepa within*; that of Africa, is *Cusha-Dweepa without*. The reason of that part of Africa being so called, is assigned in the following passage, by Captain WILFORD.

"*Cusha-Dweepa without* is Abyssinia and Ethiopia; and the Bramins account plausibly enough for its name, by asserting, that the descendants of *Cusha* being obliged to *leave their native country*, from them called *Cusha-Dweepa within*, migrated into *Sancha-Dweepa*, and gave to their new settlement the name of their ancestor."

By *Sancha-Dweepa* is here meant Egypt; but this was not the only name by which Egypt was known to the Sanscreeet writers. The second son of HAM was *Misraim*; and, the following extract from the Sanscreeet, proves that the name derived from him, by which Egypt is distinguished in Scripture, is equally applied to that country in India.

"*Misra-sthan* is called also *Misra* and *Misrena* in the sacred books of the Hindoos; where it is said, that the country was peopled by a *mixed* race, consisting of various tribes, who, though living for their convenience in the same region, kept themselves distinct, and were perpetually disputing, either on their boundaries, or, which is most probable, on religious opinions: they seem to be the *mingled people*, Jer. xxv. 20. Ezek. xxx. 5. To appease their feuds, BRAHMA himself descended in the character of *Iswara*; whence *Wisr-eswara* became one of his titles. The word *Misr*, which the Arabs apply to Egypt and to its metropolis, seems clearly derived from the Sanscreeet; but, not knowing its origin, they use it for *any large city*, and give the appellation of *Al-misran* in the dual to Cufa and Basra: the same word is also found in the sense of a *boundary*, or *line of separation*. Of *Misr*, the dual and plural forms in Hebrew are *Misraim* and *Misrim*, and the second of them is often applied in Scripture to the people of Egypt."

These testimonies prove, that the geographical documents preserved to us in Holy Writ, are in perfect unison with the most ancient histories of those people who had, after the inspired writers, the most authentic sources of information.

No. DXXX. OF THE CHALDEANS, OR CHASDIM OF SCRIPTURE.

THE difficulty of determining the name and derivation of the Chaldeans being great, it may be proper to introduce a few considerations on the subject; some of them, for their matter, are principally taken from Mr. BRYANT; though the conclusion they are intended to support, will differ considerably from the Hypothesis of that very learned writer. Scripture does not afford any name from which the appellation *Chasdim*, or *Casdim*, or *Casedim*, can be regularly derived; but, I think, we may safely consider the Babylonians and the Chasdim as being in whole, or in part, the same people; for we read that—"Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, was a Chaldean (*Chasedia*)," Ezra. v. 12. that—when Darius, the Mede, obtained the throne of Babylon, he was made king over the realm of the Chaldees (*Chasdim*), Dan. ix. 1. that—when the Babylonian army besieged Jerusalem, it was the army of the Chaldees (*Chasdim*), 2 Kings xxv. 4. 10. Jer. liii. 8. and—Babylon being called the beauty of the Chaldees' excellence," Isaiah xiii. 19. is evidence sufficient to this point. By inquiring who were the Babylonians, we may somewhat approach toward determining who were the Chaldeans; and if we look to Gen. xi. 2. we shall find that the inhabitants of this country journeyed from the East, *Kedem*, which *Kedem* we have fixed in the neighbourhood of Caucasus. We are next to remember that these Chaldees worshipped fire, and light, under the name of *Aur*, *Ur*, *Or*, or *Our*, all words of the same sound, and varied only in spelling, or in writing, by different nations; so that whether we find *Auritæ*, or *Ouritæ*, the meaning is the same. The following are testimonies to our purpose:

Upon the banks of the great river Ind,
The southern Scuthæ dwell: which river pays
Its watery tribute to that mighty Sea,
Styled Erythrean. Far removed its source,
Amid the stormy cliffs of Caucasus:
Descending thence through many a winding vale,
It separates vast nations. To the west
The ORITÆ live.———

Meaning, the *Auritæ* live west of the source of the Indus, in Mount Caucasus; which the reader will find agrees with our position of *Kedem*. This is Mr. BRYANT's version of a passage in the poet Dionysius. *Anc. Myth.* vol. iii. p. 226.

Mr. BRYANT says, *Obs.* 253, "The Chaldeans were the most ancient inhabitants of the country called by their name; there are no other principals, to whom we may refer their original. They seem to have been the most early constituted and settled of any people on earth. They seem to be the only people which did not migrate at the general dispersion. They extended to Egypt west; and eastward to the Ganges."

But I think, by means of Capt. WILFORD's account of Caucasus, in No. DXIX. we may conceive without much danger of error, of the Sanscreeet *C'hasas*, *Chasyas*, and the Scripture *Chasdim* as being closely related, if not the same people, *originally*; for we learn that "they are a very ancient tribe," are mentioned in the Institutes of Menu; and that their ancestor, *Zeus Cassios*, is supposed to have lived before the flood; and to have given name to mountains he seized. Their station, then, is Caucasus. But when a considerable division of mankind withdrew to Shinar, they were

accompanied by a certain proportion of *C'hasyas*, or *Chasdim*, who being a superior caste, or inheriting stations of trust and dignity, i. e. priests, if not governors, also; or out of which body the kings were elected, as we have seen, therefore the Babylonian kingdom is called the kingdom of the *Chasdim*, or *C'hasyas*.

Somewhat of this distinction is connected with the patriarch Abraham: we know he was of Kedem; not of Babylonia; yet Eusebius says, Abraham was a *Chaldean by descent* (το γένος Χαλδαίος.) Admitting, then, the *Chasdim* to be descendants in the direct line of Shem, a priest himself, this branch of his posterity might retain their right to the priestly office, transmitted from father to son, in succession; according to their custom.

No. DXXXI. CHARACTER OF THE CHALDEANS.

DIODORUS Siculus, *lib. ii. cap. 21.* gives the character of the Chaldeans at large in the following terms:---

“ The Chaldeans are descended from the most ancient families of Babylon, and they maintain a manner of life resembling that of the priests of Egypt. For in order to become more learned, and more equal to the service of the Gods, they continually apply themselves to Philosophy, and have procured above all a great reputation in Astronomy. They study with great care the art of Divination. They fortell the future, and believe themselves able to ward off evils, and to procure benefits, by their expiations, by their sacrifices, and by their enchantments. They have also experience in presages by the flight of birds; and are versed in the interpretation of dreams and prodigies. Beside this, they consult the entrails of victims, and infer predictions, which are considered as certain. Among the Chaldæans this Philosophy remains constantly the possession of the same family; passing from father to sons, and this, only, they study. Whereby, having only their parents for their masters, he who instructs conceals nothing through jealousy; and he who learns brings all his docility to receive instruction. Moreover, having commenced these studies from the earliest period of life, they acquire a perfect habitude in these matters, whether from the facility of learning which is natural to youth, or from the length of time which they have employed in it. The Chaldæans consider matter as eternal, neither needing generation, nor subject to corruption. But they believe that the arrangement and order of the world is the effect of Divine Intelligence, and that all which appears in the heavens, or on earth, is the effect, not of a casual, or of a fatal necessity, but of the wisdom and power of the Gods.

“ The Chaldæans also having made numerous observations on the stars, and knowing more perfectly than other Astrologers their motions and their influences, they fortell to men the most part of those events which will hereafter befall them. They consider above all, as a point of difficulty and of consequence, the theory of the five stars, which they call *Interpreters*, and we call *Planets*, especially *Saturn*. Nevertheless, they say that the Sun is not only the most splendid of the heavenly bodies, but also that from which may be drawn most indications of great events. They distinguish the four remaining Planets, by the names of *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*. They call them *Interpreters*; because the fixed stars keeping always the same places, and the same distances among themselves, these (planets) have their own motion, which marks futurity; and they often assure mankind of the superintendence of the Gods. Some by their rising, others by their setting, others by their colour alone, fortell various things, to those who attentively observe them. They

forewarn of extraordinary winds, rains, and heats. They affirm that the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and other deviations from the ordinary course of nature, are presages of good or bad fortune, not only to whole nations, but also to kings, and to individuals. They conceive that the five Planets command thirty subaltern stars, which they call *Counsellor-gods*, of which one half rules over what is above the earth, the other half observes the actions of men, or what passes in heaven. Every ten days a *Messenger-star* is dispatched, to know what passes above, and what in the regions below. They reckon twelve superior gods, who preside each over a month, and a sign in the Zodiac. The Sun, the Moon, and the five Planets, go through these twelve signs; the Sun takes one year to perform this course; the Moon performs it in one month. Each Planet has his proper period, but the revolutions of these bodies, differ greatly in times and rapidity. The stars, they affirm, influence particularly over men at their birth; and the knowledge of their aspects at that moment, contributes much to reveal the blessings or the evils which they may expect.

“ They alledge as instances, the predictions given to many kings; but particularly to Alexander conqueror of Darius, and to his successors, Antigonus, and Seleucus Nicanor; all which predictions appear to have had their accomplishment. They affirm that they have foretold future events so correctly to individuals, that they have been astonished; and obliged to acknowledge something supernatural in it. They form beyond the limits of the Zodiac twenty-four constellations, twelve Northern and twelve Southern; the twelve visible together rule over the living; the twelve invisible rule over the dead: and they consider them as judges over all men. The Moon, say they, is below all the stars and all the Planets. As she is the smallest of all, she is also nearest the earth; and her revolution is complete in a shorter time, not because of her greater swiftness in her orbit, but because that orbit is of smaller dimensions. They agree that her light is only borrowed, and she is eclipsed by entering the shadow of the earth. They have at present but a very imperfect theory of eclipses of the Sun, nor do they dare fortell them. They fancy the earth to be hollow; and bring many arguments to support this hypothesis. The Chaldæans, in short, are the most eminent astrologers in the world, as having cultivated this study more carefully than any other nation. But we cannot easily believe what they advance on the great antiquity of their early observations: For according to them, they began 473,000 years before the passage of Alexander into Asia.”

The reader will compare this description with that given from the *Desâtir*, in foregoing numbers, of the system of the ancient Persian Magi. The Interpreter-stars of one are, evidently, the Mediator-stars of the other: the Messenger-stars are the Watchers of Daniel; or, analogous to the Satan of Job: and on the reports of such messengers, no doubt, the Counsellor-gods formed their decrees; as in the instance of Nebuchadnezzar. From this account, the reader will also understand by what right the Babylonian monarch called on his Chaldeans, his wise men, and astrologers, to explain that revelation which he conceived had been made to him by the celestial guardians of his person and kingdom.

Philostratus, *Vit. Appollon. lib. ii.* says, The Indi are the wisest of all mankind. The *Ethiopians* [the *Oriental Ethiopians*] are a colony from them: and they inherit the wisdom of their forefathers. The Hieroglyphics on the obelisks, says Cassiodorus, *lib. iii. Epist. 2. 51.* are *Chaldaic* signs of words, which were used as letters are, for the purpose of information. Zonaras v. i. p. 22. says, the most approved account is, that the Arts came from *Chaldea* to Egypt; and from thence passed into

Greece. The philosophy of this people was greatly celebrated. Alexander visited the chief persons of the country, who were esteemed professors of science. Consider the pre-eminence given to Solomon, 1 Kings iv. 30. "and fuller—more extensive—was the wisdom of Solomon, beyond the wisdom of all *the sons of Kedom*, and beyond all the wisdom of *Mizraim*:" and with this character compare that of the Chaldeans, as above, and that of the original *Indi*, who are Chaldæans, and sons of Kedom, too. We find they worshipped fire, so that they were *Auritæ*; and, in short, that *Ur* of the Chaldees might be the residence of such professors, and such devotees; for which reason Abraham was directed to quit it.—*Ur*, was probably terrestrial fire; aerial, or ignited vapour, rising naturally from the earth, as that at Baku, worshipped as the terrestrial representative of the great celestial luminary.

On the whole, we may consider the *Chasdim* or *Chaldeans*, as the Philosophic, or the Priestly Order, among the Babylonians; and, rather a caste among a nation, than a nation of themselves; much as the Brahmins of India (a race by their own acknowledgment not truly Indian) are, at this day; who preserve knowledge, if any be preserved; who perform religious functions, and are supposed to maintain the truth of religion officially, and whose Order sometimes furnishes kings and nobles. Inso-much that, if we should say of Abraham—he came from *Ur*, a city of the Brahmins: or if we should say—the Brahmins were the wisest of all mankind, yet Solomon was wiser than they were; though we should certainly offend against terms and titles, yet we should possibly be tolerably near to a fair notion of the *Chasdim* of Scripture, and of their character.

No. DXXXII. MIGRATIONS OF ABRAHAM.

TO obtain clear ideas on the *original* country of Abraham is of great consequence in SCRIPTURE GEOGRAPHY: as it connects with many places mentioned in the sacred books, and illustrates many particulars, not relating to that patriarch only, but also to his posterity in after ages; perhaps, even to the present day.

It is clear, that Abraham in the course of his journey to Canaan had several removes; the first was from his native country; the last was from Haran: for so we read, Acts iii. 2, 3, 4. "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, BEFORE he dwelt in Haran, and said, *Get thee out, &c.*—Then he came *out of the land of the Chaldeans*, and dwelt in Haran." Hence it appears, that the land of the Chaldeans (or *Chasdim*) was a prior abode of Abraham. Conformable to this is the statement of Achior, in the book of Judith, chap. v. 6. "This people are descended of the *Chaldeans*, and they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, which were *in the land of Chaldea*:—so they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled *into Mesopotamia*, and sojourned there many days." It is clear, that this *land of Chaldea* was not only different, but distant, from the Mesopotamia in which they sojourned many days: for certainly, when Abraham was flying from those who expelled him, he would not fix his residence for so many years, within a few miles of the seat of their power, and under the very same government. For, if *Ur* of the Chaldees were, as many have supposed, not far from Nisibis, or any where within the dominions of Nineveh, Haran would be too near it; and Abraham's safety, with that of his family, would be extremely precarious. We may add, that they left *Ur* of the Chaldees, purposing *to go into the land of Canaan*, Gen. xi. 32. this expression clearly imports the contemplation of a *long* journey; but, this journey terminated in

a very few days, if it extended only from Nineveh to Haran. This appears utterly irreconcilable with the intention of a flight, to a residence beyond the power of his idolatrous enemies.

It think it may also be fairly objected, that Haran, wherein Abraham dwelt, is in Mesopotamia: certainly, it is situated between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates; it was formerly reckoned by the Romans a part of Mesopotamia; and it is now included in the province which answers to the ancient government of that region. I would infer, that St. Stephen, when he says, "The God of glory appeared to Abraham in Mesopotamia, *before* he dwelt in Haran,"—refers to a *primary* Mesopotamia, where Abraham was native; whereas Achior intends a *secondary* Mesopotamia, *to which Abraham fled*. If it be said that Stephen refers to Gen. xii. 1. where the Lord directs Abraham to proceed to Canaan after the death of Terah: it may be asked, whether this be consistent with the expression of the martyr, who distinctly says, God spake to Abraham BEFORE (πρὶν) he dwelt in Haran, and that he afterwards *came out* of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Haran.

It is generally agreed, that Abraham is described, Isaiah xli. 2. "as the *righteous man* who came from the *East*," where the word is not *Kedem*, but *Metzarach*, מזרח, which signifies "*the rising-sun*:" and certainly denotes a remote region. The same intention may be discerned in Isaiah xlvi. 11. where we read, that from *Metzarach* should "a *ravenous bird* be called; even from a *far country*, the man that executeth my counsel:"—this ravenous bird is usually understood of *Cyrus*, who arose not from Mesopotamia between Tigris and Euphrates, but in Media. To the same purpose, Isaiah xliii. 5. "I will bring thy seed from the *East, Metzarach*,"—from Media, &c. whither they were led captive. But again, Zech. viii. 7. "Behold I will save my people from the land of the *East, Metzarach*," from the land of the sun-rising, "and from the land of the sun-setting." The prophet Daniel also, describes one of the four horns of the successors of Alexander, as waxing great toward the *East, Metzarach*, now, as Daniel resided far *east* of the Euphratean Mesopotamia, he could not possibly mean a province lying *west* of him, but must of necessity allude to another, toward the rising sun. Moreover, we know that Seleucus, a successor of Alexander, did really become great toward the east, even to India. If then, the same word, *Metzarach* denotes in these passages the same country, or nearly the same, then "the righteous man," Abraham, came from a country, far *east* of Babylon; and consequently far *east* of that Mesopotamia *to which he fled* "from the face of the gods of his native country:"—which was, as it should seem, the original seat and establishment of idolatry.

Here might be adduced what Joshua tells the Israelites, chap. xxiv. 2. with the utmost solemnity, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel,—Your fathers dwelt *on the other side of the flood*, in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor, and they served other gods; and I took your father Abraham *from the other side of the flood*."

In this passage we must note, 1. Joshua's reference to *old time*—originally—very anciently; meaning, in the days of Terah, and before the birth of Abraham: now Terah did certainly dwell in *Ur* of the Chasdim, in his early years; but, *Ur* of the Chasdim, if on the Tigris, would be very ill described by the phrase "on the other side of the flood," meaning the Euphrates, as some have conjectured.

2. "They served other Gods," i. e. Terah did so: and to break off this servitude, the family forsook their country: certainly then, as already observed, they would migrate to a sufficient distance from their persecutors, since they could expect no

forbearance from tyrants, thoroughly provoked, by their having first complied with the established worship, and then forsaking it, and protesting against it.

3. The original text does not say "beyond the *flood*," but—*Ober e naher* (עבר-נהר); "I took your father Abraham from *Ober e naher*;" which is much rather the name of a province, *Trans-Oxiana*, than descriptive of a situation. It is certain, that in the eastern province of Persia, the country beyond the river Gihoon [which name says HERBERT signifies "the great river," and which certainly is the greatest river in those parts, therefore called eminently *the river* or *flood*,] is called *Maver* or *Mober e naher*, to this day. And *Balk*, where the inhabitants have a constant tradition that Abraham was born, is east of the Gihoon. Moreover, the district of *Ober e naher* is between the Gihoon and the Jaxartes, so that it is well expressed by the Greek *Mesopotamia*, which implies "between the rivers." I conceive, therefore, that this appellation, like many others, travelled westward, among a variety of names which are secondary, not primary; and that the western province was so called, from similarity to the eastern. This view of the question is confirmed by the appellation given to Abram so early as Gen. xiv. 13. "Abram the Hebrew," literally, "Abram the *Oberite*," i. e. from the province called *Ober*. The learned admit, that the name "Hebrew" is not properly applied here to Abraham, since the form of the word denotes a provincial; and since the only reference it possibly can have, is to *Eber*, an ancestor, distant six generations, and father of many families beside that of Abraham. This word has an (ה) *e* demonstrative, THE *Oberite*; the individual known under this description; as we say *the Englishman*, *the Spaniard*, *the Italian*, meaning a person native of England, of Spain, of Italy. The LXX. understood this term in this sense; for they do not render it "the *Hebrew*," but *perates*, "the passer-over," q. the *beyonder* (as we say, "from beyond sea,") intending "beyond the river;" a character, probably, peculiar to Abraham, a passer-over from beyond the Gihoon. [The Apostle seems to allude to something of this nature, Heb. xi. 13.] And perhaps this simple mark of distinction "the river," was sufficiently personal, because the Gihoon was a distinguished river of Paradise, "that which encompassed the whole land of *Cush*,"—Oriental Ethiopia. Tacitus, (*Hist. lib. v. cap. 2.*) speaking of the Jews, expressly styles them *Ethiopum prolem*, a posterity of Ethiopians: coincident with, though differing in phrase from, Eusebius, who describes Abraham as of Chaldean descent; and with Nicholas of Damascus, who says, that "Abraham came from a country *beyond the Chaldean Babylon*."

No. DXXXIV.

CHARACTER AND DESCRIPTION OF ABRAHAM'S ORIGINAL COUNTRY.

THE existence of a *Chaldea*, or rather *Chasidia*, much farther east than Babylon, being admitted, we need only remark, that, if all other heads of families migrated, as supposed, from the mountain of *Cas*, then the patriarch Abraham did no more than was customary in his days. It appears that, in his first removal he obeyed his father Terah, "Terah took Abraham his son:"—but, no doubt, Abraham followed other dictates also; for, he might, had he chosen, have remained behind.

We may illustrate this transit of Abraham by a similar transit of his great ancestor SHEM; which also connects with our general subject of SCRIPTURE GEOGRAPHY. SHEM certainly inhabited the district east of Persia: "*Bamiyan* is represented in the books of the *Baudhists* as the source of holiness and purity. It is also called *SHEM-Bamiyan*, from the famous patriarch SHEM, by whom, according to the

Baudhists, Bamiyan was built." This famous city, the Thebes, of the east, being hardly known in Europe, a description of it will be acceptable.

"It is situated on the road between *Bálac* and *Cábul*; and they reckon eight *manzils* or days' journey from *Cabul* to *Bámiyan*.

"Like Thebes in Egypt, it is entirely cut out of an insulated mountain: the valley round it is called, in the language of the country, the *Tágávi* of *Bámiyan*. In this mountainous country, where the valleys alone are inhabited, the word *Tágávi* is become synonymous with district. To the south of it, or nearly so, at the distance of about two miles are ruins of an ancient city, called *Ghulghuleh*, which, according to tradition, was destroyed at a very early period by the Musulmans. There are ruins of several buildings of masonry round a small conical hill, on the summit of which are remains of the palace of its ancient kings. A rivulet, rising in the adjacent hills, goes through the ruins of *Ghulghuleh* and the *Tágávi* of *Bámiyan*, and falls into a small lake, from which issue four rivers, the *Hirmend*, the *Landhi-Sindh*, the rivers of *Báhlac*, and of *Conduz*.

"The city of *Bámiyan* consists of a vast number of apartments, and recesses, cut out of the rock; some of which, on account of their extraordinary dimensions, are supposed to have been temples. They are called *Samach'h* [this word is spelt *Samachch'h* by the natives] in the language of the country, and *Samaj* in Persian. There are no pillars to be seen in any of them, according to the information I have received from travellers, who had visited them. Some of them are adorned with niches and carved work; and there are to be seen the remains of some figures in relievo, which were destroyed or miserably disfigured by Musulmans. Some remains of paintings on the walls are still to be seen in some of them: but the smoke, from the fires made there by the inhabitants, has almost obliterated them. It is said in the *Ayeen-Akbery*, that there are about 12,000 of these recesses, in the *Tumán* or *Tágávi* of *Bámiyan*; this is also confirmed, from general report, by travellers. The country of the Afghans, as far as *Báhlac* and *Badacshán*, abounds with *Samach'hes* or *Samajes*: some of them are very rude, whilst others are highly finished and ornamented. The most perfect are at a place called Mohi, on the road between *Bámiyan* and *Báhlac*: as they are situated among precipices, the Musulmans have never thought of living in them, and the paintings, with which they are adorned, look quite fresh.

"But what never fails to attract the notice of travellers, are two colossal statues, which are seen at a great distance. They are erect, and adhere to the mountain from which they were cut out. They are in a sort of niches, the depth of which, is equal to the thickness of the statues. It is said, in the *Ayeen-Akbery*, that the largest is eighty ells high, and the other only fifty. These dimensions are greatly exaggerated, according to the opinion of all the travellers I have seen, and the disproportion is not so great between the two. According to the author of the *Pharang-Jehanghiri*, cited by Th. Hyde, they are said to be only fifty cubits high, which appears to be the true dimensions. At some distance from these two statues, is another of a smaller size, being about fifteen cubits high. Natives and Persian authors, who have mentioned them, agree neither about their sex nor their names. The few Hindus, who live in these countries, say, that they represent *Bhim* and his consort: the followers of Buddha, say, they are the statues of *Shahama*, and his disciple *Salsala*. The Musulmans insist, that they are the statues of *Key-Umursh* and his consort, that is to say, Adam and Eve; and that the third is intended for Seish or Seth their son: whose tomb, or at least the place where it stood formerly,

is

is shewn near *Báhlac*. This is in some measure confirmed by the author of the *Pharang-Jehanghiri*, who says, that these statues existed in the time of Noah; though he gives them different names, and supposes the third to represent an old woman, called *Nesr*, more generally represented with the countenance of a vulture. These statues are so much defaced, through the injury of all-devouring time, and the intolerant zeal of the Musulmans, that I believe it is difficult to ascertain their sex. Travellers do, however, agree that one of them at least is a beardless youth; some more particularly insist that the swelling of the breasts is remarkably obvious, and that both look towards the east, so that, when the sun rises, they seem to smile, but look gloomy in the evening. Their dress, as described to me, is much the same with that of the two figures, half buried at Tuct-Rustum, near Istacar in Persia; with this difference, that the female has no head-dress; but the male has such a *tiara* as is worn by the supposed female figure at Tuct-Rustum.

“ These statues were visited, at least ten or twelve different times, by a famous traveller, called Meyan-Asod-Shah, a man highly respected, both on account of his descent from Mohammed, and his personal character. He is well informed, in affluent circumstances, through the piety of the faithful, and keeps company with the princes of the country, and persons of the first rank. He informed me lately, that these two statues are in two different niches, and about forty paces distant from each other. That the drapery is covered with embroidery and figured work; which formerly was painted of different colours; traces of which are still visible. That one seems to have been painted of a *red* colour: and the other, either retains the original colour of the stone, or was painted *grey*. That one certainly represents a female, from the beauty and smoothness of her features, and the swelling of her breasts: the head being so much elevated is secure from insult below, and is also protected from the weather by the projection above. The statue of their supposed son is nearly half a mile distant, and about twenty feet high. One of the legs of the male figure is much broken: for the Musulmans never march that way with cannon without firing two or three shots at them; but from their want of skill, they seldom do much mischief. Aurengzebe, it is said, in his expedition to *Báhlac*, in the year 1646, passed that way, and ordered, as usual, a few shots to be fired; one of them took place, and almost broke its leg, which bled copiously. This, and some frightful dreams, made him desist, and the clotted blood, it is said, adheres to the wound, to this day. The miracle is equally believed by the Hindus and Musulmans: the former attribute it to the superior power of the deity; and the latter to witchcraft. According to Dr. Hyde, one of these statues is called *Surkh-But*, or the *red idol*; the other *Khink-But*, or the *grey idol*. As to their being hollow, I believe, it is an idle tale: at least the travellers I have consulted, knew nothing of it. Between the legs of the male figure, is a door leading into a most spacious temple, the dimensions of which, they could not describe otherwise, than by saying, it could easily hold the camp equipage and baggage of Zeman-Shah, and of his whole army. It is remarkable only for its extraordinary dimensions: it is dark and gloomy; and there are a few niches, with the remains of some figures in *alto-relievo*. At the entrance are stationed a few wretched Banyans, who sell provisions to travellers. The greatest part of the *Sama-jes* in *Tágávi Bámiyan* are still inhabited by Musulmans, who live promiscuously with their cattle. I have been informed, that there are no other statues than these three; but, from the numerous fragments which are seen through the *Tágávis*, there must have been several hundreds of them. They shew to this day the *Samach'h*, in

which the famous Vyasa composed the Védas ; and others, where divers holy men gave themselves up to meditation, and the contemplation of the Supreme Being.

“ Persian authors are constantly confounding *Bámiyan* and *Báhlac* together ; the first they call *Bálkh-Bámiyan*, and the second *Bálkh-Bokhárá* ; when they speak of the metropolis of the fire-worshippers, it is to be understood of *Bámiyan* alone, according to the followers of Buddha, and the author of the *Buddha-dharmachárya Sindhu*. According to Persian authors, *Bámiyan* must have existed before the flood ; but the followers of Buddha insist, that it was built by a most religious man called SHAMA, who appears, from particular circumstances, to be the same with the famous patriarch SHEM ; and that his posterity lived there for several generations. Hence *Bálkh-Bámiyan* is said to have been originally the place of abode of Abraham, who, according to Scripture, and the Hindu sacred books, removed with his father to distant countries westward.

“ According to Diodorus the Sicilian, *Bámiyan* existed before Ninus : for this historian, like the Persian authors we have mentioned, has mistaken *Báhlac* for *Bámiyan* ; which he describes as situated among steep hills : whilst *Báhlac* is situated in a low, flat country, and at a great distance from the mountains.

“ The natives look upon *Bámiyan*, and the adjacent countries, as the place of abode of the progenitors of mankind, both before and after the flood. By *Bámiyan* and the adjacent countries, they understand all the country from *Sistán* to *Samar-cand*, reaching towards the east as far as the Ganges. This tradition is of great antiquity, for it is countenanced equally by Persian authors, and by the sacred books of the Hindus.

“ The city of *Bámiyan* being represented as the fountain of purity and holiness, it was called with propriety *Pará-Bámiyan*, or *Bámiyan the pure* and holy ; for the same reason the district of *Bámiyan* might be called *Pará-désa*, or *Pára-désa*, the pure and holy country. This district is now barren, and without a single tree. The sacred books of the Hindus, and of the Baudhists, do, however, declare most positively, that it was otherwise formerly. Tradition informs us also, that the number of inhabitants was at one period so prodigious, that the trees, underwood, grass and plants were destroyed. The vegetable soil being no longer protected, was in the course of ages washed away by the rains : certain it is, that the soil in the valleys is most fertile, and the whole district, such as it is now, is still a most enchanting and delightful spot. The country to the eastward of *Bámiyan* as far as the Indus, is the native country of the vine, and of almost all the fruit trees we have in Europe : there they grow spontaneously, and to a great degree of perfection. When the natives find a vine, an apple-tree, &c. in the forests, they clear all the wood about it, dig the ground, and by these means, the fruit comes to perfect maturity. When we are told in Scripture of Noah cultivating the vine, we may be sure, that it was in its native country, or at least very near it.

“ *Bámiyan*, as well as *Cabul Bálikh*, were, at an early period, in the hands of the Musulmans. There were even kings of *Bámiyan* : but this dynasty lasted but a few years and ended in 1215. The kings and governors resided at *Ghulghuleh*, called at that time, the fort or palace of *Bámiyan*. It was destroyed by Genghiz-Khan, in the year 1221 ; and because the inhabitants had presumed to resist him, he ordered them to be butchered, without distinction, either of age or sex : in his rage, he spared neither animals, nor even trees. He ordered it to be called in his own language *Mau-balig*, the city of grief and sorrow : but the inhabitants of that country, called it in their own dialect *Ghulghuleh*, which word, used also in Persian, signifies the cries of

woe. To have rebuilt it would have been ominous: for this reason, they erected a fort on a hill to the north of *Bámiyan*, which is called to this day, the Imperial Fort. This fort was also destroyed by Zingis the Usbeck, in the year 1628; and has not been rebuilt since." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 463, &c.

If any credit be due to this information, then S^HEM resided, and Abraham was born, much farther east than Babylouia; yet as we have every reason for believing that S^HEM was *Melchi-Zedech*, it follows, that he travelled westward, as Abraham did, and spent a part at least of his life, in that district which was to be honoured by the residence of the great Redeemer.

No. DXXXIV. FARTHER REFLECTIONS.

THE foregoing extracts furnish matter for Reflections of another kind, also. When we read of idols in the country of S^HEM, we are naturally led to ask—Could idolatry *originate* in the family of this pious patriarch? The Jews indeed tell us, that Terah was a maker of images; and they have a ludicrous story of Abraham's demolition of his wares, (see ABRAHAM, in the *Dict.*) they say too, that the *teraphim* of Scripture take their name from Terah; yet we have seen that Terah quitted this land of idols, to fly with his family into Mesopotamia, from aversion to the prevailing worship. One would willingly fix this crime of idolatry on some other line of descent, than that which was to produce the Messiah; or, shall we say that the first institution of images was commemorative only, and therefore as innocent as our pictures and portraits of illustrious persons; although, afterwards it became criminal, by being perverted to superstitious purposes. Certainly, images are not in themselves sinful; for the images of the *cherubim* in the Mosaic Tabernacle, and in the Temple of Solomon, were absolutely appointed; but then, they were neither exposed to public view, nor were they worshipped. Nevertheless, these images ministered occasion to idolatry, when imitated and exposed by Jeroboam; because, to these were attributed actions which truly belonged to that Divine Master on whom they were symbolical attendants. We find in 1 Kings xii. 28. that Jeroboam called his images "the *gods* which brought Israel out of the land of Egypt." Aaron had said the same long before, Exod. xxxii. 4. and in these two instances the sacred *cherubim*, whose figures were divinely authorized, did actually minister occasion to idolatry.

It has been conjectured, that the cherubic emblems gave rise to imitations of them among the nations, also; and the conjecture is not unlikely: but, that *human* commemorative figures should be first adopted in the line of S^HEM, is I think, a serious difficulty. We may however admit, that, *after* the departure of S^HEM, to his western residence, being no longer checked by his censure, that perversion of the mind had its full and unlimited sway, in the east, until it included human figures among the objects of its veneration, and eventually of its worship.

The same process has unfortunately attended images in the Church of Rome; what was intended for commemoration, has issued in idolatry—idolatry of a species which never could have been sanctioned by the Apostles.

I would also remind the reader of the near approach in sound, at least, of the word *Gulguleh* to *Golgotha*, the name of a place, which word has no root in the Hebrew; but, might it mean "*cries of woe*," as in Persia, how fit an appellation were it for the scene of sufferings of the great Mediator?

These thoughts are introduced by the bye, and we shall pursue them no farther,

here; the general result of the enquiry is, that there was a Chaldea distinct and distant from the Babylonian; that Babylonian Chaldea was not the birth place of Abraham, but Caucasian Chaldea, or *Chasidia*,—the Sun-rising country,—*Ober* of the river Gihoon; that his father Terah, and himself, with Lot, &c. removed from thence to Haran, in Western Mesopotamia; that after the death of his father, he proceeded to Canaan; where he was met by his great ancestor S^HEM, otherwise entitled “the Just King,” who also resided for some time, at least, in the country allotted by Divine Providence, (of which allotment he might be the agent,) to his remote posterity.

No. DXXXV. OF UR, OF THE CHALDEES.

IT is usually said *Aur* or *Ur* of the Chasdim was a city,—but we may be permitted to doubt this; because, 1. it is no where, that I can find, in Scripture called a city. 2. It is mostly coupled with the word *land*,—or country, or district: as where it first occurs, Gen. xi. 28. “Haran died in the *land* of his nativity, in *Aur* of the Chasdim:” here, it should seem that *Aur* is the same place as the *land*;—or else, it would have been said, one should think, “in the *city* of *Aur*, in the *land* of his nativity.” The omission of the term *city* here seems to be of considerable weight. So verse 31. “they went forth from *Aur*—to go into the *land* of Canaan.” Again chap. xv. 7. “I am the Lord that brought thee out of *Aur* of the Chasdim, to give thee this *land*,” see also Nehem. ix. 7. So Stephen says, Acts vii. 3. “He came out of the *land* of the Chaldeans;” and Achior observes, Judith v. 6. “they would not follow the gods of their fathers who were in the *land* of Chaldea:”—No mention of a city in any of these texts. Moreover, it is remarkable that when Abraham, Gen. xxii. sends his servant to fetch a wife for Isaac, he directs him to his country—*land*, not *city*: and the servant is not said to go to the *city Aur*, verse 10, but, to the *city of Nahor*. We might have expected, that in one of these fair opportunities, the term *city* would have occurred; but as it does not, it should seem, that the taking *Aur* for a city, instead of a district, or country, is not authorized by Holy Writ.

Mr. BRYANT, seems to have found the word *Aur* employed with the same intention; for he says—“those who came originally from Chaldea, were stiled the children of *Ur*, or *Urius*.” “Under the title of *Auritaë* the sons of Cush came into Egypt. They settled in a province named from them Cushman, which was at the upper part of the Delta; and in after times called Nomos *Arabicus*.” The “*Auritaë* were the same as the Heliadaë”—*i. e.* descendants of the Sun. “We are told by Syncellus, that Egypt had been in subjection to a threefold race of kings, 1. *Auritaë*, 2. *Mestrai*, 3. *Egyptian*. He places the *Auritaë* first, because he thought they were the first in time they are supposed to have been *Arabians*, and are said to have come from the East.” I wish to remark on this *Arabian*, *Arabicus*, in Hebrew *Arami*, that it appears to be derived from an original *Aram* in the land of *Aur*, or *Ur*, so that it strengthens our remarks in proof of an *Aram*, (*Arabia*), farther east than either Syria or Mesopotamia, while at the same time the people described as *Auritaë* (*Arabes*) are far too numerous to have been colonies from a single city.

As *Aur*, or *Ur*, signifies *fire* or *light*, it seems to agree with the description of the “Sun-rising province;” and as the *Auritaë*, wherever they are found, are children of the Sun, and worshippers of the Sun, it seems to confirm the propriety of deriving them rather from a province than from a city. Mr. BRYANT finds these persons, and Ethiopians, in many places. It is certain the Chaldeans were

called Ethiopians, but they never were thought to be native of either Arabian, or African Ethiopia; they must therefore appertain to Caucasian Ethiopia, wherein also we find a country of *Aurita*.

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The city of Nahor is said, Gen. xxiv. 10. to be in Aram Naharaim: and Isaac is said, chap. xxv. 20. to take to wife Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel the Aramite of Padan Aram, sister to Laban the Aramite." But observe,

That Bethuel is not personally mentioned in this history; neither is Nahor: but, chap. xxvii. Jacob is sent to "Padan Aram to the house of Bethuel"—not to the house of Nahor, nor to the city of Nahor.

If Haran were the city of Nahor, then, this city certainly was in Mesopotamia. But it may be doubted whether it were not a town adjacent, in the country occupied by "the people of the East," chap. xxix. 1. literally "the sons of Kedem," by which we understand natives of Kedem, who had removed hither, as Abraham had formerly done.

No. DXXXVI. HINDOO WORDS IN SCRIPTURE?

THERE is, undoubtedly, much pleasure attending the satisfaction of tracing the progress of mankind in the population of the earth, and in justifying the Bible accounts of that progress. We believe, with the learned apostle, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, that he hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." Moreover, as students of the Sacred Books, and deeply interested in their contents, we are gratified with every approach to truth; and cannot think meanly of any medium of discovery, however unassuming. The deep antiquity of the Scriptures is universally admitted to be one cause of obscurity on certain particulars, to which the inquisitive have directed their investigation: yet, properly understood, this antiquity becomes a voucher for their authenticity. They refer to facts, and to objects, and to points of history, not accessible to later writers; or at least, at the utmost extreme of probability to have come within their contemplation.

Our own religious services retain evident tokens of a foreign origin, in several expressions which use has equally consecrated and familiarized among us. *Amen! Hallelujah! Hosanna! Selah!* are Hebrew terms; but now become our own. Such has been the practice of the Church, in all ages and nations, though far enough from intending identity with the Jews, or their ritual: they are relics of an ancient and distant worship,—adopted, retained, and perpetuated by the power of custom, rather than of understanding, especially among the populace, generally. The same has attended certain terms, used as religious *formulae*, among other nations, which we call ancient, as they really are, in respect to us; but, which are proved, by the use of these terms, to have derived their rites from nations more ancient—much more ancient, than themselves.

There is a very remarkable passage in Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 815. in which that ancient bard clearly refers to a language,—a more primitive language—the existence of which was known to his countrymen, though it was not in general use among them.—"There is apart in the front of the city (Troy) a lofty mount, which may be ascended by a winding (circular) ascent. This men call Batieia, but the immortals (call it) the tomb of far-bounding Myrinne:"

Τὴν ἥτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
'Αθάνατοι δὲ τέ σῆμα πολυσκαρθμοιο Μυρίννης.

Whatever be the import of this passage, it clearly indicates a distinction between the language usually spoken, and another, of which a few terms only were recognized; and as the immortals of Homer, Jupiter, Juno, &c. speak Greek, without intermixture, the "immortals" here referred to must be of a distant country, and a more early origin. The Scholiast says, "the poet refers the *more ancient name* to the gods; the more recent name to men;" and he is right: Eustathius says, "the poet ascribes the *best name* to the gods;" which is to the same effect. It is probable, also, that the brawling exclamations, *Io! Io!* and *Evoc! Evoc!* well known to have been practised by devotees of certain deities among the ancients, are foreign terms: but, Mr. WILFORD offers still more explicit instances, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 300.

"At the conclusion of the mysteries of Eleusis, the congregation was dismissed in these words: Κογξ, Ὅμ, Παξ; *Conx, Om, Pax*. These mysterious words have been considered hitherto as inexplicable; but they are pure Sanscrit, and used to this day by Bráhmens at the conclusion of religious rites. They are thus written in the language of the gods, as the Hindus call the language of their sacred books, *Canscha, Om, Pacsha*.

"CANSCHA signifies the object of our most ardent wishes.

"OM is the famous monosyllable used both at the beginning and conclusion of a prayer, or any religious rite, like *Amen*.

"PACSHA exactly answers to the obsolete Latin word *Vix*: it signifies change, course, stead, place, turn of work, duty, fortune. It is used particularly after pouring water in honour of the Gods and *Pitris*. It appears also from Hesychius,

"I. That these words were pronounced aloud at the conclusion of every momentous transaction, religious or civil.

"II. That when Judges, after hearing a cause gave their suffrages, by dropping of pebbles of different colours into a box, the noise made by each pebble was called by one of these three words (if not by all three) but more probably, by the word *Pacsha*; as the *turn*, or *pacsha* of the voting judge, was over.

"When lawyers pleaded in a court of justice, they were allowed to speak two or three hours, according to the importance of the cause; and for this purpose, there was a *Clepsydras*, or *water clock* ready, which, making a certain noise at the end of the expired *pacsha*, *vix*, or *turn*, this noise was called *Pacsha*, &c.

"The word *Pacsha* is pronounced *Vacsh* and *vact* in the vulgar dialects, and from it the obsolete Latin word *vix* is obviously derived. The *Greek* language has certainly borrowed largely from the Sanscrit; but it always affects the spoken dialects of India; the language of the Latins in particular does, which is acknowledged to have been an ancient dialect of the Greek."

This becomes evidence in support of our proposition that mankind migrated from much farther east than the Caspian; and indeed, were this the proper place to trace it, we should discover a conformity between the religious services of the east and the west, too general, and too accurate, to be the effect of any thing less than derivation from one common source. But, if we find Sanscrit terms in Greece, can we be surprised at finding them in the plains of Moab?—if, in the comparatively later ages of Greece, why not in the earlier ages of the Hebrews? And if it should appear, that the most ancient of the Biblical books contain terms, not properly Hebrew, but

appertaining to a more Oriental language,—then, the hypothesis which places the origin of the Hebrew Patriarchs, in those more Oriental countries, will receive proportionate confirmation.

No. DXXXVII. OF CHIUN OR CHIVEN, AND REMPHAN.

THE learned have always been embarrassed with the passage in Amos v. 26. which has already come under our observation, in part. “*Ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch, [King] and Chiun your images, the star of your God, which ye made to yourselves.*” Mr. PARKHURST has taken pains with this article; he renders [*Heb. Dict. Art.* כִּיּוֹן] “*And the Chiun of your images, the star, shine, or glory, of your Aleim, which ye made to yourselves.*” He observes, “here it is manifest that *Chiun* is equivalent to *star* :” and he explains *Chiun* of a *flame, supernatural light, or glory*. Most commentators, however, have distinguished here more than one deity: and it is rather remarkable that while our translation renders *tabernacle* in the singular, yet implies two deities, Moloch and Chiun, Mr. PARKHURST, who renders *tabernacles* in the plural, should endeavour to set aside *Chiun*, by resolving the term into the splendour of a star. At the same time, he acknowledges that the root of the term is not readily found in Hebrew; and he places it under כִּיּוֹן, *to burn*, instead of כָּן, *to establish*. But, what if this *Chiun* be the *Chiven* of the ancient Sanscrit, and the modern Brahmens? This pronunciation of the Hebrew letters is at least equally correct as the other; and we shall find the deity it denotes, to be precisely suitable to the history in which his name occurs. I know, indeed, that *Kijun* is the name of a Persian deity, [Spencer, Euseb. *Prep. lib.* i. p. 27. ii. 45. iii. 90. xviii. 5.]—and we have seen, No. DII. that *Keiwan* denotes the planet *Saturn*; but the reasons for identifying *Chiun* with *Saturn* are not satisfactory. What then is *Chiven*?—it is answered, “the power of destruction and reproduction.” Brama, Vistnou and *Chiven* are the triple power of the Supreme Being, in manifestation: in other words, creation, conservation, destruction and reproduction.” Nor was it otherwise understood by the LXX. who in translating the passage in Amos, offer a remarkable variation; τὸ ἀστρον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν Παῖφαν: and this is adopted by Stephen, Acts vii. 43. “the star of your god *Remphan*, figures which ye made to worship them.” Now, what can *Remphan* be? Under the proper article in the *Dictionary* the reader may see to what difficulties the learned have been reduced,—without completely solving the question. But, the following passage from the Essay of Sir W. JONES on the Gods of India, *Asiatic Researches*, p. 251. *Calcutta Edit.* may be more determinate. “Mahadeva, in his generative character, is the husband of *Bhavani*, whose relation to the waters is evidently marked by her image being restored to them at the conclusion of her great festival called *Durgôtsava*: she is known also to have attributes exactly similar to those of VENUS *Marina*, whose birth from the sea-foam and splendid rise from the couch, in which she had been cradled, have afforded so many charming subjects to ancient and modern Artists: [Comp. PLATE of SUCCOTH BENOETH, No. 9.] and it is very remarkable that the REMBHA’ of India’s court, who seems to correspond with the POPULAR VENUS, or Goddess of Beauty, was produced, according to the Indian fabulists from the froth of the churned ocean” . . . “BHAVANI now demands our attention; and in this character I suppose her to be. . . VENUS herself; not the Idalian queen of laughter and jollity, who, with her Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful child of poetical imagination, and answers to the Indian REMBHA’ with her celestial train of

Apsara's, or damsels of paradise; but *Venus Urania*, so luxuriously painted by Lucretius, and so properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem on Nature; *VENUS presiding over generation*, and, on that account, exhibited sometimes of both sexes (an union very common in the Indian sculptures) as in her *bearded* statue at Rome, in the images perhaps called *Hermathena*, and in those figures of her, which had the form of a *conical marble* [Comp. PLATES, SUCCOTH BENOTH, Nos. 2, 3. CYPRUS, Nos. 5, 6. JERUSALEM, No. 3. TYRE, Nos. 7, 8.] “for the reason of which figure we are left says Tacitus, in the dark:”—the reason appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of Hindustan; where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity, which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals.” p. 254.

The decorous sensibility of our countryman has imagined a distinction without an essential difference: it is, however, enough for our purpose, that *Rembha* and *Renpha* are evidently the same; that *Rembha* is the popular *Venus*, or Goddess of *reproduction*; and that *Chiven* is the *reproductive power*: the LXX. and Stephen following them, therefore, in preferring one name to the other, have merely substituted an appellation better known, to express the same character:—But both these terms are *Sanscrit*; and the inference that these deities, worshipped in the West, were adopted from the East, follows unquestionably, from the use of these terms to express them.

No. DXXXVIII. OF BAAL-PEOR, AND MUTH, OR THE POWER OF DEATH.

IT will, no doubt, be observed, that the *Chiven* of Amos, is a term used many ages after the events to which the prophet refers, which are those connected with the history of Balaam, Numbers chap. xxii. &c. and that the term in Numbers is not *Chiven* but *Baal-peor*, chap. xxv. 3. But, before we can examine that history to advantage, we must attend to a previous enquiry: for the Psalmist says, “the Israelites joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and did eat the sacrifices of the dead, מִתִּים;”—what means this *Muthim*? Mr. PARKHURST refers to sacrifices offered to, or in honour of, the dead; such probably, as were afterwards, though in very early times, offered by the Greeks and Trojans.” But, this does not meet the parallelism of the place: as *Baal-peor* is a deity, we must look for a deity in *Muthim*; and a deity analogous to *Baal-peor*. This we find in *Chiven*, who is lord of *destruction* as well as of *reproduction*. In Isaiah xxviii. 15. we read of a *covenant made with Death*, מָוֶת, in the singular; and with hell (*the grave*, שְׁאֵל) *are we at agreement*.” Here the reference is to death in a general sense, the termination of life; as appears from mention of the grave: whereas, in the text of the Psalm, the term is read in the plural; *Deaths*: [perhaps, intensively, for the Supreme Power of death] but, the *Keri* (margin) is correct, which reads *Death*, in the singular; and, therefore, allows us to include a reference to the Power of destruction, *Muth*, with that of generation, *Baal-peor*; which powers coalesce in the character of the Hindoo *Chiven*.

Sir W. JONES has hinted at the union of both sexes in statues of Venus; the same is most notorious in *Chiven*: his figure in Sonnerat, is half man, half woman; and his emblem in the same author, is of the grossest description. In fact, it combines and displays what Tacitus has left obscure; and is a compound symbol, which, as Sir WILLIAM observes, appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of Hindustan.” This affords a just notion of *Baal-peor*; and explains the comparisons to which

St.

St. Jerom and St. Austin have had recourse, in their writings. *Chiven*, in India, is “adorned in the temples with the best sweet herbs and flowers,” says Baldæus, in Churchill, vol. iii. p. 831. St. Austin says the same of *Phalli*, carried in procession in honour of Bacchus, in the cities of Italy, [at Rome, in the month of August,] crowned with garlands by the matrons,” *De Civitate Dei*, lib. vii. cap. 2. and Jerom on Hosea, accuses the Jewish women of worshipping Baal-peor, *ob obsceni magnitudinem membri, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare*.

This hesitating phraseology shews, that the Christian father was aware of the want of precision in his language; but, he did not choose more fully to describe the *Chivenlingam*; which to this day is worn as a talisman, or what the Latins called *Fascini*, by the Joguis of India.

That the Israelites brought with them from Egypt various Egyptian words which they had adopted during their residence in that country, is generally admitted. This appellation, *Peor*, has been thought of foreign origin, and not Hebrew; and the derivation of it from the Egyptian has lately been urged with considerable learning and force. But, if it be foreign, why not derive it from *Kedem*, at once, from which country the vile prophet, who perhaps introduced it in the west, was certainly brought by the terrified and infatuated king of Moab.

No. DXXXIX. BALAAM'S DIVINATIONS: NACHASHIM.

IF the supposition be admissible, that foreign terms—terms derived from more Oriental countries, and properly Braminical or Hindoo, occur in the Hebrew Scriptures, it might be worth the while of the learned to consider, whether such as have long perplexed them, have never been accurately explained, or understood, and have been rather naturalized than native to the sacred language, may not have had the same origin.

The history of Balaam furnishes one, Numb. xxiv. 1. When that covetous diviner saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not as at other times *to seek for enchantments*;—but, this is only the general, not the particular, meaning of the words,—he went not נחשים לקראת בפעם בפעם, literally, as “*time upon time to meeting Nachashim*.”

There is something peculiar here; and to be properly understood the words must be strictly taken:—“he went not *to meet*”—it was not, then, to make observations—to watch attentively—to inspect, that he went: but to meet, *à la rencontre*. And what had he been used to meet, as implied in the phrase? *Nachashim*; the plural of *Nachash*; *serpents*: as chap. xxi. 6. “the fiery SERPENTS,” *Nachashim*. Had he then been accustomed, when in his own country, to go to meet *serpents*? to draw auguries from those reptiles? The thing is not impossible; since we know, that from almost every creature auguries have been drawn. But, it is much more probable, that Balaam pretended to greater powers, to intercourse with spiritual existences, who furnished him with supernatural intelligence; and who could and would perform extraordinary feats of destruction in consequence of his execration. The pretence has never wanted professors, in every age; and instances of it might be adduced from Balaam, and the Witch of Endor, from the familiar spirits that peep and mutter, Isaiah viii. 19. out of the dust, xxix. 4. to Cornelius Agrippa, and the *modern illuminati* of Germany.—But, why employ the term *serpents* to express these spiritual powers? and, what was the supposed character of these *Nachashim*?—Again,

It will naturally be enquired, whether we know of any term derived from beyond

Kedem which bears the double sense of *serpent* and *spiritual existence*? A spiritual existence not benevolent, not of celestial benignity, but insidious and infernal. Alluding to the Stygian Pluto, in the character of the *destroyer*, says Sir W. JONES, in his *Essay on the Gods of India*. p. 249. "The Sovereign of *Patala*, or the *Infernal Regions*, is the *King of Serpents*, named *ŚēshanAGA*."—The following particulars are from "*Cosha*, a Dictionary of the Sanscrit language, by Amera Sinka," edited and explained by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. Serampore, 1808. 4to. "The Infernal Regions" (the abode of BAALI, and of the NA'GA's, [sing. *Nágáh*] under the earth.") "The NA'GA's, (are demi-gods in the human shape, with a serpent's tail, and dilated neck, like the Coluber *Najah*.)"—The Dictionary then proceeds to enumerate terrestrial snakes and serpents, in considerable variety:—Why are these ranged under the infernal serpents, except as the same nature is imputed to the whole? "Again, Mr. WILFORD, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 297. *London Edit.* informs us, that, "In *Patala* (or the Infernal Regions) resides the Sovereign Queen of the NA'GA's (*large snakes, or dragons*;) she is beautiful; and her name is *Asyuruca*:"—" *Asyurus* the primitive form of *Asyuruca*,—signifies literally, *she whose face is most beautiful*." It cannot be, as a *serpent*, that her face is most beautiful; it must be her "*human face divine*," as Milton's expression is: and indeed, that poet's "*Šin*" is a perfect *Nágáh*:

She seem'd a woman to the waist and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a *Serpent* —————

If then, Balaam were reputed, or if he affected, to hold intercourse with the powers of *destruction*, with potent spirits of the infernal regions, as his familiars, supposed to exist in, or to assume, the form and properties of serpents, there is no word in Hebrew, so proper to express this as *Nachash, Nachashim*. Nor should we overlook the *insidious* nature of this prophet's advice, worthy a disciple of these *Nachashim*! What he could not effect against Israel by force; he accomplished by fraud. Undoubtedly, this moral insinuation, this guile, is drawn from the gliding, the insinuating motion of the serpent tribe; in accord with which, is the description in the Revelations xii. v. 9. of "*the great Dragon* [large snakes, or dragons, says Mr. WILFORD] *that Old Serpent, called the Devil, and (ò) THE Satan, which deceived the whole world*:"—But, an animal serpent could not deceive the whole world, though *SheshanAGAH*, the destroyer, the Sovereign Serpent of the infernal regions, might do so: and when we read, 2 Cor. xi. 3. that *the serpent beguiled Eve*; we must not attribute that to a natural serpent, to which a natural serpent is incompetent. To supply this deficiency, and to impart ability for the purpose, to a natural serpent, recourse has been had to supposition:—as that, the creature was merely the vehicle by which a tempting spirit acted; so Milton:

. . . . in at his mouth
The Devil enter'd, and his brutal sense,
In heart or head, possessing, soon inspir'd
With act intelligential; —————

With track oblique
At first, as one who sought access, but fear'd
To interrupt, side-long he works his way:
So varied he, and of his tortuous train
Curl'd many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve,
To lure her eye —————

But, may we not rather acknowledge a like duplicity of meaning in the Hebrew word *Nachash*, as in the Sanscrit *Nágáh*? Or, may not the Hebrew *Nachash* be its legitimate representative, by transplantation, and, consequently, have brought with it that double import which places it at the head of snakes and serpents, natural and metaphorical:—"that Old Serpent, the Satan." We have seen that the Satan (no earthly spirit) tempted Job: why might he not tempt our first parents? He tempted David; he tempted the Messiah; why might he not tempt in Paradise, itself? "The *Nachash* was more subtle than any beast of the field,"—no doubt of it; and therefore Balaam went to meet his *Nachushim*; the powers of darkness and destruction, the Demi-gods of *Patala*, the Infernal Regions. But, "the *Nachash* of Genesis is punished by a sentence of degradation, apparently animal degradation, therefore he was animal; " say some:—will the reader have the goodness to consider by what other terms the punishment inflicted on an inhabitant of *Patala* could be rendered sensible to Adam? What acquaintance had our first father with the nature of spirits? None. Of what avail then, to him, would have been a punishment simply spiritual on his enemy? It would have been neither intelligible, nor cautionary. But, the symbol, the serpent, would be ever before his eyes in common with other creatures, and the insidiousness of its manners, with the mortal consequences of its venom, would never be forgotten, and could never be mistaken.

No. DXL. ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS.

IT is not likely that the terms derived from beyond Kedem, retained in the Hebrew writings should be restricted to one or two. It is true, that those already noticed occur in the history of Balaam, and contribute to justify the notion that he was brought from a country very far east; but, there are others, apparently of similar derivation, which ought not to be overlooked. The name of *Cozbi*, the Midianitish prostitute, Numb. xxv. 15. 18. is precisely that of a prostitute in Hindee, at this day, *Cuzbee*. The *Baal* of Scripture is the *Baali* of India. The *Dagon* of the Philistines is the *Dagoon* of Ava. The *Pali-sthan* of the Sanscrit is the *Palestine* of the Hebrew. The *Ramasses* of the Exodus is the *Rachmuatsa* of the Puranas. The name of Egypt, *Mizr*, is the same in both languages, and in both denotes as well the city as the country. The *Cush* of Moses is the *Cusha* of the Brahmins, and is divided likewise, by both, into Eastern and Western. *Sharma* is *Shem*: *Jyapeti* is *Japhet*. If we should trace allusions to Oriental notions this argument might be greatly extended; but, it is sufficient to have opened it. Several such occur in the prophets: Ezekiel alludes to the garden of God, and to Mount Meru, The reign of the Messiah in Isaiah coincides wonderfully with the pacific powers of the pipe of *Kristna*; and probably is a tradition of the deepest antiquity; common to many nations, and, as such, the basis of Virgil's famous fourth Eclogue.

But, our object is, merely to shew that every thing agrees with the supposition that the original seat of mankind, and of the Hebrew Patriarchs, was not in the neighbourhood of the Caspian; but rather in central Asia, or Caucasus: Our enquiry is Geographical, not Philological.

Another branch of evidence might be derived from the characters used in Writing in the countries west of Caucasus. It is certain, that they bear no analogy to those of the Chinese, and other nations, east of the Ganges. Mr. Lichtenstein, in his *Tentamen Palæographica Assyrio-Persicæ*, Helmstad, 1803, goes so far as to say, that most Asiatic monuments of antiquity, bearing inscriptions, found on this side of

the rivers, Oxus and Indus, may be considered as *Semitic works* (works executed by descendants of Shem) or of people which used a language to which may be traced those dialects now called Oriental, especially the *Aramean* and the *Arabic*: and that a diligent comparison of the elements which have contributed to the Alphabets of all these languages would most effectually assist in elucidating the ancient inscriptions. And he subsequently proceeds to explain by the Hebrew the nail-headed characters of Persepolis, &c. which form the principal subject of his book.

Into this enquiry we cannot at present enter; it should seem as if Providence were about to adduce much additional and unquestionable evidence in demonstration of the antiquity, authenticity, and authority, of the Sacred Scriptures; which affords an argument that the other parts of them (the prophetical, &c. will also, be established and fulfilled in their time.

No. DXLI.

THOUGHTS ON THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT, AND THEIR BUILDERS.

DESCRIPTION of the Pyramids of Egypt, has hitherto been regarded as matter of curiosity, rather than as being applicable in illustrating Scripture, but, after considering the subject thoroughly, I conceive, that Providence has left us these, as everlasting monuments of the veracity of that Sacred History, with which we are favoured: In fact, that they are part, at least, of the labours of the Israelites, previous to the Exodus; and that they remain to witness the leading events of that portion of the history of the sons of Jacob. The following considerations may assist our opinion on this subject.

1. If we enquire what were the labours of the Israelites for the Pharaohs? we find they consisted in making bricks, to be hardened in the sun, for such bricks alone require the assistance of straw in their composition, which material is particularly mentioned by the officers of this people: "they laboured in brick, and in mortar, and in all manner of service in the field." Exod. i. 14. Accordingly,

It appears from various travellers, that the internal construction of these mighty masses consists, among other materials, of brick of this description: and thereby agrees with that circumstance of the sacred story. This is true of the great Pyramid, which is usually visited: but the Pyramids of Sakkara, at some distance, are wholly composed of sun-burnt bricks, so that *these* are undeniable.

2. The multitude, when in the wilderness, regret "the fish which they did eat in Egypt, *freely* [*gratis*: not at their own expense] the cucumbers, the melons, the leeks, the onions, the garlick." Numb. xi. 5. Accordingly,

We are told by Herodotus, that on the Pyramid was an inscription, "expressing the expense of the articles of food consumed by the labourers; radishes, [the *leeks* perhaps of S. S.] onions and garlick, they cost 1,600 talents of silver." No doubt these vegetables were cheap enough; so that this considerable sum implies a prodigious number of workmen, employed during a great length of time. Herodotus also admires the farther sum which must have been expended in *food* and clothes.

3. As to the number of persons employed in their erection, Diodorus Siculus says, that 36,000 workmen, or slaves, were occupied twenty years in constructing the Pyramid of Chemnis. Herodotus says, 100,000 were employed in *bringing stones*: 10,000 at a time, and relieved each other every three months. I suppose, therefore, that the number given by Diodorus, includes the whole of the population employed in all departments, while the number given by Herodotus is that em-

ployed in a specific department; but, that all were relieved every three months, and that only a proportion of one tenth was employed at a time, seems to have been a kind of rule in the business. Now, it is very likely that the Israelites were in this manner relieved; for we find, *Exod. iv. 27.* that the mother of Moses was able to conceal him, when an infant, no longer than *three months*. And Aaron was able to take a journey (which usually occupies *two months*, says Dr. SHAW,) to Mount Horeb, to meet Moses, which, had he been kept without intermission to his labour, would have been impossible. Indeed, if the Israelites laboured for Pharaoh *in the field*, they could not have been constantly employed in *building*: labours in the field also have their interval, by the appointment of Nature, not to say, that the possession of great herds of cattle by the Israelites, when they went out of Egypt, proves that they must have had some time for tending them. Add to this, that their profession was that of shepherds, that they were placed in the richest pasturage in Egypt, that Moses stipulates that not a hoof should be left behind, and that the very institution of the passover-lamb implies the possession of flocks; these, with other circumstances, shew clearly that the Israelites must have had intervals of time, in which to pay attention to their own property and business.

4. It appears very likely that the native Egyptians, or the governing nation, at least, did not labour on these structures; this was, we are told, the custom of the Egyptian king, *Sesostris*, and seems to have been the rule, adopted, as a dictate of policy, as well in early, as in later ages. Respecting *Sesostris*, Diodorus Siculus, says, *lib. i. cap. 2.* "he built . . . he employed in these works none of his own subjects, but only the labours of captives. He was even careful to engrave these words on the temples " *No Egyptian had a hand in this structure.*" They say farther that the captives brought from Babylon, unable to endure these labours found means to escape, and . . . made war against the Egyptians, &c.

It is therefore likely that the stranger Israelites found in Egypt, by "the king who knew not Joseph," and whose increasing numbers and strength that king dreaded, would be set to labour, though in mere waste of their strength, on structures only useful in a political view, rather than any of the natural inhabitants; toward whom the same policy was not necessary. This conduct was afterwards adopted by Solomon, *1 Kings ix. 27.* "Solomon built . . . of the Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, &c. who were not of the children of Israel did Solomon *levy a tribute of bond-service*—but of the children of Israel, did Solomon make no bondmen: but they were men of war." &c.

5. That it was anciently, as it still is in the East, the custom to employ *bondmen* in building, is notorious; we have therefore only to enquire, whether this character was attached to the Israelites? It is expressly attributed to them: for they are said to be brought out of the house of *bondage*, *Exodus, chap. xx. 2.* they are charged, to "remember thou wast a *bondman* in Egypt," *Deut. xv. 15.* Say to thy son, "We were Pharaoh's *bondmen*," *Deut. vi. 21.* That the Israelites did not *make brick* only, but performed other labours of building may be inferred from *Exod. ix. 8. 10.* Moses took "ashes of the *furnace*,"—no doubt that which was tended by his people:—so *Psalms lxxx. 6.* "I removed his shoulder from the *burden*, and his hands were delivered from the *mortar-basket*" (not *pots*, as in our translation) and with this rendering agree the *LXX. Vulgate, Symmachus*, and others. It is recorded, indeed, that the Israelites built *cities* for Pharaoh, and in such building they might and must carry the burden, and the mortar-basket, (analogous to our mortar-hod) yet as their *delivery* from these things is spoken of, as the *furnace* is clearly not distant from the

residence of Pharaoh, and as there is no reason to suppose that soon after they had built these cities they were dismissed; these circumstances seem to corroborate the positive testimony of Josephus, that Israel was employed on the Pyramids. As the last Pyramid was never completely finished, we may, perhaps, attribute the omission of that finishing to the confusions consequent on the death of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and the hatred which attended his memory, among the genuine Egyptians, of which race he was not; but was a usurper over them, as he was a tyrant over Israel.

6. The space of time allotted to the erection of these immense masses, coincides with what is usually allotted to the slavery of the Israelites. Israel is understood to have been in Egypt 215 years; of which, Joseph ruled seventy years, nor was it till long after his death, that the "new king arose who knew not Joseph." If we allow about forty years for the extent of the generation which succeeded Joseph, added to his seventy, there remain about a hundred and five years to the Exodus.

Now—Herodotus tells us, *lib. ii. cap. 124.* that "till the reign of *Rampsinitus* (the *Ramesses* of S. S.?) Egypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. *Cheops*, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct. He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians from offering sacrifices: he next proceeded to make them labour servilely for himself, by building *the Pyramids*. *Cheops* reigned fifty years. *cap. 127.* His brother *Chephren* succeeded, and adopted a similar conduct, he reigned fifty-six years. Thus for the space of *one hundred and six years*, were the Egyptians exposed to every species of oppression, and calamity; not having in all this period permission to worship in their temples. For the memory of these two monarchs they have so extreme an aversion, that they are not willing to mention their names. *They call their Pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis, who at that time fed his cattle in those places.* *Mycerinus* succeeded *Chephren*; disapproved his father's conduct; commanded the temples to be opened, and the people who had been reduced to the extremest affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice," &c.

Here are plain traces of a government by a *foreign* family; and of a worship contrary to that which had been previously established in Egypt, as appears in the prohibition of sacrifices: this, I think, agrees with circumstances narrated in Exodus; and the historian relates that it lasted one hundred and six years, wherein it coincides with the bondage-time of the sons of Israel.

But there is information couched under the ambiguous mention of the shepherd *Philitis*, which should not escape us. It is clear, that the Egyptians could not call the kings by whose order the *Pyramids* (plural) were built, by this name, in the hearing of Herodotus, since they referred them to their kings *Cheops* and *Chephren*: moreover, it should seem that the shepherd *Philitis* had formerly, and at other times, customarily, fed his cattle elsewhere. We may, therefore, understand this passage thus:—They attributed the labour of constructing these Pyramids to a *shepherd* who came from *Philistia*; but, who at that time fed his cattle in the land of Egypt." Implying, that they more readily told the appellation of the workmen [the sons of Israel, the *shepherd*, Gen. xlvii. 5.] employed in the building, than of the kings by whose commands they were built. The same conduct they seem to have held in the days of Diodorus, who remarks, "They admit that these works are superior to all which are seen in Egypt; not only by the immensity of their mass, and by their prodigious cost, but still more by the beauty of their construction; and the workmen who have rendered them so perfect, are much more estimable than the kings who paid their cost: for the former have hereby given a memorable proof of their genius and skill,

whereas the kings contributed only the riches left them by their ancestors, or extorted from their subjects . . . They say, the first was erected by *Armæus*, the second by *Ammosis*, the third by *Inaron*." I take the liberty to correct the first name *Armæus*, into *Aramæus*, "the Syrian:" and then this title perfectly coincides with the mention of the shepherd of Palestine, by Herodotus. This passage being extremely curious, and as I suppose, never properly understood, the original Greek is subjoined. Diod. Sic. lib. i. sect. 2.

—την μεγιστην ποιησαι λεγουσιν Αρμαιον [Αραμαιον], την δε δευτεραν Αμμωσιν, την δε τριτην Ιναρωνα.

This coincidence will appear more striking if the names be considered distinct from their prefixes, for, if we compare them with the description of Moses and Aaron, Ex. vi. 26, 27. we find them the same, as near as traditional pronunciation by natives of different countries could bring it: *aMousin*, or *haMousin*, is *huMouseh*, *הוא משה*: and *inArona*, or *hinArona*, is *huAaron*, *הוא אהרן*, which, where two vowel sounds came together, took a consonant between them, when spoken,—*hunAaron*. This, therefore, confirms the supposition, that the Israelites were employed on the Pyramids; first, under the appellation of the *Syrian*, or *Aramean*, [the very title given to Jacob, "An *Aramite* ready to perish was my father, he went down into Egypt . . . and the Egyptians evil intreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage," Deut. xxvi. 5.]—and afterwards, under the names of the two most famous principals of that people.

But beside the names of Moses and Aaron, the builders, we may *possibly* find that the names of the kings by whose order they were built, are also preserved, so far at least as by the help of Scripture to afford assistance in this enquiry. "*Rampsinus*, [supposed to be the *Remphis*, of the next paragraph, from Diodorus Siculus] . . . possessed such abundance of wealth, that so far from surpassing, *none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence*," says Herodotus: who also relates a history of his treasury, from which the least we can gather is that it was very extraordinary.

"*Remphis* (son of Protheus) having succeeded his father, employed the whole period of his reign in increasing his revenues, and amassing gold and silver . . . he left behind him more riches than any of his predecessors: for it is said that in his coffers were found 400,000 talents," says Diod. Sic. lib. i. sect. 2.

Raumesses or *Raugmesses*, (Benjamin of Tudela writes it *Raghmesses*; Eusebius writes it *Ramises*; Josephus writes it *Ramphates*. These different ways of writing this name announce a foreign origin,) is the name of a town, Exod. i. 11. xii. 37. apparently, named after this king of Egypt: and if pronounced *Rucmetsets*, it would be the Indian *Rucnavatsa*; this elision is common in India, and Major WILFORD adopts it himself, by supposing that the *Tamovatsa* of this passage is the *Timaus* of the Greek writers.

Rucnavatsa, was, say the Puranas, NOT OF THE ROYAL RACE OF EGYPT: but, his grandfather *Tamovatsa* defeated the *Egyptian king*, "placed himself on the throne of *Misra*, and governed the kingdom with perfect equity: his son *Bahya-vatsa* devoted himself to religion, having resigned his dominion to his son *Rucnavatsa*, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved this country, that from his just revenues *he amassed an incredible treasure*. His wealth was so great, that he raised three mountains called *Rucmadri*, *Rajatadri*, and *Retnadri*; or, the MOUNTAIN of gold, of silver, and of gems: the author says, *mountains*, but it appears, says Major WILFORD, from the context, that they were fabrics [the Arabs and Turks call them *Djebel Pharouni*, Pharaoh's Mountains, to this day.]—There can be little or no

doubt, that they are the three Pyramids near *Misra-sthan*, or Memphis. *Rucmavatsa* was no tyrant to his own people, whom he cherished, says the *Mahacalpa*, as if they had been his own children; but he might have compelled the native Egyptians to work, for the sake of keeping them employed, and subduing their spirit. The first was said to be of *gold*, because coated with *yellow marble*; the second of *silver*, because coated with *white marble*; the third of *gems*, because coated with variegated *marble*:" or perhaps, marbles set in some pattern.

Now the opposite character of this *Rucmavatsa* is what we should expect would be delivered by writers of opposite nations. 1. *He was a foreigner introduced by conquest*, therefore "he knew not Joseph," nor cared for any former services rendered by that "Saviour of the (Egyptian) world." 2. *He tenderly loved his people*—yes, his own people, foreigners like himself; but the Egyptians were not so fond of him, they rather banished his name from their memory, and hated the mention of it. 3. *From his just revenues he amassed treasures*—but his conquered subjects would describe this as iniquitous exaction. 4. *This family shut up the temples*: we are sure they prohibited sacrifices in the instance of Israel; this may be piety in the opinion of the writers of the *Mahacalpa*; but the original Egyptians would esteem it persecution for religion's sake, and consequently wickedness of no common guilt. 5. *He built three mountains*:—rather, three mountains were built during the reign of his family;—on these he did not employ his own people, but partly the native Egyptians with others whom he found in the country (the *mixed multitude* of Exod. xii. 38.) and partly the Israelites, whom he wished to subdue by labour.

The character of this prince agrees sufficiently to prove his identity; and it disagrees sufficiently to prove, that on one side it is viewed with the eye of national and religious partiality, on the other, with the aversion of national and religious abhorrence. The progress is as usual, in these cases: taxation accumulates wealth; wealth is dissipated in expensive buildings; and is accompanied by over-driven slavery; this issues in insurrection, and the escape of the sufferers. [Precisely parallel to this is the occasion of the revolt of the ten tribes from the family of Solomon, 1 Kings xii. 3. 4. 18. 2. Chron. x. 4.] Our work is not a history, but it is impossible to refrain from observing how aptly historical narration and geographical discussion illustrate each other. And we form this general conclusion, that, so many coincidences, justify us in believing that the Pyramids of Egypt were built when Israel was in that land, were partly constructed by that people, and that the labours they exacted fostered that aversion of mind, which the true Egyptians entertained against the memories of their oppressors; so that in later ages, the priests rather mentioned to enquiring foreigners, the names of the operative builders, than of the kings whose treasures had been expended on their construction. As to the difference of names between *Cheops* and *Ramesses*; probably one may be a title, or a name taken on a certain occasion: [or one may be a Hindoo the other an Egyptian appellation] we know so little on this subject, that no objection can be maintained from it, without farther information.

No. DXLII. ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PYRAMIDS AND SPHINX.

THE Pyramids are such extraordinary works, that they justify extraordinary attention: having attempted to ascertain their builders, we shall now allot a few words to their purpose. They have been described as three *mountains*, but it appears from the context, says Major WILFORD, that they were *fabrics*;—he adds, "as to the three stupendous edifices, called *mountains*, from their size and form, there can be little or

no

no doubt, that they were the three great Pyramids near *Misra-st'han* or *Memphis*; which, according to the *Puránas* and to *Pliny*, were built from a motive of ostentation, but, according to *Aristotle*, were *monuments of tyranny*."

"The *Brahmens* never understood, that any Pyramid in *Misra-st'hala*, or Egypt, was intended as a repository for the dead; and no such idea is conveyed by the *Mahácalpa*, where several other Pyramids are expressly mentioned as places of worship. There are Pyramids now at Benáres, but on a small scale, with subterranean passages under them, which are said to extend many miles; when the doors, which close them, are opened, we perceive only dark holes, which do not seem of great extent, and pilgrims no longer resort to them, through fear of mephitic air, or of noxious reptiles. The narrow passage, leading to the great Pyramid in Egypt, was designed to render the holy apartment less accessible, and to inspire the votaries with more awe."

"On my describing the great Egyptian Pyramid to several very learned *Brahmens*, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them asked, if it had a communication under ground with the river *Cáli*: when I answered, that such a passage was mentioned as having existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen, they unanimously agreed, that it was a place appropriated to the worship of *Padmá-dévi*, and that the supposed tomb was a trough, which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with the sacred water and lotos-flowers."

These sentiments are repetitions of those which governed the builders of Babel, who proposed, a tower, the top of which "should be (sacred) to the heavens:" and these Egyptian Pyramids were imitations of that in the land of Shinar, and were intended for the same purposes. But, we must not pass that colossal performance, the SPHINX, without showing, how it contributes to strengthen our argument. The Sphinx is a figure composed of a lion's body, and a woman's [or man's] bosom, neck, and head. Admitting it to symbolize Mount Lion, *i. e.* Caucasus, with the power which originally governed there, it is perfectly agreeable to the notion of a foreign nation, supposed to have overrun Egypt; and it forms an instance of the care taken to perpetuate the *insignia* of the original country. In short, the Hindoo conquerors placed it in front of the Pyramids, looking eastward, that it might constantly recall the memory of the *Sun-rising land*.

"Dr. Pococke observes, 'This Sphinx is cut out of the solid rock. This extraordinary monument is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis, though I think it is mentioned by none of the ancient authors, except *Pliny*, *lib.* xxxvi. c. 12. I found by the quadrant that it is about twenty-seven feet high, the neck and head only being above ground; the lower part of the neck, or the beginning of the breast is thirty-three feet wide, and it is thirty feet from the fore part of the neck to the back; and thence to the hole in the back, it is seventy-five feet, the hole being five feet long; from which to the tail, if I mistake not, it is thirty feet; which something exceeds *Pliny's* account, who says, that it is *one hundred and thirteen* feet long. The sand is risen up in such a manner, that the top of the back only is seen; some persons have lately got to the top of the head, where they found a hole, which probably served for the arts of the priests in uttering oracles; as that in the back might be to descend to the apartments beneath.'

Terruit Aoniam volucris, leo, virgo, triformis
Sphinx, volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella."

AUSONIUS.

“Though its proportions are colossal, the outline is pure and graceful, the expression of the head is mild, gracious, and tranquil; the character is African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a softness and delicacy of execution truly admirable; it seems real life and flesh. Art must have been at a high pitch when this monument was executed; for, if the head wants what is called *style*, that is to say, the straight and bold lines which give expression to the figures under which the Greeks have designated their deities, yet sufficient justice has been rendered to the fine simplicity and character of nature which is displayed in this figure.” Denon, *Travel. Egypt.* vol. i.

The hole on the head of this Sphinx, was certainly for receiving some kind of ornament: whether the hole on the back, was for the purpose of supporting wings, to complete the figure, can only be conjectured. Travellers who saw it centuries ago have delineated the head as encircled with rays; and its (head-dress, or) cap might have that appearance, as the rays which still remain are rather *central* than *horizontal*, and seem to be intended for stripes, or other ornaments. *Vide* MONTFAUC. *Ant. Illust.* vol. ii. plate.

The number of smaller Pyramids, and of temples, still existing in ruins around these objects, demonstrate that here was a prodigious establishment for national worship; such an one, no doubt, the builders at Babel contemplated; but the want of stone in that country, obliging them to use brick, the labours of the Pharaohs have outlasted the efforts of the chiefs of Babylon.

Though it may be thought that the Israelites contributed to erect the Pyramids, meaning principally, that part of them which consisted of brick;—yet it does not follow that they cased them with their coating of marble or granite. That was, in all probability, performed by professed artists; the stones also were brought from a distance; and doubtless, required skill as well as labour in their preparation and use. It is indeed a tradition on the spot, that the Israelites dug out from the rocks adjacent, those grottos which show from whence came the layers of stone which accompany the rubble work; and this may be true: but the granite, I presume, they did not cut: for we ought to remember, that the camp of Israel under Moses, included a *mixed multitude*, beside the descendants of Israel; a multitude not always managed by the authority of Moses, himself, and certainly, too powerful for Aaren, in the absence of his brother. Now, these probably, had been employed in the same labours as Israel; and being equally weary of servitude, took the opportunity of escape, by placing themselves under the protection of Moses who had obtained Pharaoh's permission to retire.

No. DXLIII. CONSEQUENCES OF THE FOREGOING STATEMENTS.

THE reader will have observed, that our reasoning rests on the principle that the nation of the “king which knew not Joseph,” was foreign from that Egyptian dynasty, under which Jacob went down into Egypt. It seems proper, therefore, to recall to his attention, the leading considerations—that the patriarch Abraham was of the posterity of Shem; that the Indian *Puranas* report the Shemites' settlement on the banks of the *Nila*; with the indisputable inference that they must have occupied Canaan, also, since they could not enter Egypt without previously passing through that country. This illustrates several particulars in the book of Genesis.

1. Abraham, in Canaan, was among his own relatives; not indeed his own family, yet of the same posterity as himself: in like manner, Shem in visiting Canaan, visited

his own posterity; by whom, no doubt, he was held in the highest honour as "King of Justice," and Priest of the Most High God.

2. If Abimelech, king of Gerar, Gen. xx. were of the Shemite race, then we may better understand his character, and the motives of his conduct; also, his reason for desiring an alliance with Abraham, by marrying *his sister*; the favourable communication of God's will to this king; his remonstrance with his kinsman Abraham; and his liberality to this descendant from the original head of the family.

3. If Shemites ruled in Egypt, when Abraham and Jacob went down thither, then those patriarchs might more readily, and with greater satisfaction, sojourn in that country. It accounts also for the similarity of language; no interpreter being used, that we know of. The taking of Sarai into the house of Pharaoh, was on very different motives from those of Abimelech.

4. Especially, it accounts for the expression, Gen. xii. 6. which has been employed as an argument against the truth of the Mosaic history, "*the Canaanite was then in the land*:" meaning, this sojourning of Abraham was *previous* to the seizure of Canaan by a horde of foreigners, the same as afterwards overran Egypt: for indeed, the primary settlers, the true descendants of Canaan, dwelt at this time in the land. Thus we see, that, properly understood, this expression, so far from being an obstacle, becomes a demonstration of the accuracy of this sacred book.

5. If Joseph stood before a Shemite king, in Egypt, it accounts much for his ready promotion,—for the regard conceived by the king and his court for him; and—for their opinion that "*the Spirit of God was in him*." No doubt, he discovered his descent from Abraham. And, if the priest of *On*, whose daughter Joseph married, was Shemite, also, it accounts at once for the connection formed with her by Joseph; and for the ready admission of her children into the tribes of Israel. One would think that *two* tribes, the blessing proper to the first born, would not have been transferred by Jacob from his eldest son's children to the issue of a heathen, an idolatress, the daughter of an idolatrous priest; especially, considering the anxiety of Abraham, to preserve his descent pure, in the marriage of Isaac; and the extreme uneasiness of Rebekah, the mother of Jacob, when her son Esau transgressed in this very article. This question depends on the character of that *On*, the daughter of whose priest Joseph married: which we cannot examine here. In Egypt, as in Babylonia, the same persons were both priests and princes; and if *On* were an idol, one would rather presume that Joseph married the daughter of the *prince* of this *town*, than of the *priest* of this *idol*.

6. Another consequence of very great importance, follows, from what we have said; that if the Egyptians who persecuted Israel were of the same foreign race as had overrun Canaan,—and this must be inferred from our premises,—then, that seemingly causeless, and unprovoked cruelty, which has been execrated again and again, in commanding a total expulsion, or extermination, of the nations of Canaan, is explained, completely. Because, 1. They were interlopers, and no right to the country they occupied; therefore, to expel them was no injustice. Because, 2. Their compatriots had shewn the utmost cruelty to the Israelites, in destroying by public authority their male infants; therefore, they now received only the retribution of their own former edicts: they were treated as they had formerly treated their then slaves, but now conquerors. 3. This is farther vindicated, if, as is every way probable, the motives of the Pharaohs for destroying the infant Israelites, were *religious*: As these Hamite-Egyptians could not endure this rising posterity in the family of

Shem, with its well-known pretensions and expectations, so when the family of Shem became strongest, they retaliated this enmity on the family of Ham: But, with this difference,---the foreign Canaanites might withdraw if they pleased; and many thousands actually did withdraw, from the chances and consequences of war: but, Israel, when in Egypt, was forbid from withdrawing; and was at last liberated, only after mighty efforts, and by a stretched-out Arm.

7. This statement also explains, Deut. xxiii. 7. "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian (a *genuine* Egyptian) but, his children may enter into the congregation of the Lord, in the *third generation*:" whereas, some other descents were not overlooked under *ten generations*.

8. If this be correct, it implies the possibility of the report in Eusebius being founded on fact, that Abraham was "king in Damascus;" and that "he communicated much learning to the Egyptians; as Geometry, Astronomy," &c. As to the first particular, he would naturally be considered among the Canaanites as, at least, a *Shiech*; and the first kings of cities and provinces were little more; as to the second particular, we are told that Egypt, as a nation, was not famed for science, before it received instruction from the Babylonians; which might be by means of this foreign dynasty.

9. If it be true, that the sons of Shem retreated to Ethiopia, and Abyssinia, on account of this invasion, then we may consider the queen of Sheba, in the days of Solomon, as being of Shemite descent, and therefore the more interested in the glory of that prince, and the more inclined to form connections with him. This also agrees with her blessing "the Lord God of Solomon and Israel;" who was, in fact, the object of worship of her own ancestors: and with the ready conversion of her people in later ages, to Christianity, they being prepared to acknowledge the descent of the Messiah in the line of Shem, in the nation of Israel, and in the family of David.

No. DXLIV. FARTHER PROOF OF HINDOO CONQUESTS, IN ARABIA.

IT may be supposed, very justly, that if the Hamite conquerors of Egypt subdued, and occupied Canaan, and Arabia, they would leave memorials of various kinds, both of their idolatry, and of their industry; and this no doubt, they have done in the towns they built, and in the names they gave them.

But the reader will accept the hint, that such histories of the origin of their towns as have lately reached us, are related in a language peculiarly figurative; for instance,---war is called a *fire*, or *conflagration*; enemies are described, as *long grass*, or *thickets*, or *thorns*, consumed by this fire; and, after the conquests of these enemies, the erection of places of worship becomes the immediate object of the history, and is considered as the origin of towns. Moreover, instituting the figure, or rite, of the idol in such town, is described as the *birth*, origin, &c. of *that Deity*; indeed, it might be the original invention of such a figure, or the primary adoption of such a symbol, for the purpose of employing it as an idol. Diodorus Siculus relates of Ninus, that he conquered Babylonia (where the *city* of Babylon was not yet built, though many towns were) then he overran all Asia, except Bactriana, where he was repulsed, and India; he conquered Egypt, Phenicia, Cœle Syria, and all the nations around; he also penetrated into Persia, Susiana, &c. and, at length, assembling all his powers, he built Nineveh, on the noblest plan, and at prodigious cost. This *overrunning* with military force, is the *conflagration* of the following *Purana*: but, as Ninus, was, doubtless a supporter of the Hindoo system of religion, we may

expect to find expeditions intended to propagate this religious system, described very differently in Hamite records, from what they are in books of the Shemites;—in sacred Scripture.

These records, however, mark to what extent idolatrous worship then prevailed; and by their shewing the origin and establishment of those cities which the Bible History notices *after* the Exodus of Israel, we shall better understand against what manner of superstition the servants of Jehovah had to contend, with the causes of its prevalence over that land especially, which had been tolerably free from idolatry in the days of Abraham.

We may place the following events during the time that Israel was in Egypt. In Gen. xiv. we read of an irruption and conquest by the kings of Persia, Babylonia, &c. who overrun Canaan; which continued in subjection during twelve years; and though they were, under God's mercy, defeated by Abraham, then; yet it is clear, 1. that from the eastern provinces armies had easy access to Canaan, where they had probably many partisans: and from Canaan they might at pleasure invade Egypt; as Nebuchadnezzar, Cambyses, and other Babylonian monarchs did, in after ages. 2. That when Jacob and his family were gone down into Egypt, the land of Canaan appears to be entirely relinquished to whatever might befall it; and we have no history of it during the interval, from its being left by Jacob, to its being re-entered by Joshua. 3. Nevertheless, the numerous names of towns which occur in Joshua, and are clearly idolatrous, evince the prevalence of idolatry: and, 4. The seizure of Egypt by these foreigners, during this period, is sufficient proof of their establishment in Canaan not long before. We shall therefore take advantage of an extract or two, relating to the establishment of idolatrous places of worship; for the date of which, the interval of the residence of Israel in Egypt, appears to be the most probable period, as well as the most convenient.

“Almost the whole universe was at this time overspread with *long grass*; and to destroy it, Maha-deva, with his consort, resolved to travel round the world. They accordingly proceeded into *Cusha-dwip*, which they found thinly inhabited by a few Mlech'has, or impure tribes; and the Yavanas, who concealed their booty in the grass which covered the country.

“Maha-deva took compassion on them, and considering their sufferings in this inhospitable country as a sort of *Tapasya*, he resolved to bestow *Mocsha*, or eternal bliss on them: for this purpose he assumed the character and countenance of Mocsheswara, or *Iswara* who bestows *Mocsha*; and directed his consort Capotesi, who is also called Maha-bhaga, to go to *Vahni-st'han*, on the borders of *Cusha-dwipa*; there to make *Tapasya*, in order to destroy the long grass. Accordingly, she went into *Vahni-st'han*; and that she might effect it without trouble to herself, she assumed another form: from which circumstance she was named *Anayasa*. In this character she seated herself on a beautiful hill, and there made *Tapasya* for many days. At last fire sprung from her devotion, and its presiding power standing before her, she directed him to destroy the *Cusha*; when the hills were soon in a blaze, and the Yavanas and other Mlech'has obtaining *Mocsha*, were re-united to the Supreme Being, without labour or effort on their part;—that is to say, they were involved in the general conflagration, and destroyed.

“When the grass was consumed, *Anayasa* ordered the clouds to gather and pour their waters on the land, which was soon overflowed. The waters then retired, and the four great tribes came into *Cúsha-dwip*, where they soon formed a powerful nation, and became rich and happy. After the conflagration, all sorts of

metals and precious stones were found throughout the country. The countenance of *Anayasa-devi* is that of fire; and a most divine form it is.

"In the mean time *Maha-deva* was at *Mocsha-st'han*, or *Mocshesa*, bestowing *Mocsha* on all who came to worship there. It is a most holy place; and there *Maha-deva* laid aside the countenance and shape of *Capoteswara*, and assumed that of *Mocsheswara*.

"The Brahmens in the western parts of India, insist that *Mocsha-st'han* is the present *Mecca*. The word *Mocsha* is always pronounced in the vulgar dialects, either *Moca* or *Mucta*; and the author of the *Dabistan* says, its ancient name was *Maca*: we find it called *Maco Kaba*, by Ptolemy, "*Moca the great*," or illustrious. Guy Patin mentions a medal of Antoninus Pius with this legend, "MOK. IEP. AΣY. AYTQ." which he very properly translates *Moca sacra, inviolabilis, suis utens legibus*. "*Moca the holy, the inviolable, and using her own laws*." This, in my humble opinion, is applicable only to *Mecca*, or *Mocsha-st'han*, which the Puranas describe as a most holy place. The Arabian authors unanimously confirm the truth of the above legend; and it is ridiculous to apply it to an obscure and insignificant place in Arabia Petræa, called also *Moca*. It may be objected that it does not appear that *Mecca* was ever a Roman colony. I do not believe it ever was; but, at the same time, it is possible that some connection for commercial purposes might have existed between the rulers of *Mecca* and the Romans in Egypt. The learned are not ignorant that the Romans boasted a little too much of their progress in Arabia; and even medals were struck with no other view, apparently, but to impose on the multitude at Rome. It is unfortunate that we do not meet in the Puranas with the necessary *data* to ascertain, beyond doubt, the situation of *Mocshesa*. From the particulars contained in them, however, it appears to have been situated a great way to the westward, with respect to India, and not far from Egypt and Ethiopia.

"It is declared in the Puranas that *Capoteswara* and his consort, *Capotesi*, in the shape of two doves, remained there for some time; and Arabian authors inform us, that in the time of Mohammed, there was in the temple of Mecca a pigeon carved in wood, and another above this: to destroy which, Mohammed lifted Ali upon his shoulders. These pigeons were most probably placed there, in commemoration of the arrival of *Maha-deva* and *Devi*, in the shape of two doves.

"The worship of the dove seems to have been peculiar to India, Arabia, Syria, and Assyria. We read of Semiramis being fed by doves in the desert; and of her vanishing at last from the sight of men, in the shape of a dove; and, according to the Puranas, *Capotesi*, or the dove, was but a manifestation of *Sami-Rama*.

"The dove seems to have been in former times the device of the Assyrian, as the eagle was of the Roman empire; for we read in Isaiah, chap. 20. "And the inhabitants of this country shall say in that day, Such was our expectation! behold whither we wanted to fly for help from the face of the dove; but how could we have escaped?"

"I have adhered chiefly to the translation of Tremellius, which appears the most literal, and to be more expressive of the idea which the prophet wished to convey to the Jews, who wanted to fly to Egypt and Ethiopia, to avoid falling into the hands of the Assyrians; but were to be disappointed by the fall of these two empires.

"All commentators have unanimously understood Assyria by the *Dove*, and have translated the above passage accordingly. *Capotesi*, or the *Assyrian Dove*, was also mentioned in a song, current in these countries, and which seems to refer

to some misfortune that had befallen the Assyrians. The 56th Psalm is directed to be sung to the tune of that song, which was known to every body; and for this purpose the first verse, as usual, is inserted, "*The Dove of distant countries is now struck dumb.*"

"The Hindus further insist, that the *black stone* in the wall of the Caaba, is no other than the Linga or Phallus of *Maha-deva*; and that, when the Caaba was rebuilt by Mohammed (*as they affirm it to have been*) it was placed in the wall out of contempt; but, the newly converted pilgrims would not give up the worship of the *black stone*; and sinister portents forced the ministers of the new religion to connive at it. Arabian authors also inform us, that *stones* were worshipped all over Arabia, particularly at Mecca: and Al-shah-Restani says, that the temple at Mecca was dedicated to *Zohal* or *Kyevun*, who is the same with *Saturn*. The author of the Dabistan declares positively that the *Hejar al aswad*, or the *black stone*, was the image of *Kyevan*. Though these accounts somewhat differ from those in the Puranas, yet they show that this *black stone* was the object of an idolatrous worship from the most remote times." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. [Comp. what has been said in Nos. DXXXVII. & seq. on *Chiven* and *Chiven-lingam*.]

I have chosen this account of Mecca, partly to show the allegorical manner of the Hindoo historians, and partly because this city was certainly a place of worship long before the time of Mahomet. There is even a chance that Ishmael, son of Abraham, dwelt hereabouts; for the Arabs, his descendants, insist that the holy well, *Zemzem*, which is enclosed in the sacred precincts, miraculously gave water to their patriarch in his extremity of thirst. They believe also, that he built the place of worship; and if it were a place of resort and pilgrimage so early as the days of Moses, which is more than barely possible, it coincides with a hint we have elsewhere given, that Moses demanded of Pharaoh, Exod. v. 1. 3. the same indulgence to go and worship Jehovah (by sacrifice) as other of his subjects had, to go and worship their deities, whether *Capoteswara*, or any other, at a considerable distance.

Major WILFORD gives us also a history of the settlement of the same deities at what "appears to be the *Nysa* of Arabia, called *Elim* in Scripture, and *El Tor* by modern Geographers: *Al Tur* belongs properly to the interior *dvip* of Cusha." On this, I would observe, that *Tur* designates a *dove*, in Hebrew; and therefore, this name agrees perfectly with the Hindoo *Capot*, though in another language.

The Hindoo Puranas also mention the town of *Asc'halana-st'han*, which owed its origin to *Sami-Rama*, and *Lileswara*. This is clearly the *Askalon* of Scripture; and *Sami-Rama* is the *Semiramis* of the Greek writers. This derivation receives probability from the import of the names; *Sami Rami* is in Sanscrit, "Fire concealed in the fir tree;" *Askalon* imports in Hebrew, "the settled residence of fire;" which is almost a translation of the former. Here, say the Puranas, *Semiramis* made her first appearance: here, says Diodorus, *Semiramis* was born; i. e. her worship was first instituted. Moreover, he says, she was nursed by doves, and disappeared as a dove, and a dove was her emblem. We have seen also that Diodorus says, Ninus conquered Babylonia before Babylon was built, as a city; but he built Nineveh with all his power, and with the utmost magnificence. *Lileswara* was the founder of Nineveh, say the Puranas; or at least Major Wilford so understands them. This appears to be alluded to under an allegory in the following narration:

"To satisfy *Devi*, and restore all things to their former situation, *Maha-deva* was

born again in the character of *Baleswara*, or *Iswara the Infant*. *Baleswara*, who fosters and preserves all, though a child, was of uncommon strength; he had a beautiful countenance; his manners were most engaging; and his only wish was to please every body; in which he succeeded effectually; but his subjects waited with impatience till he came to the age of maturity; that he might bless them with an heir to his virtues. *Baleswara*, to please them, threw off his child-like appearance, and suddenly became a man, under the title of *Lileswara*, or, *Iswara* who gives pleasure and delight. He then began to reign over gods and men, with the strictest adherence to justice and equity: his subjects were happy; and the women beheld with extacy his noble and manly appearance. With the view of doing good to mankind, he put himself at the head of a powerful army, and conquered many distant countries, destroying the wicked, and all oppressors. He had the happiness of his subjects, and of mankind in general, so much at heart, that he neglected every other purpose." [The same *opposite* description of character as we saw in *Rucnavatsa*, when directing our attention to the Hindoo tyrants of Egypt, in No. DXLI.]

No. DXLV. FARTHER PROOF OF HINDOO CONQUESTS, IN SYRIA.

UNDER an article in the *Dictionary* [see *MAGOG*] we have suggested the correction of a name in Pliny, from *Mabog* to *Maha-baga*: we shall here insert our authority for that correction.

"*Maha-bhaga-st'han* is the *st'han* or place of Sami-Rama, in the character of *Maha-bhaga*, or "the great and prosperous goddess." This implies also that she bestows greatness and prosperity on her votaries.

"We cannot but suppose the *st'han* of *Maha-bhaga* is the ancient town of *Mabog*, called now *Menbigz* and *Menbig*: the Greeks called it *Hierapolis*, or the holy city: it was a place of great antiquity; and there was a famous temple dedicated to the *Syrian Goddess*, whose statue of gold was placed in the centre, between those of Jupiter and Juno. It had a golden Dove on its head; hence some supposed it was designed for Semiramis; and it was twice every year carried to the sea-side in procession. This statue was obviously that of "the Great Goddess," or *Maha-bhaga-devi*; whose history is intimately connected with those of the Dove in the western mythologists, as well as in the Puranas.

"An ancient author [Lucius Amp. *ad Macrin.*] thus reports her origin: "It is related that a *Dove* hatched the egg of a fish, near the Euphrates, and that after many days of incubation came forth the *Goddess merciful and propitious* to men, on whom she bestows *eternal bliss*." Others said, that fishes rolled an egg on the dry land, where it was hatched by a *Dove*, after which appeared the *Syrian Goddess*.

"The Syrian name of *Mabog* is obviously derived from *Maha-bhaga*. This contraction is not uncommon in the western dialects, derived from the Sanscrit; and Hesychius informs us that the Greeks pronounced the Hindu word *Maha*, great, *Mai*. *Mabog* is mentioned by Pliny, where we read *Magog*; but M. D'Anville shows it should be *Mabog*: I conclude, from some manuscript copies. This is also confirmed by its present name, which is to this day *Manbig* or *Manbeg*.

"The temple of *Mabog* was frequented by all nations; and amongst them were pilgrims from India, according to Lucian, as cited by the authors of the Ancient Universal History.

"*Mabog*, or *Hierapolis*, was called also *Old Ninus*, or *Nineveh*, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, and Philostratus: and there is no mistake in Diodorus Siculus

Siculus and Ctesias, when they assert that there was a town called *Nineveh* near the Euphrates. Scripture also seems to place a *Nineveh* thereabout; for it is said that *Rezen* was between *Nineveh* and *Calach*. And the situation of *Rezen*, called also *Resaina* by ancient authors, and *Razain* by the moderns, is well known; as well as that of *Calach* on the banks of the Lycus, now the *Zab*, to the eastward of the Tigris. *Nineveh*, of course, must have been to the westward of these two places, and falls where the *Old Ninus* is pointed out by Ammianus, Philostratus," &c.

The reader will perceive now, that our idea of a Hindoo nation having overrun Canaan and Egypt, is corroborated by many circumstances; and the time of this dominion, though we cannot affix a date to it, is inferred with great appearance of probability; since no period before or after, agrees so well with the particulars. We have moreover, proved this in part already, by shewing that most, if not all, of the deities worshipped in these, and other Mesopotamian cities, have a reference decidedly Oriental.

We close this discussion by observing (what rather perhaps belongs to History) that these accounts set, in a light entirely new, the use of the phrase in the evangelist Matthew, ii. 15. *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*. In fact, the parallel is perfectly strict, between the preservation of the ancient Israel, and that of the holy child Jesus: It stands thus:

Jacob and his family went down into Egypt to sojourn there, by which retirement they were protected from the ravages made by the invaders of Canaan, during their absence: and escaped the dangers their weakness must have experienced there, so that as Joseph says, Gen. xlv. 7. *God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth: to save your lives by a great deliverance*. In like manner, Jesus was taken into Egypt, to preserve him from the fury and researches of Herod, till *those were dead who sought the young child's life to destroy it*: and then, as Israel was delivered in the fulness of time, so was Jesus: each of these, Israel as a nation, and Jesus as an individual, was *Son of God*; and under that character was singularly, and especially, preserved in Egypt; and was remarkably *called out of it*. The reader therefore will not be displeased with the substance of this enquiry; since it leads to a conclusion so very analogous to the design of the sacred Spirit, in a part of the Gospel history which has hitherto perplexed the most learned; and has been the triumph of Jewish opponents: not to say, a butt of malevolence and infidelity among unbelievers and the profane.

No. DXLVI. ON THE METROPOLIS OF EGYPT: MEMPHIS?

WE are now arrived at a period in the History of the Israelites, when their sufferings in Egypt, which their historian has described as extreme, are about to terminate. We are to consider them, as residing in their old station, the province of Goshen, for the most part, with their families and cattle; but, their labouring strength engaged in detachments on the superstitious and wasting construction of the Pyramids. Unquestionably, these immense edifices were erected either in the neighbourhood of a royal city, the capital of the country; or, a city intended for the residence of royalty, would be planned out, and established, as near to them as possible, with all convenient speed; and, as the Israelites "built store-cities for Pharaoh," they might also assist in building this his royal city. But, the very nature of their prolonged occupation on the Pyramids, justifies the supposition, that they would form huts, or slight cottages, for their own residence during the time of labour; and these from the nature

of the place, would be on the river's brink, between the Pyramids and the stream, or the inundation, at the period of the rising of the Nile. Admitting, as we shall afterwards prove, that the Nile took a more westerly course at that time, than it does at present, it may still admit a question Whether the parents of Moses dwelt on the eastern, the city side, of the Nile, or on the western, the Pyramid side. The city side seems best to accord with the particulars of the history, because the daughter of the king, it may be thought, would prefer that side for her *promenade*; and because, the daily transportation of *forced* labourers across the river, is altogether agreeable to the cautious dictates of tyranny; meaning to secure them and their services. That a vast city, with an immense population, formerly stood hereabouts, is demonstrable from the ruins, the remains of works, the number of sepulchres, excavations, and other unquestionable evidence, noticed by all travellers.—Might we be allowed to conjecture, that some small tenement adjacent to the river, accommodated the parents of the future Hebrew legislator, it would follow, that the child in the ark, concealed among the bulrushes, was still within cognizance of his anxious mother; and that his sister, Miriam, had not far to go, to fetch a nurse for the *protégé* of Pharaoh's daughter.

However that might be, it is necessary that we consider the existence of a city here, as a fixed point; and that city as containing the Royal palace, with the Court of the Monarch at large, and the proper establishments, personal and national, in attendance on the king. So much of the history turns on this point, and so many passages of Scripture are illustrated by it, that the reader will not be displeased to see it established by the testimony of those who have visited the spot.

Dr. Pococke observes: "It is very extraordinary that the situation of Memphis should not be well known, which was so great and famous a city, and for so long a time the capital of Egypt; but, as many of the best materials of it might be carried to Alexandria; and afterwards, when such large cities were built near it, as Cairo and those about it, it is no wonder that all the materials should be carried away to places so near and so well frequented; the city being in this manner levelled, and the Nile overflowing the old ruins, it may easily be accounted for, how every thing has been buried, or covered over, as if no such place had ever been. There are two distances mentioned by Strabo, in order to fix the situation of Memphis; he says it was about *eleven miles* from Delta, and *five* from the height on which the Pyramids were built, which appear to be the Pyramids of Gizé. Diodorus says, that it was fifteen miles from the Pyramids, which seems to be a mistake [of the copyists, probably, xv. for v.] Strabo speaks also of Memphis as near Babylon; so that probably it was situated on the Nile, about the middle, between the Pyramids of Gizé and Sacara, so that I conjecture the city was about Mocanan and Metrahenny, [see the PLATE, EGYPT, *Map of Memphis*,] which are in the road from Cairo to Faiume, on the west side of the Nile, and rather nearer to the pyramids of Sacara, than to those of Gizé; for, at Mocanan I saw some heaps of rubbish, but much greater about Metrahenny; and a great number of grottos, cut in the opposite hills on the east side of the river, which might be the sepulchres of the common people of Memphis; as those on the western hills were probably, for the most part, the burial places of their deities, their kings, their great people, and their descendants. I observed also a LARGE BANK to the south of Metrahenny, running towards Sacara, which may be the RAMPART mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, as a defence to the city, not only against the overflowing of the Nile, but also against an enemy: and therefore, must be different

from that mentioned by Herodotus, as (being) twelve miles and a half south of Memphis, by which the course of the river was turned; and consequently, at that distance, could not well be said to be a defence to the city. Pliny is still more plain and says, that the Pyramids were between Memphis and Delta, not four miles from the river, and seven from Memphis; which fixes this city about the place I mention.

“There is another circumstance in the situation of this city, that—there were large lakes to the north and west of it, both as a defence, and probably also, to supply some part of the city with water: I saw several such lakes to the north and west of Metrahenny. It is also very remarkable that Menes, the first king of Egypt, according to Herodotus, turned the course of the Nile, which ran under the western hills, and made it pass in the middle between them and the eastern hills, and built the city [near] where the river first ran; it is not improbable that the *Calig al Heram*, that is, the Canal of the Pyramids, and the western canal, some miles beyond Metrahenny, over which there is a large bridge, and which at present runs under the hills, may, at least in some parts, be remains of the ancient bed of the Nile; and from this account we have, the city of Memphis seems to have extended from the old canal to the new one, and some part of it to have reached as far as the hills; for the *Serapium* is mentioned to be in a very sandy place, and consequently, towards the hills, where the Nile does not overflow; for I found the country sandy in some parts, for near a mile from the hills. The Palace of the Kings also was on high ground, extending down to the lower parts of the city, where there were lakes and groves adjoining to it; and I saw near Sacara a sort of wood of the Acacia tree; this and Dendera being the only places in Egypt where I saw wood grow as without art; and it is possible that this wood may be some remains of the ancient groves about Memphis. The city being according to some authors, above EIGHTEEN MILES round, it might very well take up the whole space between the river and the hills, which I take not to be above four or five miles; but, what fixes the situation of Memphis to this part, is Pliny’s account, who says that the Pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta.

“This city was famous for the worship of Osiris, under the shape of a living bull they called Apis; probably, because that animal is so useful in agriculture, invented by that king. They had also a famous temple of Vulcan, and another dedicated to Venus.” Pococke, *Descript. of the East.* vol. i. p. 39.

Pliny speaks of Memphis as a woody country, with such vast trees that three men could not embrace the trunk [of some of them;] also, of one sort, particularly, that was remarkable, not for its fruit, or for any use, but for its resemblance to the sensitive plant. *Facies enim spinæ folia habet, ceu pennas, quæ tactis ab homine ramis cadunt protinus ac postea renascuntur.* lib. xiii. c. 10.

We shall now call the reader’s attention to the Course of the Nile, in its passage through the district wherein stood the city of Memphis.

M. SAVARY says, that “*Menf* is two (French) leagues to the *southward* of the Pyramids.” He speaks of Giza, as being on the *east*; the Nile and Menf, on the *south*; when looking from the Pyramids. Mr. BRUCE remarks, that the Pyramids of Giza bore about N. W. and those of *Sakkara* S. W. when he was at Metrahenny. As Menf lies at no great distance to the W. of Metrahenny, this authority for Menf, agrees with that of SAVARY. “All to the W. and S. of Mohannan, we saw great mounds and heaps of rubbish, and *calishes* (canals) that were not of any length, but were lined with stone, covered and choaked up in many places with earth.

“ We saw three large granite pillars, S. W. of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken chest or cistern of granite ; but no obelisks, or stones with hieroglyphics ; and we thought the greatest part of the ruins seemed to point that way, or more southerly.

“ These, our conductor said, were the ruins of *Mimf* ; the ancient seat of the Pharaohs, kings of Egypt.

“ Memphis, if situated at Metrahenny, was in the middle of the Pyramids ; three of them to the N. W. and above threescore of them to the south.” BRUCE, vol. i. p. 53.

M. MAILLET says, p. 265. “ The most probable opinion is, that this superb city was built at the entrance of the Plain of Mummies ; at the north of which the Pyramids are placed. The prodigious ruins which present themselves in this spot, will serve for a long time, as proofs of the greatness of that city, of which they are the remains ; and the incontestible evidences of its true position.”

Again, he says, p. 274, that out of so many superb monuments, &c. “ there remain only at present some shapeless ruins of broken columns, of ruined obelisks, and some other buildings fallen to decay, which one still discovers at the *bottom* of a *lake*, when the increase of the Nile is too small to furnish it with its usual supply of water. This circumstance has twice happened during the seventeen years of my consulship ; particularly in the year 1697, when the surface of the lake sunk five or six *coudées*, and discovered at the bottom of this vast reservoir, a kind of city, which excited the admiration of every one. This lake can never be dried up, or drawn off again, as before, because they have neglected to keep up the canal, which served to drain off the water. There are also some heaps of ruins in the plain, of three leagues in width, that separates the northern from the southern Pyramids ; and in which, this ancient city extended, from the borders of the lake, towards the Nile, eastward. These are the faint traces of so much magnificence,” &c.

“ It appears then, that *Memf*, *Menf*, or *Menouf*, which is rather a *position* than a *village*, as perhaps referring to the site of the *latest* remains of Memphis, lies within half a mile (and that to the N. E.) of the position above pointed out, by the meeting of the two lines of distance from Fostat and the Pyramids. And that this *Menf* is on the site of Memphis, there is little doubt ; since Abulfeda describes the situation of that capital, which existed as a considerable city, so late as the seventh century, when Egypt was conquered by the Mahomedans. This author says, that it stood at a *short* day's journey from Cairo : and as the site of *Menf* may be taken at fourteen *road* miles from Cairo, it agrees very well.

“ It is very uncertain whether, in the time of Herodotus, the Nile ran exactly in the same bed it now does, in the part about Memphis.

“ It appears very clearly that the Nile in ancient times, ran through the *Plain of Mummies*, near Sakkara ; and thence along the foot of the rising ground, on which the Pyramids of Giza stand ; and finally, in the line of the canal of *Beheira*, into the bay of Abukcir, or Canopus. This appears more particularly, from the foregoing remarks of Dr. Pococke, especially, those in which he says that ‘ he saw several large lakes to the north and west of Metrahenny ;’ and that he thought it probable, that the Canal of the Pyramids, and the western canal, some miles beyond Metrahenny, and which at present runs under the hills, may, at least in some parts, be remains of the ancient bed of the Nile.’ And again, when he describes a great causeway of a thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of, or faced with, hewn stone, extending across a *hollow* part of the country, and terminating at the distance of a mile to the N. E. of the Pyramids, where the ground *begins to rise*.”

The combination of these circumstances lead us to 1. a great River, dividing into two branches, one running before Memphis, the other behind it ; so that Memphis, in fact, stood on an island.

2. A great Mound, or Rampart, south of the city, for the purpose of controuling the stream ; and greatly contributing to its defensive strength.

3. An extent of about *eighteen miles* for the city : no doubt, but the city walls ran along the shores of the river, so that there was no entering the city but by crossing the water ; that is to say, either a branch of the river, on the east and west, or a conducted stream, on the south and north : so that by means of these defences, the strength of the city was very great.

It need not be thought that all the space enclosed by the city walls was built over, but that, intervals of gardens, and even of fields, were preserved, as in Babylon, and other cities of the east.

Juvenal speaks of the land of Memphis being dry, *terrá Memphitide sicca*, as an extraordinary or monstrous thing. *Sat.* xv. 122.

No. DXLVII. WHETHER MEMPHIS WERE ALSO NO-AMMON?

THOUGH apparently somewhat out of Chronological order, we shall here investigate some later allusions to the royal city of Egypt ; taken in connection with others. We may find a continuation of the history of this city where we least expect it ; for, I believe, it has not hitherto been supposed that the AMMON-No of the prophet, was the *Misraim* of Moses, or the *Mimf*, or *Memphis* of the classical writers.

Under the article AMMON in the *Dictionary*, the reader has seen the most authentic account of AMMON-No, that can be deduced from the Hebrew ; supported also by the best grounded opinions of the learned. But, there is at present a strong disposition to refer the derivation of many Scripture names of places in Egypt to the Egyptian language ; nor can this be thought improper : for, it is very likely that the Hebrew writers would adopt those names, without farther alteration than would be occasioned by writing them in Hebrew letters, or varying them by Hebrew pronunciation. Now, in Egyptian, the word No, is n'oo, importing "*of the Deity*," [N being the sign of the genitive case ; and Oo, or, with an aspirate Hoo, or Hou, *God*.] and the district around the ancient Thebes is certainly called *Hou*, to this day. Moreover, in the famous Rosetta stone, the Egyptian term *Oo* appears to answer to the Greek term *Diospolis*, or city of Jupiter, *i. e.* Jupiter Ammon. As there were at least three cities in Egypt known to the Greeks under the appellation *Diospolis*, there is the greatest difficulty in fixing on that which is *probably* intended by the name of No : and this may be said, in rejoinder to what has been advanced in favour of each, that *it is totally destitute of the Geographical marks assigned by the prophets to the city they speak of*.

We may add, that if the No or No-AMMON of the prophets, were a city so well known as Thebes, the *Diospolis* of Upper Egypt, or even as the *Diospolis parva* of the Delta, it is perfectly unaccountable how Jonathan in his Chaldee version, and Jerom in his Latin translation, should render No-AMMON by "*the multitude of Alexandria*." They must have been aware of the gross impropriety of ascribing *multitude* to a city not yet in existence. The inference appears certain, that the city called No by the prophets, had dropped that appellation in the interval between the sacred writers and these paraphrasts. The Syriac translator has

"*Javan of the Ammonites*:" (Nahum iii. 8.) and the LXX. in one place read *Diospolis*, in another *Ammon*. This confusion, which is evidently the effect of ignorance, allows us to select a more probable metropolis for Egypt—if we can find one; and will at the same time plead our excuse, if we should meet with no better success than those eminent and learned men who have preceded us. We shall place our dependance chiefly on the Geographical characters connected with the object of our enquiry. If we should find as we proceed, that these characters coalesce in Memphis, and in Memphis, *only*, we shall be acquitted from the censure which might otherwise be attached to our novelty; not to call it presumption.

No. DXLVIII. SITUATION OF AMMON-NO.

THE prophet Nahum tells us, that AMMON-NO *was situated between Streams*, (the word is used Exod. vii. 19. Isaiah xvi. 6. for the *canals* of Egypt; artificial constructions for directing the waters.) *Waters were on both sides of it, whose security, or strength (rampart, Eng. Tr.) is the sea, or flowing waters; and beyond this sea its wall. Cush was its strength, and Mizraim; even without end:* [perhaps, this also is the name of a place,—אֵין קַתְּיֵה *Ain-ketjeh*, the present *Catieh*.] *Phut and Lybia were her auxiliaries.* The mention of *canals*, which at Memphis were north and south, of *running streams*, which were east and west, and these as *defences*, agrees perfectly with what we have seen out of Herodotus, and Diodorus, and with the remarks of those authors.

Observe the mention of *Mizraim* distinct from this city, No, which would lead one to think that it did not properly stand *in* either Mizraim; and the situation we are alluding to is truly neither, but between both. The term *sea* applied to the Nile, is precisely according to the usage of the Egyptians, who called it "the Ocean," and said it surrounded the whole of Egypt; which indeed it did, if *Mizraim* were on this island, between its streams.

The prophet Jeremiah says, xli. 25, "I will visit on *Ammon of No*, and on Pharaoh, and *Mizraim*, with their *gods* and their *kings*, even on Pharaoh and all that trust in him," Here observe, 1. that this town is the residence of the *deities*, as well as of royalty; 2. it is distinct from *Mizraim*: 3. the mode of writing its name: "*Ammon-Men-Na*:" of which hereafter.

The prophet Ezekiel says, xxx, 13. "I will destroy the images, and will cause images to cease from *Noph*; and the leader from the land of *Mizraim* shall not proceed; and I will put fear in the land of *Mizraim*. And I will make desolate *Pathros, in the south of Egypt*; and will set fire in *Zoan, in the north of Egypt*; and will execute judgments in No, *the center of Egypt, where is the seat of magistracy*. And I will pour out my fury on *Sin*, the strength of *Mizraim*; and I will cut off the populace of *No*, [or *Ammon No*.] Yea, I will set fire in *Mizraim*; *Sin* [*Sain*] shall have great pain; and *No* shall be rent asunder; and, *Noph* [*Memphis*] shall be compressed into narrower limits daily."

Observe 1. *Noph* abounded in images, as is implied in the threatened cessation of them. 2. It was a very extensive city, as is implied in its "daily contraction." Also, 1. *No* was the seat of judgment, therefore it should suffer under judgments. 2. It was a compact city, as is implied in its being "rent asunder." 3. *Ammon* (or *Populous*) *No* should be cut off: whether this be a third city, can only be conjectured, but possibly, as London and Westminster are two cities, yet so united as to form but one metropolis, so *No* and *Noph*, might be adjacent; one town under one accep-

tation, yet divided, perhaps, by a canal, or stream, so as to receive two appellations, and in that view to be two cities. In like manner *Ammon* (or *Populous*) *No* might be distinct from both the others, as Southwark is from London and Westminster; and possibly, this may denote the precincts around the Temples and the Pyramids, divided from the former by the Nile. In which case we should have 1. the Temples, in the district where now stand the Pyramids, with their attendants, and necessary accommodations, forming a considerable and even a populous city; but, above all, at the time of great festivals; as we know from Herodotus, &c. and see exemplified in the temple of Jaggernaut, &c. in India, at this day. 2. the Palace opposite to them, with its districts, on the north of, 3. the populous and extensive City, properly so called. And perhaps these distinctions may be justified, if we consider the name, or rather the mutations of the name, or the variety of names, given to this metropolis of Egypt.

The name AMMON-No is variously written. I suppose, when at full length, as we have it in the Talmudical writers, it is AMMON-MIN-No, in three parts; and to this Jeremiah approaches very nearly, whose words may be read AMMON-MEN-NA. [I think, certainly, here is a distinction, 1. AMMON. 2. MEN-NA.] And this prophet also combines two *Mizraim* with this place, and describes them by the multitude of their deities and sovereigns.

Hosea, ix. 5. 6. varies the name *Noph* into *Moph*, which he also combines with two *Mizraim*, "The *Mizraim* shall gather them; *Moph* shall bury them." No doubt but here is an allusion to the character of these places—"Moph, because it abounds in sepulchres, shall be their burial place." This is a very apt description of *Memphis*, especially of the western district of it, where sepulchres in abundance yet remain. And it deserves notice that the Chaldee calls this place *Maphes*: the LXX. and our own version call it *Memphis*: and to this day on the spot its name is by some of the natives pronounced *Minif*, by others *Memif*, differing in *m* and *n* from the Hebrew [rather from the Egyptian] *Menoph*.

This justifies the hint, that *Men-Na* is a different title from *Ammon*, and this seems to have been transmitted while the other was forgot; *Meen-na*, *Meen-nuph*, are easily compounded into *Minif*, which when deliberately spoken is *Men-nouf*: as *Meen-moph* is into *Mimf*, or *Mee-mouf*.

The result of our enquiries is, that in this neighbourhood, and probably so near as to be conjoined, or to be considered in a general sense, as forming one capital city, one metropolis for the whole of Egypt, stood 1. *Ammon*, on the western shore; 2. *Na*, on part of the island; 3. *Noph*, on another part of the same island; 4, 5. two *Mizraim*, one of which was on the eastern shore, and opposite the northern end of the island. The whole on the west district is marked by the extent of the Pyramids; by the pits where mummies are found; and by remaining indications of the river's former course. That any one of these divisions should lose its distinguishing appellation, or that the general name of the whole should be forgot as the parts decayed, or in the lapse of ages, is nothing more than natural.

The reader will have remarked in our extract from the prophet Ezekiel, that he twice mentions *Sin*; the first *Sin* he describes as the strength of Egypt; of the second *Sin* he says, it shall have *great pain*, or, as the word imports, shall be debilitated, shall pine, be weakened by sickness. The opposition of this feebleness to the strength of the foregoing description seems to fix this to one place, called *Sin*. This is probably the *Tineh* of the present day, where formerly stood Pelusium, and to which ran a stream of the Nile called *Tenes*. I notice this, to correct an

error of Dr. WELLS, who says Damietta rose out of its ruins—whereas Damietta has the whole extent of the lake Menzala between them; and is at least fifty miles distant.

Another question arises, Whether this town could give name to the *Desert of Sin*, Exod. xvi. 1. The names are written alike; but probably, the *meaning* of the words might be applied to more places than one: the distance from the town of *Sin* being too great to admit the Wilderness to be named from it: or perhaps, the Wilderness of *Sin*, imports “of bushes,” and should be derived from a different root.

The prophet also threatens to *set fire* to *Zoan*; no doubt here is an opposition intended to the character of the place, the same as to *Mizraim*; “I will *set fire* to *Mizraim*,” why? because these places were surrounded by water; therefore the notion of consuming them by fire, is the very contrary to probability. It may be taken however, for certain, that Nebuchadnezzar or Cambyses might easily justify this apparently contradictory prophecy. But I wish to observe, that the land of Sodom is compared Gen. xiii. 10. to the land of “*Zoan*, as thou comest into Egypt;” and both these places are compared to the garden of the Lord, or Paradise. We know that what was the peculiar advantage of Sodom became its ruin; that is to say, that after the earthquake and volcano by which it was destroyed, the waters around it flowed together, and covered it so effectually, that it could never be retrieved. Many cities have suffered by earthquakes, yet have been rebuilt; others have been overthrown by volcanoes, yet have maintained their station; but Sodom, and the cities of the plain, were made monuments of vindictive justice by the waters rushing in upon them, and burying them from the sight of heaven, and of earth, which they had polluted by their crimes. If I am not mistaken, somewhat of a like fate has attended Zoan, also; for it appears to have stood in the midst of what is now the lake Menzala; which was probably in ancient times a series of streams and canals; for even at this day the greater part of it is very shallow, too shallow to admit of navigation.

This seems therefore to have been formerly *terra firma*; and by consequence, where is now a depth of water was then no more than enabled the inhabitants to cultivate their grounds and gardens to perfection; and to give them those advantages always attendant on a command of water in a hot country. Tanis or Zoan is now a ruined city on an island in this lake: that it was formerly of great extent cannot be doubted, as it was the residence of Pharaoh and his court. That it has been in this manner destroyed, I think credible, because on the bank of this lake, and in the very direction for it, stands another *San* or *Tana*, which seems to be rather a secondary than a primary establishment; and in this too it resembles Sodom, a second town of which name was built on the shore of the Dead Sea, opposite to where the former town had stood.

As we have no history of the increase of these waters to the detriment of the original Zoan, we can only conjecture that it might take place after the removal of the Pharaohs to Memphis; gradually, if by negligence: or, in later ages, perhaps, during which many parts of Egypt have suffered, and greatly too; but we only know the fact, without any particulars.

No. DXLIX. DIVISIONS OF EGYPT.

EGYPT is usually spoken of in the dual number, even when the word *land* is connected with it, as Ezek. xxx. 13. where the prophet enumerates many cities of this country;—“The prince shall not proceed from the *land* of *Mizraim*, and I will put

put fear in the *land of Mizraim*." Dr. WELLS divides this into 1. *Northern Egypt*, and 2. *Southern Egypt*: but, in the days of Herodotus it was otherwise divided. He says, "If we adhere to the opinion received among the Greeks, we are to consider the whole of Egypt, commencing from the Cataract, and the city Elephantina, as divided into two parts, with distinct appellations: the one belonging to Lybia, the other to Asia." The same division appears in Ibn Haukal; he says, "The left side of the Nile is called *Khouf*:—The opposite division, on the right side of the river Nile, they call *Zeif*." It was, therefore, an Egyptian appointment, or custom. We may call these divisions *Western Egypt* and *Eastern Egypt*; which may give some light on the expression, Ezek. xxix. 10. "I will make the land of Egypt waste from the tower of Syene to the border of Cush;" meaning, the Cush on the Red Sea; so that this threat includes *Eastern Egypt*; and it begins as the Egyptians themselves, began, "from the tower of Syene," which is opposite to the island of Elephantina, all along the confines of Cush; *i. e.* running up the Red Sea, from the port of Berenice south, to Suez and Colsum north. This gives a very different air to the following denunciation of the prophet, "no foot of man or beast shall pass *through* it" [rather *across* it,] that is, from the Nile to the Red Sea, from Coptos to Berenice or to Kosseir, as the caravans of merchants with their goods were used to pass:—"neither shall it be inhabited, forty years." We know of no such interval in which this complete depopulation has been true of Egypt, generally taken; but it is very credible that after the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar, and till after the death of Cambyses, this track of mercantile conveyance was stopped: so that the foot of man or beast did not pass that way in conveying goods. But the passage by this road was afterwards very much promoted by the Ptolemies, when they reigned in Egypt. This track has lately been explored by Mr. Belzoni, who found traces of the stations taken by the ancient Egyptian merchants, in this passage; such as forts [Roman fortifications] wells or tanks for holding water, remains of villages, and temples; and in the port of Berenice itself, ruins of considerable structures, with others tolerably entire, works for the security of the port, &c. also, cross roads, leading north and south, &c. demonstrating important and extensive intercourse.

By this distinction a great difficulty is reduced within the compass of high probability; and the rendering proposed by Dr. PRIDEAUX, in correction of our public version, becomes unnecessary. The Doctor would vary the words (not very agreeably to the Hebrew) "from the *Tower of Syene*" to—"from *Migdol*, or *Magdolum*, to Syene." *Magdolum* was at the extreme north of Egypt, and Syene in the extreme south. But, we have no proof, neither is it credible, that the intervening country was ever totally uninhabited by man, or beast, during *one* year, much less during forty years, as threatened by the prophet; for this would have been to have rendered the whole inhabited land of Egypt, a wilderness, a desert, which is very unlikely.

No. DXLIX. DISTINCTION OF CITIES NAMED EGYPT.

BESIDE the division of the *country* of Egypt into two parts, we must notice one or more *cities* of this name. After the prophet, Ezekiel, has spoken of the *land* of Egypt with a double application, *loc. cit.* he enumerates several of its Cities, as Pathros, Zoan, No, Sin the strength of Egypt;—and then proceeds to distinguish the following by name, "I will cut off the multitude of *No*; and I will set fire in *Egypt*; *Sin* shall have great pain:"—he adds also, *No*, *Noph*, *Aven*, *Pibeseth*, and

Tahpahnes. I think it very likely, that *Coptos*, (from which some have thought the Egyptians were named *Copts*,) is really an ancient City; but whether it might originally be named *Misr* is not certain. The town now called *Fostat*, a little south of Cairo, is called "*Misr el attik*," OLD *Misr*: in situation it agrees sufficiently with the *Misr* of Moses, to justify the idea that not far from hence stood, in ancient days, a City of the same name, of which this may be the traditionary but debilitated memorial. Whoever reads the early part of Exodus carefully, will find there is a distinction observed. Sometimes "*Egypt*" is mentioned without addition; and sometimes the phrase is "*the land of Egypt*." Moreover, the transactions are occasionally much too rapid to admit of any interval of country between Pharaoh and Moses:—as in the case of the death of the first-born, chap. xii. 31. where Moses was called for on the instant "*by night*;" and Israel was sent out of Egypt, between midnight and morning.

In Exod. ix. 29. Moses says, "as soon as I am gone out of *the city*."—verse 33. "*Moses went out of the city*:"—but no *city* is mentioned in the history, unless it be *Misr*. To this double acceptation of the word agrees the Hindoo account; and the Hebrew word *aretz*, rendered *land*, seems to be used like the Persian and Hindoo *sthan*, which is of the same import. But, *Misra-sthan* imports, 1. the *country* of Egypt, at large; 2. the *city* of *Misr*.

It will be understood, that we combine this City *Misr*, with the labours of Israel on the Pyramids, opposite to which it stood; and probably on the island called the "*land of Egypt*," or *Misr*. Hence probably, one of these Cities of *Misr* was on the island; the other on the *western shore*, opposite to the former; or, one might be at the northern, the other at the southern extremity of the island: and both together are called, in the dual, *Misraim*.

These observations appear to be necessary, to clear the account of the history of Moses and Israel previous to the Exodus; and to justify two very important incidents in the history of the Holy Bible: that of an Oriental people conquering Egypt, and tyrannizing over Israel: till at length, secondly, the tyrants were forced to permit that deliverance which Providence irresistibly produced.

For circumstances preparatory to the Exodus; and to the journey of Israel to the Red Sea, see No. xxxix. with the Plates, Maps, &c.

No. DL. PLACES CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE EXODUS.

OUR reasonings have proceeded on the supposition, that Memphis was the capital of Egypt; or rather the Royal Residence, in the days of Moses; but, before we quit this district, to institute a short enquiry on other towns mentioned in the course of the Mosaic history, we may bestow a few thoughts by way of enquiry, on what was the capital of this kingdom in ages still earlier; and, what part of this country was occupied by those tribes which Providence conducted triumphantly from the house of bondage?

It is probable, that though *Zoan* were the more ancient city, yet *On* was the royal residence in the days of Jacob and Joseph; and, by general consent, this city is understood to have been the same that was called "*the city of the Sun*," *Helio-polis*: for so the LXX. render this name, as well Gen. xli. 46, 50. as Jer. xliii. 13. where the prophet mentions *Beth-shemesh* "*the temple of the Sun*." The site of this town remains marked by an obelisk yet standing, at a small distance from *Matarea*, about five miles north-east of Cairo.

Taking this as certain, it is equally certain that Joseph settled his father Jacob at no great distance from him, in the land of Goshen; in a territory which seems to have been the property of the sovereign. With this agrees the direction of Pharaoh to Joseph, "make thy brethren rulers over *my* cattle," Gen. xlvii. 6. which no doubt fed in "the best of the land," and to tend which, at any great distance, does not appear consistent with the character of Joseph's brethren; or with the circumstances of the history. I presume, also, that this same "land of Goshen," was afterwards called the "land of Ramesses," verse 11. taking name, as being his property, from a prince too well known to the sacred writer.

The LXX, say, that Jacob met his son Joseph at *Heliopolis*, or *On*, which might be the royal city, before Memphis with its pyramids was built by a stranger (succeeding) race of kings. If this be admitted, then Jacob was within a few miles of Joseph's residence, (say five or ten miles) which agrees with the ready intercourse between them, as well as with other credible circumstances.

Indeed, were we obliged to fix on a residence for Jacob, we might safely prefer the situation where afterwards the temple of Onias was built; about seven or eight miles from Heliopolis, on the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile. But the family of Jacob most probably spread themselves along this branch, northward and eastward, at least, if not on both sides of it; as we are pretty sure his posterity did. For, we know that numerous herds of cattle must have room to roam in; and we may infer, that when the men of Gath came down to take away the cattle of Ephraim, who lost four sons in the skirmish, as we read 1 Chron. vii. 21. (for so I understand the passage) they would hardly venture far into the powerful kingdom of Egypt. They might indeed, being a roving band, avoid Tineh (or Pelusium) but certainly would rather infest the open country than the interior, or entangle themselves among the canals. There is however a possibility that Tineh was not built at this time, if, as Marsham thought it was the *Pithom* of Exod. i. 11. but, this is rather referred by others to the *Patumos* of Herodotus, which he places at the Northern head of the Red Sea. I find great difficulty in determining where to place the *Ramesses*, built by the Israelites. Some have supposed it to be *On*; that king Ramesses adorned this city is certain; and if the translation of the hieroglyphics on the obelisk at Rome, which was brought from thence, be just, that monument confirms it. In the time of Julian the Apostate, Hermapion an Egyptian (priest, perhaps) explained it to this effect: "The Sun, the God, lord of heaven, has given to Ramesses the empire of the earth! Ramesses son of the God founder of the universe, whose strength and valour has subjected the whole earth to his sovereign sway, immortal son of the sun, the embellisher of the city of the sun, *erected this*." In these early days then, this city, *On*, was described as "the city of the Sun," by the Egyptians themselves; so that the LXX. were perfectly correct in rendering it *Heliopolis*.

But it is not here called the city of Ramesses: on the contrary, it should seem by this inscription not to have received that title. If Pithom might be taken for Pelusium, or Tineh, it would contribute to fix Ramesses, where conjecture usually places it, in the north of the Delta. But it must be acknowledged that we find no trace of any such name; except in *Ramsis* mentioned by Niebuhr, and in *Rhamanieh*, not far from the other, whose importance as a military post is spoken of in strong terms by Sir R. Wilson, in his History of the Campaign in Egypt. This town is opposite the Delta, on the west bank of the Nile. I would only farther observe, that we cannot fix these towns by their proximity to the residence of

Israel, because the Israelites might build at various distances from their usual abode; as is clear in the instance of the Pyramids.

Nevertheless, if Pithom be taken for Pelusium, and considered as a fortified town, as it were, the key of Egypt, on the east; then it may be thought Ramesses was of a like importance and character; and if on the west, it would coincide with the reason for which we may suppose these towns were particularly mentioned; and with their character in the LXX. who consider them as military *depôts*; for which no better situations could possibly be selected.

No. DLI. JOURNEY OF ISRAEL FROM EGYPT.

WE shall accompany the Israelites in their Exodus from Egypt, by presuming, that so many of them as were employed on the Pyramids, quitted Memphis, and (Eastern) *Misr*, to rendezvous at the Pilgrims' Lake, where the caravan for Mecca now assembles, a few miles east from Cairo. Being joined by their kinsmen from the Delta, the whole body moved easterly, towards the wilderness. Here an objection occurs against placing Pithom in this quarter, as some have done; *i. e.* that the Israelites must then have passed by, if not through this town, yet it is not noticed as a station of their encampment. One would think, had their own Pithom been adjacent to their miraculous passage of the Red Sea, it would at least have been mentioned; whereas, the only town mentioned (apparently) is *Baal-zephon*.

It should be observed, that the northern extremity of the Red Sea, advanced much farther inland, anciently, than it does at present: indeed, the gulph becomes yearly shallower; and before long will be dry land. This is owing to the sands driven by the easterly winds, from the continent of Arabia, which also, according to the best evidence we can obtain, have shifted the sands, in so long a course of ages, from their ancient stations, very much westward.

This advance of the sands of the desert westward, will be found to have considerable influence on the character of the wilderness into which the Israelites entered; and not less on its extent. In all probability, in the days of Moses, it did not begin so near to Egypt as it does now; nor was it of that entirely sandy appearance, or of that absolute barrenness, which it now is. Indeed, Egypt itself was anciently well covered with tall and noble trees on its eastern side; which usually marks a powerful vegetation. It will follow, also, that a district, affording food for a flock, as Moses conducted his flock on Mount Sinai, and the numerous herds and flocks of the Israelites, (accustomed, it must be recollected, to the fertile pasturage of the Delta,) was essentially different from the deserts at this time extant between Egypt and Mount Sinai. The same causes which have diminished the depth of water at Suez, and daily operate to that effect, have also contributed to overspread the adjacent country with an unproductive surface. The Red Sea is constantly retiring southward. Kolsoum, which was a port in the time of the Caliphs, is now three quarters of a mile inland. It is probable, therefore, that *Baal-zephon*, though now represented as a town, by Suez, was nevertheless some miles farther north. How far *Baal-zephon* was the same town which afterwards was called *Serapiu*, we do not very well know; but the probability is, that *Baal* and *Serapis* were the same deity, so that the two names may refer to the same temple, under different appellations in different ages.

Having elsewhere accompanied the Israelites in their Journey from Egypt to the Red Sea, we shall here only observe, that most probably the resting places which had obtained names anciently, are still used as resting places, though under other names: and as only Succoth, Etham, Pihahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-zephon occur in this passage, there needs no great skill to determine them.

Succoth may be placed at *Birket el Hadgi*, or Pilgrims' Pool, a few miles E. of Cairo. Etham was probably north of the present *Adjeroud*; perhaps near the Bitter Lake, or fountains: though some, I believe, suppose Etham was *Adjeroud* itself. D'Anville marks this "*Calaat Adjeroud*," Sand-pit Castle. Can this *Castle* be the Migdol or "tower" of the Hebrew historian? Pihahiroth, "the mouth of the Gullet," or the gulph, was the opening of the present gulph of Suez; but probably farther north. Baal-zephon might be a town at the point of the gulph in the Red Sea; analogous to Suez at present.

As to Migdol, Dr. WELLS seems to have altogether mistaken the situation of this town. The Antonine Itinerary places *Magdolo*, whose name coincides completely with the sacred books, nearly half way between Silé and Pelusium, about twelve miles from each: it was therefore rather in the north of the isthmus of Suez than in the south, where the Doctor places it. This is also confirmed by the order in which Jeremiah ranges the towns inhabited by the Jews, advancing from north to south: *Migdol*, *Tapanhes*, (Daphne near Pelusium,) *Noph*, or *Men-nouf*, *i. e.* Memphis, *Pathros*; and this order, equally with the distance from Pelusium, proves, that the Migdol near Baal-zephon could not be *Magdolo*. As the Hebrew *Migdol* signifies "a tower," I have thought it might be a *Calaat*, or an erection at a well, surrounded by walls; which suits no less the circumstances of the history, than a city of this name would do.

The road taken by the Israelites was a regular and customary track: during the first half of it, it was a direct road to Canaan; and it effectually concealed from Pharoah what Moses ultimately intended, till after he had branched off from this road into that which led to Mount Sinai. He appears to have halted at Etham, "in the edge of the wilderness," and, after his quitting Etham, Pharoah is informed that "the people fled." We might here *query*, whether, when Moses was at Etham, "in the edge of the wilderness," he had not pretty nearly accomplished that "three days journey," for which he had solicited permission from Pharoah, Exod. v. 3. for we are not bound to take his words as expressing "three days journey in the wilderness" itself.

We learn, however, that directly as he altered his course to south-east, to round the head of the gulph, his intention was understood; and Pharaoh prepared to pursue, and to recover the fugitives. The events which followed are too well known to require any elucidation on this occasion: some of them are already noticed.

NO DLII. TRAVELS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE DESERT.

NO part of the history of the Israelites is more perplexing and obscure, in its geography, than the stations of this people during their continuance in the Desert, and on their progress toward Canaan. Geographers have indeed given us what they call "Maps of the Travels of the Children of Israel," but these have usually been constructed with so little resemblance to the actual dimensions and real features of the country, to the necessities of a multitude, or to probability, that they have more perplexed the enquiry than if it had been left entirely unattempted. We shall there-

fore conduct this disquisition uninfluenced by the opinion of any individual writer, farther than that opinion coincides with what may be accepted as determined, by circumstances of a nature more adequate to the solution of the difficulty. It is necessary in the first place, to fix a few principal stations mentioned in the history, as points, if not absolutely yet comparatively *certain*; or at least of sufficient probability, to be considered as *settled*: such are Baal-zephon or Suez; Elim; Mount Sinai; Eloth, or Ezion Gaber, &c. These places being admitted, we may safely infer the station mentioned immediately *before*, and that immediately *after*, each of these; this will contribute greatly to ascertain the general track, and will much reduce the number of stations which want of information obliges us to leave uncertain.

As some of these fixed points are at the extremes of the Israelites' course, we shall be obliged to leap over a number of intervening stations. But, to offer the actual state of our knowledge, and to point out proper inferences, is much better than to mislead the reader, by affecting certainty, where we ought only to mark conjecture. The characters also of places assist in this determination. Where the sacred writer mentions streams of water, we must establish that station at a water-course: and this establishment renders probable the station before, and that after, the one which is thus distinguished.

In Numb. xxxiii. we have a register of the stations where the people encamped for any considerable time: we identify those which, in the following list, are marked with small capitals. Those marked in *italics*, we cannot determine. Perhaps, the variations among the names which appear on comparison, might be accounted for, by supposing the camp extended to places which had different names, and that the station was sometimes referred to one place, sometimes to the other.

NUMBERS.

EXODUS.

1. *Ramesses.*
2. SUCCOTH.
3. Etham - - - - - In the edge of the Wilderness.
4. BAAL-ZEPHON - - - - - By the Red Sea.
5. MARAH - - - - - WILDERNESS OF SHUR.
6. ELIM.
7. BY THE RED SEA.
8. IN THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN. Between Elim and Sinai.
9. *Dophkah.*
10. *Alush.*
11. REPHIDIM.
12. WILDERNESS OF SINAI - SINAI MOUNT.
13. KIBROTH HATAVAH - - Quails brought from the sea.
At Kadesh, *many days.*
14. *Hazereth* - - - - - Abode at Hazereth.
15. *Rithmah.*
16. *Rimmon parez.*
17. LIBNAH.
18. RISSAH.
19. KEHALATHAH.
20. MOUNT SHAPHER.

NUMBERS.

EXODUS.

21. HARADAH.
22. *Makkeloth.*
23. *Tahath.*
24. *Tarah.*
25. *Mithcah.*
26. *Hashmonah.*
27. *Moseroth.* - - - - Mosera, Deut. x. 6.
28. *Children of Jaakan* - - - Children of Jaakan, *wells of.*
29. *Hill Gidgad* - - - - Gudgadah, Deut. x. 7.
30. JOTBATHAH - - - - Jotbath, *ib.* a *land of rivers of waters.*
31. EBRONAH.
32. EZION GABER.
33. Wilderness of Zin or Kadesh.
34. Mount Hor.
35. *Zalmonah.*
36. *Punon.*
37. *Oboth.*
38. *Ije-abarim*, near Moab.
39. Dibon-gad.
40. Almon Diblathaim.
41. Mount Abarim.
42. By Jordan, opposite Jericho.

To obtain a more easy conception of their respective situations and characters, we shall divide these stations into four parts. I. Journey from Egypt to Sinai. II. Advance from Sinai to Kadesh Barnea, in Palestine. III. Retreat to Ezion Gaber, near Sinai. IV. From Ezion Gaber, eastward, to the passage of the river Jordan.

From Egypt to Sinai we are certain that Moses followed the customary road still taken by caravans of pilgrims as far as Suez or Baal-zephon; that, from Sinai to Kadesh Barnea, he did not forsake the regular track; that, in retreating from Kadesh Barnea, westward, he also took much of the same course as is now taken by assemblages of people; and lastly, that the passage from Ezion Gaber to the east of Jordan, is at this time in use. The roads thus fixed, enable us more easily to determine some of the places mentioned in them; and these will mutually confirm each other; especially, as the reasons and occurrences noticed in Holy Writ, will be materially illustrated by particularities still extant.

No. DLIII. FROM EGYPT TO SINAI.

2. SUCCOTH, we have already considered as being fixed at *Birket el Hadgi*, the usual place of the Pilgrims' assembly; a small distance from Cairo.

4. The true situation of BAAL-ZEPHON was perhaps some miles more northerly than its present representative, Suez, as unquestionably this country has undergone considerable changes in the lapse of ages, and the sea is daily diminishing hereabouts.

5. MARAH, is with great probability placed in the valley of Girondel, of which Dr. SHAW says: "Corondel, I presume, made the southern portion of the desert of Marah; from whence to the port of Tor, the shore, which hitherto was low

and sandy, begins now to be rocky and mountainous, while that of Egypt is still more impracticable; and neither of them affords any convenient place, either for the departure or the landing of a multitude. Moreover, from Corondel to Tor, the channel is ten or twelve leagues broad; too great a space certainly for the Israelites, in the manner at least they were encumbered, to traverse in one night. And, at Tor, the Arabian shore begins to wind itself, (round what we may suppose to be Ptolemy's Promontory of Paran) towards the gulph of Eloth; at the same time the Egyptian shore retires so far to the S. W. that it can scarcely be perceived. The Israelites therefore could neither have landed at Corondel nor at Tor, according to the conjectures of several authors.

"Over against *Jibbel At-tackah*, at ten miles distance, is the desert, as it is called, of Sdur, the same with Shur, *Exod. xv. 22.* where the Israelites landed, after they had passed through the interjacent gulph of the Red Sea.

"In travelling from Sdur towards Mount Sinai, we come into the Desert, as it is still called of Marah, where the Israelites met with those *bitter waters*, or *waters of Marah*, (*Exod. xv. 23.*) And as these circumstances did not happen, till after they had *wandered three days in the wilderness*, we may probably fix it at Corondel, where there is a small rill of water, which, unless it be diluted by the dews and rains, still continues to be brackish. Near this place, the sea forms itself into a large bay, called *Berk el Corondel*, which is remarkable for a strong current, that sets into it, from the northward. The Arabs preserve a tradition, that a numerous host was formerly drowned at this place; occasioned, no doubt, by what we are informed of *Exod. xiv. 30.* that *the Israelites saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore.*

"There is nothing further remarkable, till we see the Israelites encamped at Elim, *Exod. xv. 27. Numb. xxxiii. 9.* upon the northern skirts of the Desert of Sin, two leagues from Tor, and near thirty from Corondel. I saw no more than *nine* of the *twelve wells* that are mentioned by Moses, the other three being filled up by those drifts of sand, which are common in Arabia. Yet this loss is amply made up by the great increase of the *palm trees*, the *seventy* having propagated themselves into *more than two thousand.* Under the shade of these trees is (*Hammam Mousa*) the *Bath of Moses*, which the inhabitants of Tor have in extraordinary esteem and veneration; acquainting us, that it was here, that Moses himself and his particular household, were encamped.

"We have a distinct view of Mount Sinai from Elim; the Wilderness, as it is still called, of Sin, lying betwixt us."

These extracts determine the places not only of *Marah*, but of the DESERT OF SHUR: the DESERT OF MARAH: the promontory of PARAN: the WILDERNESS OF SIN: and of ELIM. These therefore will not detain us.

Mount Sinai is thus described by the Doctor:

"The summit of Mount Sinai is somewhat conical, and not very spacious, where the Mahometans as well as Christians have a small chapel for public worship. Here we were shewn the place where *Moses fasted forty days*, *Exod. xxiv. 18.* and *xxxiv. 28.* where *he received the law*, *Exod. xxxi. 18.* where *he hid himself from the face of God*, *Exod. xxxiii. 22.* where *his hand was supported by Aaron and Hur, at the battle with Amalek*, *Exod. xvii. 9. 12.* besides many other stations and places that are taken notice of in the Scriptures."

Rephidim is by universal consent placed south west of Sinai. Dr. SHAW gives the following information respecting it:

"After we had descended, with no small difficulty, down the western side of this

this mountain, we came into the other plain that is formed by it, which is Rephidim. Exod. xvii. 1. Here we still see that extraordinary antiquity, the Rock of Meribah, Exod. xvii. 6. which hath continued down to this day, without the least injury from time or accidents. It is a block of granate marble, about six yards square, lying tottering, as it were, and loose in the middle of the valley; and seems to have formerly belonged to Mount Sinai, which hangs, in a variety of precipices, all over this plain.

"The monks shew us several other remarkable places round about this mountain; as, where Aaron's calf was molten, (Exod. xxxii. 4. (but the head only is represented, and that very rudely): where the Israelites danced at the consecration of it, Exod. xxxii. 19. where Corah and his company were swallowed up, Numb. xvi. 32. where Elias hid himself when he fled from Jezebel, 2 Kings viii. 9. But the history of these and other places is attended with so many monkish tales, that it would be too tedious to recite them."

THE DESERT OF PARAN is thus described by the same writer :

"From Mount Sinai, the Israelites directed their marches northward, towards the land of Canaan. The next remarkable stations therefore were in the Desert of Paran, which seems not to have commenced, 'till after they departed from Hazeroth, three stations from Sinai, Numb. xii. 16. Now, as tradition hath preserved to us the names of *Shur*, *Marah*, and *Sin*, so we have also that of *Paran*, which we enter at about half way betwixt Sinai and Corondel, in travelling through the mid-land road, along the defiles of what were probably the "Black Mountains" of Ptolemy. In one part of it, ten leagues to the northward of Tor, there are several ruins, particularly of a Greek convent, (called the Convent of Paran) which was not long ago abandoned, by reason of the continual insults they suffered from the Arabs. Here likewise we should look for the city of that name, though, according to the circumstances of its situation, as they are laid down by Ptolemy, Tor, a small maritime village, with a castle hard by it, should rather be the place.

"From the Wilderness of Paran *Moses sent a man out of every tribe, to spy out the land of Canaan*, Numb. xxiii. 3. *who returned to him, after forty days, unto the same wilderness, to Kadesh Barnea*, Numb. xxxiii. 8. Deut. i. 19. and vii. 23. Josh. xiv. 7. This place, which in Numb. xiv. 1, 14, 27. and xxxiii. 36. is called *Tzin Kadesh*, or simply *Kadesh*, was *eleven days journey from Mount Horeb*, Deut. i. 3. and, being ascribed both to the Desert of *Tzin* and *Paran*, we may presume that it lay near upon the confines of them both."

To this we shall add the testimony of NIEBUHR:

"The Arabs call plains, which lie somewhat low, *Wadi*, or valleys, because water remains stagnant in them, after heavy rains. We rested under a palm tree, in a place called *Aijoun Musa*, Moses' Fountains. These pretended fountains, are five holes in the sand, in a well of very indifferent water, that becomes turbid, whenever any of it is drawn. As the holes bear the name of Moses, the Arabs ascribe them to the Jewish law-giver.

"The Arabs set up our tents near a tree, in the valley of *Faran*, and left us to amuse ourselves there in the best manner we could, while they went to see their friends in gardens of date-trees, scattered over the valley. We were at no great distance from our Schiech's camp, which consisted of nine or ten tents. We were informed that the ruins of an ancient city were to be seen in the neighbourhood. But, when the Arabs found us curious to visit it, they left us, and would give us no farther account of it.

"The famous Valley of Faran, in which we now were, has retained its name unchanged since the days of Moses, being still called *Wadi Faran*, the Valley of Faran. Its length is equal to a journey of a day and a half, extending from the foot of Mount Sinai to the Arabic Gulf. In the rainy season it is filled with water; and the inhabitants are then obliged to retire up the hills: it was dry, however, when we passed through it. That part of it which we saw was far from being fertile; but served as a pasture to goats, camels, and asses. The other part is said to be very fertile; and the Arabs told us, that, in the districts to which our Ghasirs had gone, were many orchards of date-trees; which produced fruit enough to sustain some thousands of people. Fruit must, indeed, be very plenteous there: for the Arabs of the valley bring every year to Cairo an astonishing quantity of dates, raisins, pears, apples, and other fruits, all of excellent quality. Some Arabs, who came to see us, offered us fresh dates, which were yellow, but scarcely ripe. The chief of our Schiech's wives (for he had two) came likewise to see us, and presented us with some eggs and a chicken. One was placed at some distance from where our tents happened to be pitched, in order to manage a garden of date-trees. The other was our neighbour, and superintended the cattle and servants."

These remarks were made in going to Mount Sinai: the following were made on his return:

"In the afternoon of the 16th of September, we descended *Jibbel Musa*, and passed the night at the bottom of that cliffy mountain, at the opening into the Valley of Faran. Next day, after advancing three miles through the vale, we halted near the dwelling of our Schiech of the tribe of Said. Our Ghasirs left us again, and went to see their friends in the gardens of date-trees. Our Ghasirs returned, and we continued our journey, on the 20th of the month. On the day following we had an opportunity of seeing a part of the road which we had passed by night, when travelling to *Jibbel Musa*. In this place, near a defile, named *Omzer-ridg-lein*. I found some inscriptions in unknown characters, which had been mentioned to me at Cairo. They are coarsely engraven, apparently with some pointed instrument of iron, in the rock, without order or regularity."

The reader will observe, 1. the ruins of an ancient city. 2. Ancient inscriptions, roughly cut. As the sacred history marks the scenes of *Kibroth Hataavah*, the "graves of lust," in the wilderness of Paran, there is a *possibility* that here, or hereabouts, was the place of those events which gave that name to this station. At any rate, this station could not be far from the sea, as the quails are said to come flying *from the sea*, to it: and this fixes it in such a latitude as is parallel to some part of the sea: if such be a correct view of the passage. If on the contrary the quails were flying *to the sea*, nevertheless, the sea could not be far off; as is implied in such a reference.

At Mount Sinai, when intending to reach Canaan, the sacred legislator had the choice of three ways. The shortest and most direct, though tending a little to the east, may be called for distinction sake the **NORTHERN**. This, says Deut. i. 2. was *eleven days journey, i. e.* from Horeb to Kadesh Barnea, by Mount Seir, direct. This was occupied by enemies to Israel. The second road was the **WESTERN**; the same as they had taken from Egypt; and this they followed till they reached the confines of their expected country. But here they were repelled by the faint-hearted reports of their spies, and by their own folly and discontent. The third road from Mount Sinai was the **EASTERN**, this they took at last; and by this they penetrated into Canaan, in a direction different from that before attempted, but which

probably Moses had in view when he asked leave of Edom to pass through his territories. It appears from this, that Moses judged rightly of his people at first, that war would have terrified them; and that even after they had been some time under regulation, their courage was very moderate, and their habits of submission were very weak; as in the first instance, they would not fight, in the second, they would not obey. But after this capricious generation was extinct, better discipline produced better effects; and a mutinous spirit no longer prevailing, the successor of Moses, Joshua, effected his purpose on the east of Canaan. It will be observed, that this change of the point of attack, changed also the enemy which was to be attacked: and the probability is, that the inhabitants east of Jordan became an easy prey in this instance, as the descendants of these very Israelites were, in after ages. This easiness of subjection seems to have been one character of this country.

We have no traces by name of any other station of the Israelites till we come to LIBNAH, No. 17. and this we presume to be the same *Libnah* which Joshua smote, Josh. x. 29. 30. which he gave to the priests, xxi. 13. which revolted, 2 Kings viii. 22. against which the king of Assyria fought, xix. 8. from all which texts it appears to be extremely south in the territories of Judah; or, in another acceptation, extremely north in those of Edom.

I presume Libnah was west of Mount Hor; and that after the repulse of Israel by the Canaanites, Moses desired the permission of Edom to pass through his territories, in order to attack Canaan on the east. This Edom refused: and Israel was in no condition to enforce the request; but was obliged to return by the way of the Red Sea, on the west; and to travel round the whole country of Edom by the south, in order to get to the eastward of the river Jordan.

No. DLIV. RETREAT FROM LIBNAH TO EZION GABER.

IN contradiction to other writers, I consider the present *El Arish* as the *Rissah* of No. 18. the next station; because it is at no great distance west from Libnah; and because it yields that necessary article water. It is on the road from Syria to Egypt, and is properly the last station in Syria. It agrees perfectly with the direction, Numb. xiv. 25. "Get you into the wilderness, by the Way of the Red Sea."

It is thus described by Sandys, who says, "Arisa is a small castle, environed with a few houses: the garrison consisting of 100 soldiers. This place is something better than desert, and blest with good water."—"The territory of Gaza begins at Arissa."

Thevenot says, "Riche, (or *Rishe*) is a village not far distant from the sea; it hath a castle well built of little rock stones, as all the houses are. They have so many lovely ancient marble pillars at Riche, that their coffee-houses and wells are made of them, and so are their burying places full." He had a storm of rain here, which lasted thirty hours.

Volney says, quitting Syria, "El Arish is the last place where water which can be drank is found." "It is three quarters of a league from the sea, in a sandy country, as is all that coast."

As these travellers entered Syria from Egypt, their testimony is less appropriate than that of Mr. Morier, who entered Egypt from Syria, and who accompanied the Turkish army. He thus describes this station in his Journal of the March of the Turkish Army through the Desert between Syria and Egypt. *Lond.* 1801.

"Feb. 5. The army began its march towards Catiéh in the afternoon, and en-

camped at three hours' distance from El-Arish. An hour's march is calculated at two miles and a half, which is about the rate that a camel travels at.

" Feb. 6. A march of six hours: halted in the afternoon.

" Feb. 7. A march of nine hours.

" Feb. 8. Encamped at Catiéh: the French evacuated this place yesterday.

" The road from El-Arish to Catiéh lies through the most inhospitable part of the desert which separates Syria from Egypt. The sand that covers it is fine, and so white that the eyes suffer much from the strong glare produced by the reverberation of the sun beams; and I should be inclined to attribute the disorder of the eyes in that country to this cause, combined with the irritation occasioned by the nitrous particles contained in the sand, of which clouds are constantly blown about by the least wind. But that is not the only suffering which the traveller in those regions has to go through. The thirst, occasioned by the excessive heat, increases by the alluring but false hope of soon quenching it; for the flat surface of the desert gives to the horizon an appearance which the stranger mistakes for water; and, while he is all anxiety to arrive at it, it recedes as a new horizon discovers itself. The optical deception is so strong, that the shadow of any object on the horizon is apparently reflected as in water. [Compare Job vi. 19, 20. Isaiah xxxv. 7.]

" At the first halt after leaving El-Arish the water was palatable; after that, it can only be so to those who experience all the torments of thirst: and it is dangerous to drink much of it, as it occasions dysenteries. It is observed, that wherever date-trees grow, there the water is sweeter, and it is invariably found by digging to the depth of five or six feet in the sand. A party was generally sent before the army to dig wells where it was to encamp. The impatience of the troops to satisfy their thirst was often productive of very serious quarrels. The native Arabs that cross this desert in all directions carry their water with them in skins; but that resource would be attended with too many difficulties for the supply of a large army: a great number of camels would be necessary to carry water only for a day's consumption."

The reader will observe that at about seven miles distance from El Arish the Turkish army *encamped*; and that *here ONLY the water is palatable*. The Hebrew word *Kehalathah* signifies "the place of assembling:" now El Arish itself, is at present, actually the place of assembling: for a numerous body of people which intends passing into Egypt; as it was of the Turkish army which Mr. Morier accompanied. Nevertheless, it may be supposed that in ancient time the wells at one stage nearer to Egypt, were the station for that purpose; as there evidently is a distinction between *Rissah* and *Kehalathah*, though we cannot ascertain the distance between them. It is however clear, that where the Turkish army encamped the Israelites might encamp; and it is indifferent whether this station were a few miles more or less in advance, as the course of the journey lies the same way.

If we follow this track, the next station of the Israelites is Mount SHAPHER, or *Sephir*, and this I take to be another pronunciation of *Sepher*, which will immediately remind the reader of what has been already said on the subject of *Sepher*, a mount of Kedem; where was a city of the same name, and a University, in which were educated those who afterwards occupied the throne. *Sepher* appears to have been the ancient name of this mount, which is almost surrounded by the sea; and on which was afterwards built a temple dedicated to Jupiter Cassius of the Greeks; whose image we have seen on our plates, importing the ruling deity of the illustrious mountain; or simply, to "Jupiter the illustrious;" which is the same deity as was worshipped by the inhabitants of the *Sephers*, or *Sepharvaim*, 2 Kings xvii. 31.

Adrammelech, "the king of splendors," or the "illustrious king." "Catieh," says Thevenot, "is a village where there is a well of water, unpleasant, for drinking; but two miles off is a well whose water is good after it hath stood a little: at Catieh we ate fresh fish half as long as one's arm, as broad and thick as carp, and of as good a relish; they did not cost us five farthings a-piece."—"Mount Cassius, or Catjeh, is a huge mole of sand, famous for the temple of Jupiter and the sepulchre of Pompey," says Sandys. I presume to think it is alluded to under the name *Catjeh*, in Cant. iv. 2. [Comp. Nos. ccclxxxv. ccclxxxvi.] so that, if this conjecture be just, its name had been changed, during the interval from Moses to Solomon.

In farther pursuing this route, the next station is *Haradah*, to which no resemblance offers among the names marked in the maps, except *Haras*, which is the next village to Catieh; but this is too slight a circumstance to determine our judgment.

There is however a *possibility* that the present "fountains of *Mousa*," not far from the head of the Red Sea, eastward, are the MOSERA, or *Moseroth*, of Holy Writ: for, that they derived their name from having been used by Moses, immediately after the passage of the Red Sea, is improbable, to say the least; as the sacred text assures us, the people "journeyed three days into the wilderness and found *no water*, till they came to Marah." Exod. xv. 22. Now this was not the fact, if at *that* time Moses used the wells of *Mousa*; as these are but a few hours from the place of his passage. But if they were the *Moseroth* of this place then, as they were used by Moses on *this* occasion, and perhaps he might enlarge or augment them; by a very easy corruption they are now called *Ain el Mousa*, instead of *Ain el Mousera*. The reader will judge of this conjecture.

This Mosera, if we take it either as the well *Nabá*, or *Ain el Mousa*, is about seven or eight miles from Suez. NIEBUHR says, of Suez, "The inhabitants of this town draw their principal commodities from Egypt, at the distance of three days journey; or from Mount Sinai, distant five or six days' journey; or from Gaza distant seven or eight days' journey."—This implies that there is a direct road to Gaza; and if we reckon the stations from *El Arish*, i. e. Rissah, to Mosera, we find them to be eight or nine, which agrees with the distance to Gaza, well enough. Or if we reckon forward to Mount Sinai, we find four or five stations, which also agrees with the distance given by NIEBUHR: so that hereabouts we may probably place *Moseroth*, (in the plural) without much risk of error. This however depends on the supposed difference of the face of the country between its ancient and its modern state.

We are now in the regular track of the caravans to Mecca, and may presume to determine the ancient stations by those in present use. The *wells of the children of Jaakan*, however, I cannot determine, as no wells are marked, in this course, after the well *Nabá*, till we come to *Calaat el Nahal*, "the castle at the river," which appears to stand on a stream, marked by D'Anville "torrent that has water;" in which it agrees with the description of Jotbathah, as a "land of rivers, or streams."

As the phrase *Beni Jaakan* is precisely according to the present phraseology of the Arabs, it must not be passed in silence. The Arabs are all of some tribe; and this they express by saying they are "sons—*beni*—of such an one"—and the *Beeroth* Beni Jaakan, ought therefore most certainly to have been rendered "*the wells of Beni Jaakan*,"—meaning, the wells belonging to the tribe so called. There can be no doubt that the Israelites paid for the use of these wells; as the Mecca caravan now does.

The stages adopted by the Mecca pilgrims are thus marked in Dr. SHAW's list:

| | | |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Adjeroud | <i>bitter water</i> | nearly ETHAM. |
| Rastywatter | <i>no water</i> | |
| Tear wahad | <i>no water</i> | |
| Callah Nahar | <i>good water</i> | JOTBATHAH. |
| Ally | <i>no water</i> | Ebronah. |
| Callah Accaba, | <i>good water</i> | nearly EZION GABER. |

We have no doubt that the *Eloth* of Scripture is that Eloth which gave, and still gives, name to a gulph of the Red Sea; nor that EZION GABER, which is always mentioned with Eloth, was nearly, or altogether, adjacent to it. It is probable, indeed, that *Ezion Gaber* should be the port intended by Dr. SHAW under the name of *Meenah el Dsahab*, "the port of gold," derived from the *gold* imported here by Solomon: but, the Doctor's account of its situation is extremely imperfect, and his position for it seems rather to be assumed by conjecture, than determined from valid information. We, therefore, by equal conjecture, place it near to Eloth; presuming, that neither of them stood precisely at the head of the gulph, that being of course too shoal, and sandy, for the building and fitting of large and stout ships; but rather at some small distance from it; one on one side of the gulph, the other on the other side, perhaps; or, both might be on the same side, though not *close* together. Having thus fixed No. 32, EZION GABER, we must seek *Ebrona*, No. 31, backwards, at the distance of one station from it, *i. e.* towards Catieh; it must therefore either be at *Sat el Acaba*, where is good water; or at *Abiar Alaina*; but the former of these seems to be the best situated for the station of a numerous caravan.

JOTBATHAH, No. 30, is described as "a land of brooks of water," with this description there is only one place, at the distance of two stations from Eloth, which can possibly agree. There is marked "a torrent of water," and here is marked *good water*, on the authority of Dr. Shaw.

It will be observed that Jotbathah, Ebrona, and Eloth, are precisely in the road now taken by the caravans going to Mecca, and are stations of those caravans in their journey. This shews clearly that the same considerations influenced the Hebrew conductor formerly, as influence the Caravan Bashaws of the present day. It leads us also to unite the line of march from Catieh, and to seek the intervening stations in various parts of that line, though we cannot identify the places.

No. DLV. ADVANCE FROM EZION GABER, EASTWARD, TO THE JORDAN.

IN advancing from the station of *Ezion Gaber*, the next place named is *the Wilderness of Zin*. We cannot suppose that, the progress of the Israelites having lately been wholly *easterly*, they are now directed to retrace their steps, and to take a *westerly* course for Canaan: they must therefore take a north-easterly course, till they arrive at the eastern side of the Dead Sea, and enter the country of Moab. That this very path, or one not distant from it, is now followed by the pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca is certain; but, as it is the most difficult to arrange, or describe, because rarely if ever taken by European travellers, we must endeavour to compensate this deficiency by other testimony.

Ishmael Abulfeda, Sultan of *Hamah*, describing the peninsula of Arabia, quotes *Ibn Haukal*, who says, "from *Ailah* (Eloth) to *Harah* is three stations [of the caravan]; from *Harah* to *Balaka* (Balca) three stations; from *Balaka* to *Masharik*

Houuran, six stations; from *Masharik Houuran*, to *Masharik Goutah*, where the gardens of Damascus are, three stations." This agrees with the Mosaic history, which says, from *near Ezion Gaber* to *Kadesh* in the Wilderness of *Zin*, one station: from *Kadesh* to *Mount Hor*, marked by the *Harah* of *Ibn Haukal*; (possibly, a residence of some kind on the northern face of the mountain) a second station. The third is *Zalmonah*; then *Punon*, *Oboth*, and *Ije Abarim*, near *Moab*; which answer to the three stations from *Harah* to *Balaka*, of the Arab writer. That this is the track of the caravan, appears also from *Volney*, who says, "Damascus is the rendezvous for all pilgrims from the north of Asia. Their number every year amounts to from 30,000 to 50,000,—this vast multitude set out confusedly on their march, and travelling by the confines of the desert, arrive in forty days at Mecca."—"As this caravan traverses the country of several independent Arab tribes, it is necessary to make treaties with them. In general, the preference is given to the tribe of *Sardia*, which encamps to the south of Damascus, along the *Hauran*. South of Damascus are the immense plains of the *Hauran*. The pilgrims of Mecca who traverse them for five or six days journey, assure us they find at every step, the vestiges of ancient habitations. The soil is a fine mould with stones, and almost without even the smallest pebble. What is said of its actual fertility, perfectly corresponds with the idea given of it in the Hebrew writings. Wherever wheat is sown, if the rains do not fail, it repays the cultivator with profusion, and grows to the height of a man. The pilgrims assert also that the inhabitants are stronger and taller than the rest of the Syrians." This is farther proved from an extract inserted hereafter: and leaves no doubt but the present track of the caravan is east of the Jordan; the same as Moses took in former ages.

The general result of our considerations, is, First, That Moses led his people to *Mount Sinai*, for the purpose of solemnly engaging them in devotion, and consecration to the Deity who had appeared to him there, *Exod. chap. iii.* and had given him this very solemnity as a sign of farther favours; verse 12.

Secondly, That having accomplished the sacred transactions at *Sinai*, he led them northwards, until they came within a moderate distance of the land promised to the Patriarchs. This seems to have been executed by a pretty rapid march from *Kibroth Hataavah* to *Kadesh Barnea*, principally after the departure of the Spies. Now *Kadesh Barnea* must have been some way, at least, in the rear of *Hormah*: for, as the Amalekites and Canaanites pursued the discomfited Israelites to that town, they would naturally relinquish the pursuit, as they approached the camp of Israel. The fugitives also would unquestionably fly toward the grand encampment of that nation to which they were attached. It is clear, too, that this battle was not out of the district of the Amalekites, since these were engaged in it; nor so far from Canaan, but that a detachment of Canaanites sent to watch the motions of Israel, contributed to the victory.

After the events at *Kadesh* the people are ordered to turn and get them (again) by the *Way* (the common road) of the Wilderness by the Red Sea—i. e. into the districts they had formerly quitted; as appears by their passing *Mount Sinai*, in their route to *Ezion Gaber*.

By invading Canaan on the east, after many years; and crossing Jordan for that purpose, not only an entirely different people was attacked now, from what had been attempted formerly, but 1. The inhabitants east of Jordan not being succoured by those on the west, their subjection was inevitable; as already observed. 2. The passage of the Jordan cut off the southern part of Canaan from the northern part; and

being thus divided, each division opposed less resistance, as they could not act in concert; and more force could be employed against each; under their entire uncertainty of what district would be next invaded.

The general character of the Desert, the edge of which was journeyed *round*, is thus described by VOLNEY. The road in which the people of Gaza meet the caravans of Damascus, I presume is the same as that which Israel took from Accaba, or Ezion Gaber, to the country of Moab.—He says,

“A branch of commerce advantageous to the people of Gaza, is furnished by the caravans which pass and repass between Egypt and Syria. The provisions they are obliged to take for their four days’ journey in the desert produce a considerable demand for their flour, oils, dates, and other necessaries. Sometimes they correspond with Suez, on the arrival or departure of the Djedda fleet, as they are able to reach that place in ten long days’ journey. They fit out, likewise, every year, *a great caravan, which goes to meet the pilgrims of Mecca*, and conveys to them the convoy, or *Dejerda*, of Palestine, and supplies of various kinds, with different refreshments. They meet them at Maon, *four days’ journey to the south-east of Gaza, and one day’s journey to the north of Akaba*, on the road to Damascus. They also purchase the plunder of the Bedouins: an article which would be a Peru to them, were these accidents more frequent.

“In the desert, by the east, we meet with strips of arable land, as far as the road to Mecca. These are little valleys, where a few peasants have been tempted to settle, by the waters, which collect at the time of the winter rains, and by some wells. They cultivate palm-trees, and doura, under the protection, or rather exposed to the rapine, of the Arabs. These peasants, separated from the rest of mankind, are half savages, and more ignorant and wretched than the Bedouins themselves. Incapable of leaving the soil they cultivate, they live in perpetual dread of losing the fruit of their labours. No sooner have they gathered in their harvest, than they hasten to secrete it in private places, and retire among the rocks which border on the Dead Sea. This country has not been visited by any traveller, but it well merits such an attention; for, from the reports of the Arabs of Bakir, and the inhabitants of Gaza, who frequently go to Maon, and Karak, on the road of the pilgrims, there is, to the south-east of the lake Asphaltites, within three days’ journey, upwards of thirty ruined towns, absolutely deserted. Several of them have large edifices with columns, which may have belonged to ancient temples, or at least to Greek churches. The Arabs sometimes make use of them to fold their cattle in; but in general avoid them, on account of the enormous scorpions with which they swarm. We cannot be surprised at these traces of ancient population, when we recollect that this was the country of the Nabatheans, the most powerful of the Arabs; and of the Idumeans, who, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, were almost as numerous as the Jews; as appears from Josephus, who informs us, that on the first rumour of the march of Titus against Jerusalem, thirty thousand Idumeans instantly assembled, and threw themselves into that city for its defence. It appears that, besides the advantage of being under a tolerably good government, these districts enjoyed a considerable share of the commerce of Arabia and India, which increased their industry and population. We know that, as far back as the time of Solomon, the cities of *Atsioum-Gaber* (Esion-Geber), and *Ailah* (Eloth) were highly frequented marts. These towns were situated on the adjacent gulph of the Red Sea, where we still find the latter yet retaining its name; and perhaps the former, in that of *El-Akaba*, or *the End* (of the Sea).

“This
;

"This desert, which is the boundary of Syria to the south, extends itself in the form of a peninsula between the two gulphs of the Red Sea; that of Suez to the west, and that of El-Akaba to the east. Its breadth is ordinarily thirty leagues, and its length seventy. This great space is almost entirely filled by barren mountains, which join those of Syria, on the north, and like them, consist wholly of calcareous stone: but as we advance to the southward, they become granitic, and Sinai and Horeb are only enormous masses of that stone. Hence it was the ancients called this country *Arabia Petrea*. The soil in general is a dry gravel, producing nothing but thorny acacias, tamarisks, firs, and a few scattered shrubs. Springs are very rare, and the few we meet with are sometimes sulphureous and thermal, as at *Hammam-Faraoun*; at others brackish and disagreeable, as at *El-Naba*, opposite Suez; this saline quality prevails throughout the country, and there are mines of fossil salt in the northern parts. In some of the valleys, however, the soil becoming better, as it is formed of the earth washed from the rocks, is cultivable after the winter rains, and may almost be stiled fertile. Such is the vale of *Djirandel*, in which there are even groves of trees. Such also is the vale of *Faran*, where the Bedouins say there are ruins; which can be no other than those of the ancient city of that name. In former times every advantage was made of this country that could be obtained from it; but at present, abandoned to nature, or rather to barbarism, it produces nothing but wild herbs. Yet, with such scanty provision, this desert subsists three tribes of Bedouins, consisting of about five or six thousand Arabs, dispersed in various parts." *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 341. &c.

No. DLVI. MAP OF THE COUNTRY, FROM SUEZ TO MOUNT SINAI:

COPIED FROM NIEBUHR.

GEOGRAPHY and Chronology are the two eyes of History; yet, very rarely is either purged from those films to which it is naturally subject. The task is not easy in respect to Geography; for, to accomplish it, requires no less than personal acquaintance with the country described; a great advantage, certainly, but not generally possible. The utmost we can do is, to collect from those who have travelled there, what accounts they offer; and to corroborate the judgment of one traveller by that of another, who may have enjoyed superior advantages, or more favourable opportunities.

As the celebrity of Mount SINAI has induced many persons to visit it, we are happily relieved from the necessity of depending on an individual, and may supply the deficiencies of one by the qualifications of another. Dr. SHAW, for instance, was certainly a man of observation, but he was not a correct draughtsman: in this department NIEBUHR excelled; and we presume to think his Map is the most faithful of any yet published. Dr. SHAW travelled the very course which Moses and the Caravan of Israel had travelled so many ages before him, and paid particular attention to the illustration of Scripture; we therefore have extracted freely from his narration; and have now but little to add. Speaking of the Gulf of Suez, he says,

"The situation of this Gulf, which is the [*Jam Siph*, ים סוף]—the *Weedy Sea*, in the Scriptures, the Gulf of *Heroopolis*, in the Greek and Latin Geography, and the Western Arm, as the Arabian geographers call it, of the Sea of Kolsum, lieth nearly north and south; in a position very proper to be traversed by that strong east wind which was sent to divide it, Exod. xiv. 21. The division that

was thus made in the channel, the making the waters of it to *stand on a heap* (Psalm lxxviii. 13.) their being a wall to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left, (Exod. xiv. 22.) besides the distance of at least twenty miles, that this passage lieth below the extremity of the Gulf, are circumstances which sufficiently vouch for the miraculousness of it, and no less contradict all such idle suppositions as pretend to account for it, from the nature and quality of the tides, or from such extraordinary recess of the sea, as it seems to have been too rashly compared to by Josephus.

“We have a distinct view of Mount Sinai from Elim; the Wilderness of *Sin*, as it is still called, lying betwixt us. We traversed these plains in nine hours, being diverted, all the way, with the sight of a variety of lizards and vipers, that are here in great numbers. I had not the good fortune to see the famous inscription, that is said to be engraven upon the rocks, just as we turn into the valley that conducts us to Mount Sinai. *Sin* was the first place where God gave the Israelites Manna, Exod. xvi. 14. and therefore some authors have imagined, that these characters were left, as a standing monument of that blessing to future generations.”

.....

We shall now direct our attention to NIEBUHR. *Travels*, vol. i. p, 175, &c.
 “The city of Suez stands upon the western side, but not just upon the western extremity, of the Arabic Gulf. It is not surrounded with walls; but the houses are built so closely together, that there are only two passages into the city, of which that nearest the sea is open, the other shut by a very insufficient gate. The houses are very sorry structures; the kans being the only solid buildings in the city. Hardly any part now remains of the castle which the Turks built upon the ruins of the ancient Kolsum. It is very thinly inhabited. Among its inhabitants are some Greeks, and a few families of Copts. But, about the time of the departure of the fleet, it is crowded with strangers.

“The ground lying around it is all one bed of rock, slightly covered with sand. Scarcely a plant is to be seen any where in the neighbourhood. Trees, gardens, meadows and fields, are entirely unknown at Suez. Fish is the only article of provisions plentiful here. All other necessaries of life, for both men and domestic animals, are brought from afar; from Cairo, which is three days’ journey distant from Suez; from Mount Sinai, at the distance of six days’ journey; or from Ghasso, [Gaza] at the distance of seven.

“At Suez there is not a single spring of water. That at Bir Suez is scarcely good enough for cattle; but it is drawn to Suez, twice a day, for their use. The water of the pretended Wells of Moses is still worse; and besides, these Wells lie at a league and a half distance, on the other side of the Gulf. . . The only water fit for drinking that is to be had here, comes from the Wells of *Naba*, on the other side of the Gulf, and more than two leagues distant from Suez. The Arabs are the carriers; and they sell this water at the rate of nine French *sols* a skin; but, though reputed the best, it is still very bad.

“The Arabs who live about Tor, [1] upon the other side of the Gulf, are little afraid of the Turkish governor of Suez. When dissatisfied with him, or with the inhabitants of the city, they threaten to bring no more water, and forbid them to come near the wells of *Naba*. These threats, if carried into execution, would reduce the city to the last extremities; and all means are, therefore, used to pacify them.

“ On the 6th of September, 1762, we crossed the Gulf, and set out next morning with our Arabs. The first day we travelled along the coast of the Arabic Gulf, through a sandy plain, having a few hills scattered over it. On the 8th of September we travelled through the plain of *Girdon*. We saw, on our way, an enormous mass of rock, that had fallen from a neighbouring mountain. We entered next the valley of *Girondel*, and, after proceeding five miles and a half farther, found ourselves in the vicinity of *Jibbel Hamman Faraun*. In the rainy season a considerable torrent runs through the valley of *Girondel*. [4] It was at this time dry; yet, by digging in the bed, to the depth of two feet, we found better water than that which is used at Suez. This valley not being deficient in water, has in it several trees, and even groves, that appear singularly striking to travellers from Cairo, who have seen no similar appearance in the previous part of their journey.

“ *Hamman Faraun* is the name of a hot spring which rises by two apertures out of a rock, at the foot of a high mountain. It is used in baths by the neighbouring sick, who commonly stay forty days for a cure, during which their only food is a fruit, called *Lassaf*, which grows here. An extensive burying place near the baths, suggested doubts in my mind of the beneficial effects of this regimen. The tradition that the Jews passed this way, and that Pharaoh's army was drowned here, has occasioned this place to receive the name of *Birket-el-Faraun*. The Arabs imagine that Pharaoh is doing penance at the bottom of this well, and vomits up the sulphureous vapour with which the water is impregnated.

“ This eastern side of the Arabic Gulf is tolerably level and uniform. But the opposite side is one range of lofty mountains: broken, however, and divided by two vales; by one of which we must pass in travelling from Egypt to the shore of the Red Sea.

“ We turned, by degrees, towards the north-east, in pursuing the direct road to Mount Sinai, and at length entered a narrow vale, which appeared to have been cut by the torrents in the rock. The mountains which rose on every side of us, in uninterrupted chains, were masses of a sort of limestone intermingled with veins of granite. In several places throughout them, I discovered a quantity of petrified shells, of a species which is to be found with the living shell-fish in it, in the Arabic Gulf. One of those hills is entirely covered with flints. The granite becomes more and more plentiful as we approach Mount Sinai.

“ Our road lay often along the brink of precipices, commonly through stony glens, and sometimes through wide valleys, watered and fertile. Such were *Usaitu*, *El Hamer*, and *Warsan*. We passed also, in our way by *Nasbé*, the seat of some Bedouins of this country. As water was sometimes at a distance from the places where we encamped, our servants were obliged to go to bring it. We could have wished to accompany them, in order to see a little of the country; but our guides would not always permit us. After passing through the valley of Warsan, we turned a little out of the highway, and the same evening reached the abode of our chief of the tribe of Leghat.

“ Being determined to proceed on to Mount Sinai, we set out from the dwelling of our Schiech of Beni Leghat, on the 12th of September. The country became more mountainous as we advanced; yet we passed through some pleasant valleys; such were those at *Chamela*, *Dabur*, *Barak*, and *Genna*. Before reaching the vale of *Israitu*, which, although surrounded with rocky and precipitous mountains, displays some rich and cheerful prospects, we were obliged to go over another lofty and almost inaccessible hill.

“ We left this place 14th of September, and, after travelling two (German) miles farther, in the valley of *Faran*, arrived at the foot of *Jibbel Musa*. Up this mountain we ascended a mile and a half, and encamped near a large mass of stone, which Moses is said by the Arabs to have divided into two, as it at present appears, with one blow of his sword. Among those mountains we found several springs of excellent water, at which, for the first time since my arrival from Egypt, I quaffed this precious liquid with real satisfaction”.

Such is the character of this region as it appears in Heron's translation of NIEBUHR. I shall now [from the *French Edition*] translate, in addition, this traveller's account of the Desert of Sinai, as it accompanies his Map: extracting only what may be usefully employed in illustrating Scripture.

“ The Arabic name of the country, situated between the two arms of the Gulf of Arabia, is called, I believe, *Bahr el Tour Sinai*, the *Desert of Mount Sinai*. This country, so famous anciently, is now almost uninhabited: only a few villages now stand on its coast, whose inhabitants live wholly by their fishing. The whole interior of the country belongs to wandering and independent Arabs.

“ The eastern arm of the Arabian Gulf, which the natives call *Bahr el Akaba*, is commonly delineated very wide on our maps; but, according to the accounts which I received, it is not wider than admits of people on one side of it, calling to others on the opposite side, and being heard. At the farther end of this gulf is the ancient city of *Ailah*, called *Eloth* in Scripture.

“ On the western arm of this gulf is the well known port of *Tor* or *Bender Tor*, where the vessels going from *Sues* to *Djidda* land, because they take, *gratis*, a tolerable water from a well near the port: and they purchase, at a low price, a still better water, brought from the mountains.

“ The elevated mountain of *Saint Catherine* stands N. E. six, or six and a half German miles from *Tor*, adjacent to *Mount Sinai*. *Mount Sinai* is but the highest peak of a chain of mountains, at the foot of which is the famous Greek convent. The Mount with its convent stands on a mountainous mass, which our Arab guides called *Dsjebbel Musa*, and which is many days' journey in circuit. It is composed in great part of gritstone; there is also granite; and the *Sinai* of the Christians, near the convent, is almost wholly a rock of red granite of a very large grain.

“ The *Mount of Moses* has numerous beautiful springs; nevertheless, they are not so copious as to be united, and to form streams which might last the whole year. It seems, rather, that the valleys of the *Mount of Moses* only furnish water after heavy rains. Here are fertile valleys, in which are gardens planted with vines, pear-trees, dates, and other excellent fruits.—*I did not go to the west of Sinai*.

“ The valley of *Faran* is at the northernmost foot of the *Mount of Moses*, two and a half German leagues N. W. from the convent. Very fine fruits are found in abundance in this and the neighbouring valley. It was entirely dry in September; nevertheless, the *Wadi Faran* becomes sometimes, after heavy rains, a torrent so considerable, that the Arabs are obliged to pitch their tents on the declivities of the mountains. The Arabs draw from the springs a water which is tolerable, but not so good as that found on the Mountain of Moses.

“ The valley of *Girondel*, like that of *Faran*, is inundated after great rains. In September it was so dry that we were obliged to dig for water, a foot or foot and a half into the sand. This water, though inferior in goodness to that of the Mount of Moses, is yet better than that of *Sues*. I had neither the time nor the desire to stop long enough to examine whether this water is alternately sweet and bitter, (as Mi-

CHÆLIS enquires, *Quest.* ii. xviii. xix.) During this journey we rarely encamped by a fountain; and as I had asked sometimes to accompany those who fetched water, our guides always afterwards sent to fetch it without our knowledge. If any wood was now known to have the properties of that used by Moses to sweeten water, the inhabitants of *Sues* would not fail to employ it.

“*Wadi Girondel* is nine or ten German miles from *Sues*, and near to *Dsjebbel Hammam Faraun*. This valley contains many trees, and even small woods. *Aijoun Musa*: or, the *Wells of Moses*, are distant two German miles S. E. 30° S. from *Sues*, and a good half [German] mile from the Gulf of Arabia, in a sandy plain. Water is found in many places on digging a foot deep: but the Arabs report, that of *five wells* seen there, only *one* yields a water fit for drinking.”—So far NIEBUHR. [For accounts already given of this district, compare Nos. xxxviii. xxxix. ON THE EXODUS OF ISRAEL.] We close with a few remarks, by way of notes.

1. *Tor*. This name is the same as that of the famous city of *Tyre*, on the Mediterranean. The circumstance of finding a second *Tyre*, and on the Red Sea, deserves notice; this being a convenient situation for carrying on the trade to India. In fact, this city was originally built by the Tyrians; of which Strabo gives the history. The reader will form his own opinion on this; but, if the Tyrians traded from hence to India, beyond a doubt the neighbouring ports of *Eloth* and *Ezion-gaber* might trace the same track. *Vide* OPHIR.

2. *Ezion-gaber*. The chief remark on this place is included in the former note. Mr. BRUCE tells us, that the entrance of its port is dangerous, by reason of rocks which may easily be mistaken for the opening of the harbour.

3. The *payment for water* explains Numb. xx. 19; and we cannot but observe, throughout these extracts, the anxiety which is attached to the supply of this necessary of life, and to its qualities. The rarity of good water accounts for this.

4. The circumstance of water being found only *occasionally* in the torrents, and the valleys, together with the distress of those who, expecting to find it, are disappointed, is finely expressed by Job, chap. vi. 15.

My brethren have dealt decoitfully as a brook,
As the streams of brooks they pass away,
'Ere they wax warm, they vanish;
'Ere it is hot they are consumed out of their place.
The troops of Tema looked;
The companies of Sheba waited for them;
They were confounded to the same degree as they had hoped;
They came thither, and were *completely* ashamed.

Our English ideas of *brooks* and *streams of brooks*, are very feeble, compared with those of the Arabs in respect to their *wadi*, torrents; nor can we conceive the distress of a caravan travelling from a remote kingdom, when, after toiling through many a sultry day, it comes to a place where a supply of water was depended on,—but in vain!

5. In the *Dictionary*, under the article MANNA, a doubt is suggested, whether the whole of the camp of Israel lived without intermission on that food; the information contained in the present article, leads to the conclusion that they had, or might have, other edibles; since the fruits, or productions of this region, are described as being plentiful, and capable of maintaining “thousands of people,” in their present state: and every thing induces us to believe, that this district of Arabia was more fruitful formerly, than it is at this day. May we presume to think, that when mortals, weak

though they be, have used all proper means to accomplish what laudable purposes they undertake, they may hope for the Divine blessing *in addition*?—possibly, such an allusion is included in those words of our Lord's prayer, which seem to contain a sentiment to the MANNA, "Give us this day our daily bread," (*ἐπιτοκος, panem super-substantialem*)—*in addition* to what had been already procured.

6. It should seem, that NIEBUHR was some hours in descending from the *Mount of Moses* to its real base; consequently, the distance was considerable.

8. Dr. SHAW says he had not the good fortune to see the famous inscriptions said to be engraven on the rocks: NIEBUHR describes them as consisting of *characters coarsely engraven, apparently with some pointed instrument of iron, in the rock*. I take for granted that these characters are ancient; whether so ancient as the days of Job, cannot be affirmed; but, this seems to be one instance of a manner of registering events, agreeably to the desire of that patriarch, chap. xix. 23, 24.

O! that my words were now written!

O! that they were firmly cut in a book!

By an iron pen upon lead—the *leaden leaves of a book*;

—IN A LASTING ROCK CUT DEEPLY.

That Job connected the idea of *perpetuity* with such incisions in the live rock, is evident: and with the utmost propriety: as these still existing inscriptions demonstrate.

8. When the waters are gone off the valley it is *soon covered with grass*. No doubt it was the same in the valley of *Paran*, and around where Israel encamped; this assists in accounting for the means of support to the cattle of the camp;—for *they*, surely, did not subsist on the manna.

9. Of the same nature as the roving tribes of independent Arabs, no doubt, was the *Amalek* which attacked Israel, which Joshua discomfited, and which Saul eventually exterminated. Exod. xvii. 8, 14. 1 Sam. xv. 3, 18.

10. The stress laid by NIEBUHR on the beauty of the springs on Mount *Sinai*, on the goodness of their water, and their abundant supply, deserves especial consideration. Was Moses acquainted with these springs, and their excellence? It might be thought so: and that he did not mean to bring his caravan to a spot where no water existed: but rather that he led them to the best in quality, and the most abundant in quantity, which this region afforded: and when (owing perhaps to an incalculably increased demand) these fountains proved insufficient, *then* the divine goodness opened a breach in the rock, which, could it be distinguished, runs most probably (like the fountain of Samson) to this day.

Observe, moreover, that NIEBUHR says, the springs do not form permanent streams. It may, nevertheless, be conjectured, that Moses was acquainted with some that did not fail; though, perhaps, when they reached the sands they were absorbed; for he seems, Deut. xxxiii. 3. to distinguish the Waters of Strife, *Meribah Kadesh*, from the waters of *Ashdodh*, the *copious, flowing* (and, one should think, *permanent*) springs. Should any person hereafter have an opportunity of searching for these springs, perhaps they may be found in the direction of the evening rays of the sun.

As the numbers of the Israelites now stand in our bibles, it is impossible to avoid glancing at the very great extent indispensable to their camp: and not only was this necessary, when the camp was stationed at *Sinai*, but also, wherever it was stationed during its march; in order that the signals from the center might be seen throughout it.

NIEBUHR says, *he did not go to the west of Sinai*; probably, therefore, his Map is, in these parts, drawn from an estimate by his eye; the same apparently, is true of the southern parts of his Map. If Dr. SHAW had been his equal in the art of Design, more confidence might have been put in *his* Map than can well be, at present. We have, however, traced the Dr.'s route on the Map of NIEBUHR; which, from *Sues* to *Elim*, seems to have been precisely that of the ancient Israelites. In fact, the mountains determine the track; but, at *Elim*, the reader will observe *two* courses to *Sinai*: one leading N. E. as direct as possible to the Greek convent; the other to the south of Mount *Sinai*. Dr. SHAW seems in his Map to have marked the latter, while his narrative agrees with the former. If there be any passable way to the south, it were desirable that it should be inspected; as possibly it may have been the scene of interesting events.

We have added those Scripture names which appear to be ascertained by Dr. SHAW; and in this respect, we have been guided by his judgment.

On the whole, we hope, this *Map* will communicate information of a desirable kind; and contribute to render the route of the Israelites to Mount Sinai more intelligible to those who desire a competent acquaintance with Biblical History. The addition of the view of Mount Sinai from *Tor*, not only shews the appearance of that mountain when seen from the Red Sea, but enables us to form some notion of the distance to which it commands a prospect.

No. DLVII. THOUGHTS ON MOUNT SINAI, AND ON SOME OF THE TRANSACTIONS THERE.

WHATEVER places or things mentioned in Holy Writ may have been changed in their properties, or appearances, rocks and mountains continue the same. Rivers and torrents may have forsaken their beds; but, masses of granite, or flint, remain to this day in the same situation, and in the same state, as the most ancient days beheld them.

This is no less true of Mount Sinai than of other mountains: itself a granite rock, and surrounded on all sides by granite rocks, it offers, with little change, to beholders *now*, the same aspect as it did when Moses fed his flock around it, or when he was here the acknowledged "King in Jeshurun."

By acquaintance with the present character, the geography, and the appearance of this mountain, we may better understand some of those histories of which it has been the scene, and which are recorded in Scripture.

BAUMGARTEN travelled to Mount Sinai A. D. 1505. After describing, with resentment, the impositions he suffered from the Arabs, he tells us,

"About the second hour of the night we went up to mount *Horeb*. There were in company with us two Greek monks, whom they call *Culageri*, and three Arabians who lived in the monastery of St. *Catharine*; whom our interpreter had deputed to be our guides, himself being so fat that he could not climb to such a height. We ascended the mountain by the light of the moon, and carried victuals and other necessaries with us; we often rested ourselves by the way, to recover our lost breath, and encouraged and roused one another to undergo the labour. The ascent of this hill is both steep and high; and, as the monks that were our guides told us, it has seven thousand steps of square stone, besides the greater part where the ascent is natural. Having come half way up the mountain we found a chapel dedicated to *Mary*, and within, a pure spring, that was very useful to strangers.

“ From thence we went to *Helias's* chapel, where they say he staid when he fled from Jezebel, 1 Kings xix. At last, after much sweating and a great deal of toil and labour, we reached the top of mount *Horeb*, where in most humble posture we offered up our most hearty thanks to Almighty God who hath preserved us hitherto.

“ From thence we went to the church dedicated to our blessed Saviour, which is built in that place, where, as 'tis said, Moses spake with the LORD, and received the Tables of the Law, Exod. xxxiv. Hard by that church is a rock, the highest in all the mountain, twenty paces round; in which place the LORD is said to have talked with Moses, while it smok'd and look'd terrible with clouds, thunder and lightning; and indeed to this day both this and some neighbouring mountains shine with a sort of brightness resembling that of polish'd copper. About fifteen paces from hence is a *Saracen* mosque, built over the place where Moses is said to have fasted forty days and forty nights, by a special Divine assistance, before he received the Law. Exod. xxiv. In the church dedicated to our Saviour, we lay down on the bare ground all night, and trembled so for cold, that we slept little or none all that night.

“ On the 18th about sun-rising we came down the west side of mount *Horeb*, by a very steep and dangerous way; and came into a valley betwixt mount *Horeb* and *Sinai*, in which was a Monastery, dedicated to forty Saints, where refreshing ourselves a little, we left our baggage under the care of a certain monk.”

To ascend *Sinai*—

“ We began our journey, with much more toil and danger than in mount *Horeb*. For by this time the sun had reached the middle of the heavens, and the tops of the mountains with which we were surrounded intercepted the cool and refreshing breezes; and beside, such was our stupidity, that we had quite forgot to bring bread with us, and our perfidious guides had made us believe that we should find water enough on the mount.

“ The ascent was both slippery and steep, insomuch that we were for the most part forced to make use of all-four: which way of creeping was so uneasy, that I cannot express how wearisome and dangerous it was, and how strong one's knees must needs be that could endure it. For while one who is going up treads on these stones that lie loose, they presently yield; and in a steep ascent, if one does not take care to set his feet warily, if a single stone be mov'd out of its place, the rest follow, and tumble down on the followers. And besides, while we were below, the roughness of them was very uneasy to us, because they were often falling, and we were forced to handle them often when we were beginning to scramble up; but having got up higher, we were a little refreshed by a cooler breeze, and the sight of the goats that were running along the rocks, diverted in some measure the thoughts of the toil. Afterwards, refreshing ourselves with a little sugar, and resuming new vigour, we encountered the difficulty again, and sometimes climbing, sometimes creeping, we had almost quite lost our breath, and were mightily distress'd.

“ And besides, the monks and Arabians were so tir'd that they could hardly know the mountain; for there were a great many high tops of mountains so like one another, that for a long time it was very difficult to tell which was which, if there had not been some heaps of stones lying here and there, which had been gather'd by others to direct succeeding travellers in their way; by means of these our guides at last coming to know the top of *Sinai*, got before, and call'd to us with a great deal of joy; which so inspir'd us with courage and vigour, that we followed them quickly. But at last the ascent grew so difficult, that all our former toil and labour seem'd but sport to this. However, we did not give over, but imploring the Divine assistance,

we

we used our utmost endeavour. At last, thro' untrodden ways, thro' sharp and hanging rocks, thro' clefts and horrible deserts, pulling and drawing one another, sometimes with our belts, and sometimes with our hands, by the assistance of Almighty God, we all arriv'd at the top of the mountain. But our Arabians, who were not spur'd on by devotion, and who had no inclination to the thing, thinking it impossible to get up, stay'd below the rock, admiring our fervour, eagerness, and strength. The top of mount *Sinai* is scarcely thirty paces in compass; there we took a large prospect of the countries round about us, and began to consider how much we had travell'd by sea and land, and how much more we had to travel, what hazards and dangers, and what various changes of fortune might probably befall us; while we were thus divided between fear and hope, and possessed with a longing for our native country, it is hard to imagine how much we were troubled.

"Mount *Sinai* raises its lofty head so far above those of other mountains, and affords such a vast prospect on all hands, that altho' the Red Sea be three days journey distant from it, it seemed to us but about a gun-shot. From thence we saw several desolate islands in that sea, and beyond it the desert and mountains of *Thebais*, where the hermits, Paulus, Antonius and Macarius, are said to have liv'd. From thence also we descry'd *Al-Thor*, that famous port on the Red-sea, into which all the ships laden with spices from India come; and from thence they are carried on camels thro' the desert into Alexandria, and distributed almost thro' all the world.

"But because thirst and the importunity of our guides would not allow us to stay longer, we offer'd up our most humble devotion to the Most High God, and went down; and the descent being easier than the ascent, in a short time, sometimes tumbling, sometimes walking, we came to the middle of the mountain; where finding a little spring, but clear and wholesome, we drank heartily, to make amends for the long thirst we had endured.

"Near the Monastery of the Forty Saints is a most delightful garden of olive, fig, pomegranate, almond, and several other sorts of trees. Leaving this place, and taking a compass about *Horeb*, we came to a certain stone at the foot of the mountain, which *Moses*, as 'tis recorded Numb. xx. having struck with his rod, brought forth as much water as served all the men and beasts that were in the Israelites' army.

"Though *Moses* is said to have struck the rock only twice with his rod, yet there are twelve marks or prints on it. [Compare PLATE III. MISCELLANIES, and No. CCLXXXIV.] A miracle the more wonderful, because this stone, though separated from the rest of the rock, and almost a square figure, yet is fixed in the ground by only one pointed corner, and consequently not in so fit a posture to extract any moisture from the earth; and therefore its sending forth such abundance of water must have been the work of an Almighty hand, and to this day there comes a sort of liquor out at one of these marks; which we both saw and tasted.

"Not far from hence is a place where the earth opened its mouth and swallowed up *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families, and all that they had. Numb. xvi.

"A short way from hence is that well of which *Moses* made the people drink the waters of malediction, by which many of them died, and were buried here, after their adoring the molten calf. Hard by this place is the burial place of the Greek brethren, where about nine thousand of them are said to be buried.

"Having fetched a compass almost about mount *Horeb*, near sun-set we entered the monastery of St. Catharine; and though we were almost spent with weariness and hunger, yet weariness afflicted us most; for next day we were not able to stand."

Says Dr. SHAW, " We were near twelve hours in passing the many windings and difficult ways which lie betwixt the deserts of *Sin* and *Sinai*. The latter is a beautiful plain, more than a league in breadth, and nearly three in length, lying open towards the N. E. where we enter it, but is closed up to the southward by some of the lower eminences of mount *Sinai*. In this direction likewise the higher parts of it make such encroachments on the plain, that they divide it into two, each of them capacious enough to receive the whole encampment of the Israelites. That which lieth to the eastward of the mount, may be the Desert of *Sinai*, properly so called, where *Moses saw the Angel of the Lord in the burning Bush, when he was guarding the flocks of Jethro*. Exod. iii. 2. The Convent of *St. Catharine* is built over the place of this Divine appearance. It is near three hundred foot square, and more than forty in height, being partly built with stone, partly with mud only and mortar mixed together. The more immediate place of the *Shekinah* is honoured with a little chapel, which this old fraternity of *St. Basil* hath in such esteem and veneration, that, in imitation of *Moses, they put off their shoes from off their feet*, when they enter or approach it. This with several other chapels, dedicated to particular Saints, are included within the church, as they call it, of the *Transfiguration*, which is a large beautiful structure, covered with lead, and supported by two rows of marble columns. The floor is very elegantly laid out in a variety of devices in Mosaic work; of the same workmanship likewise are both the floor and the walls of the *Presbyterium*, upon the latter whereof is represented the figure of the Emperor Justinian, together with the history of the *Transfiguration*. On the partition, which separateth the *Presbyterium* from the body of the church, there is placed a small marble shrine, wherein are preserved the skull and one of the hands of *St. Catharine*.

" Mount *Sinai* hangs over this convent, being called by the Arabs (*Jibbel Mousa*) *The Mountain of Moses*, and sometimes only, by way of eminence, (*El Tor*)—*The Mountain*. *St. Helena* was at the expense of the stone stair-case, that was formerly carried up entirely to the top of it; but, at present, as most of these steps are either removed, washed out of their places, or defaced, the ascent up to it is very fatiguing, and frequently imposed on their votaries as a severe penance. However, at certain distances, the Fathers have erected, as so many breathing places, several little chapels, dedicated to one or other of their Saints, who are always invoked on these occasions; and, after some small oblation, are engaged to lend their assistance.

" The summit of Mount *Sinai* is somewhat conical, and not very spacious, where the Mahometans as well as Christians, have a small chapel for public worship. Here we were shewn the place where *Moses fasted forty days*, Exod. xxiv. 18. xxxiv. 18.—where *he received the Law*, Exod. xxxi. 18.—where *he hid himself from the face of God*, Exod. xxxiii. 22.—where *his hand was supported by Aaron and Hur, at the battle with Amalek*, Exod. xvii. 9, 12, &c. &c.

" After we had descended, with no small difficulty, down the western side of this mountain, we came into the other plain formed by it, which is Rephidim, Exod. xvii. 1." *Travels*, p. 350.

NIEBUHR informs us, that " The Arabs call *Jibbel Musa, The Mount of Moses*, all that range of mountains at the exterior extremity of the valley of *Faran*; and to that part of the range on which the convent of *St. Catharine* stands, they give the name of *Tur Sina*. This similarity of name, owing most probably, to tradition, affords ground for presuming, that the hill which we had now reached was the *Sinai* of the Jews, on which Moses received the Law. It is, indeed, not easy to comprehend, how such a multitude of people as the Jews, who accompanied Moses out of Egypt,

could encamp in those narrow gullies, amidst frightful and precipitous rocks. But, perhaps, there are plains, on the other side of the mountain, that we know not of.

“Two German miles and a half up the mountain, stands the Convent of St. *Catharine*. The body of this monastery is a building one hundred and twenty feet in length, and almost as many in breadth. Before it stands another small building, in which is the only gate of the convent, which remains always shut, except when the bishop is here. At other times, whatever is introduced within the convent, whether men or provisions, is drawn up by the roof, in a basket, with a cord and a pulley. The whole building is of hewn stone ; which, in such a desert, must have cost prodigious expense and pains.

“Next day our Schiechs brought me an Arab, whom they qualified with the title of Schiech of Mount *Sinai*. Under the conduct of this newly created Lord of *Sinai*, with our Schiechs, I attempted to clamber to the summit of that mountain. It is so steep, that Moses cannot have ascended on the side which I viewed. The Greeks have cut a flight of steps up the rock. Pococke reckons three thousand of these steps to the top of the mountain, or rather bare, pointed rock.

“Five hundred steps above the convent, we found a charming spring, which, by a little pains, might be improved into a very agreeable spot. A thousand steps higher a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; and five hundred above this, two other chapels, situated in a plain, which travellers enter by two small gates of mason-work. Upon this plain are two trees, under which, at high festivals, the Arabs are regaled at the expense of the Greeks. My Mahometan guides, imitating the practices which they had seen the pilgrims observe, kissed the images, and repeated their prayers in the chapels. They would accompany me no farther; but maintained this to be the highest accessible peak of the mountain; whereas, according to Pococke, I had yet a thousand steps to ascend : I was therefore obliged to return, and content myself with viewing the hill of St. *Catharine* at a distance.”

The result of these informations is, 1. That, there are *now* goats fed on this Mountain : so Moses fed his father Jethro's flock, (Exod. iii. 1.) and came to the “Mountain of God,” Horeb. Probably, the flock he guided and guarded was not numerous ; as it should seem that Moses was alone at the time. 2. That, there are *now* a considerable number of Arabs resident around it, or who occasionally visit it. 3. That, there are trees on it ; that it yields dates ; and that, by cultivation, its fruits are excellent : they are even sent as presents to the Bashaw of Cairo. 4. That the Mountain is seen from a great distance : so that any thing of a striking nature on it, as a storm of thunder and lightning, &c. may be seen even at the Red-Sea. 5. That, the *exterior* base is far from the central *peak*, or greatest elevation, “two German miles and a half” [15 to a degree] says NIEBUHR. 6. That, there is no sufficient open space round the *peak* wherein a large camp might be arranged : though the valley adjacent to the convent of St. Catharine may hold many persons, yet not many thousand persons : as it is but narrow and uneven. 7. That, there is a considerable length, (nine miles,) and breadth (three miles) before the exterior base of it. This in NIEBUHR's Map is marked as a water-course; and it still retains the name of *Pharan*; which was anciently that of the district circumjacent. It is uncertain whether the camp of Israel stood in this open space, or in any space south of the mountain; but there is no place more suitable marked to the south, in NIEBUHR's Map.

Tradition is uniform in asserting, that the Convent of St. Catharine stands on the spot of the burning bush ; and the stone, said to be the smitten rock, is on *this* side of the Mountain : so that, on the whole, there is no inducement to seek the place of

the Israelitish camp to the Southward : and though we find Dr. SHAW in his Map has traced the passage of the Israelites south of the mountain, or rather, over the mountain, yet that must be considered as an incorrectness in the Dr. who has marked his own passage in the like manner ; although his account says, he entered from the North-East. He has also placed as many rocks and hills to the south, as elsewhere around Mount Sinai, so that there is no supposable opening there, of greater extent, and fitter to contain a numerous host than the parts North of the Mountain.

It is to be observed, that one of the *peaks* into which Sinai is divided, is called SINAI (that *to the left*, in our view) another, adjacent, is called HOREB (that *to the right*, in our view) so that sometimes what is said to have been done at Sinai, is said to have been done at Horeb ; at other times, a distinction is observed, and one or other is specifically intended. We have not thought the distinction important, (our Plate includes both) but may occasionally put each for either. We shall observe some particular histories, in which this mountain has been singularly distinguished by Providence : and which become much more intelligible by a competent understanding of its geography, and appearance.

There seems to have been, in the instance of the giving of the Law, *three distinctions of place* observed, by Divine appointment ; *first*, that occupied by the people at large, the farthest from the mountain, and at its base : *secondly*, that occupied by the seventy Elders, and Joshua ; probably, that valley at the farther end of which stands the convent of St. Catharine : *thirdly*, that more elevated point of the mountain, where Moses, only, was admitted. If this distribution be just, then it presents the principles of—the Court of the People,—the Court of the Priests, and—the Holy Place, itself, in after ages ;—all preparatory to the Holy of Holies, the understood residence of the Deity. [This seems to be confirmed by the mode of expression Exod. xix. 12. “ Take heed,—1. go not up into the mount,—2. nor touch [approach] the *border* of it, lest ye die” ;—the exterior base of the mountain, that at the farthest distance from the *peak*.]

Moreover, it is certain, that the camp of Israel could not have been stationed where now stands the convent of St. Catharine, not only from want of space to contain it, but, from the circumstance, that Moses being so near it on the Mount, must have seen all that passed in it ; whereas, Moses is Divinely informed (being ignorant himself) of the errors of the people, Exod. xxxii. 7. Yet he is described as *coming down* to Joshua, who did not distinguish (by reason of distance, we may suppose,) whether the noise in the camp was that of war, or of festivity, verse 17. Moses’s *coming nigh* to the camp, verse 19. implies that he had walked some distance after joining company with Joshua.

When Moses is called into the Mountain, “ he is directed to *come up* with Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy Elders, to worship *afar off*,” Exodus xxiv. 1. but Moses, only, was to *come nigh* the Lord ; and, verse 15. he *went up* into the Mount, *i. e.* to the higher parts, away from this company. Now, if these elders were stationed half way up the mountain, say at B. the station of NIEBUHR, when he took his second view of Mount Sinai, they might be said to have *come up* the mountain, from the camp ; yet to be *afar off* from its summit, or *peak*, to which Moses went, when he came nigh the Lord. Also, when we read verse 11. that God “ laid not his hand on the seventy Elders,” it should seem to import their reverential distance from his immediate presence, and, at such a distance they might “ eat and drink,” not merely without danger, but without impropriety. Thus the two phrases, the use of which has embarrassed commentators, are reconciled by the geography of the place :

for, the elders did not break the prohibition by advancing from the camp to this part of the mountain; therefore God laid not his hand *of punishment* on them: Moreover, *they* did not fast, as Moses did, when admitted to near communication with the Divine power, but they ate and drank, as usual, without restriction: while at the same time they were so placed, as to see the summit of the mountain without impediment:—and from this distance, as it may be thought, they could discern evident appearances of the God of Israel; yet were too far off to *gaze*, or to be *intrusive*: in which sense “No man hath seen God, at any time.”

It is notorious, that peculiar veneration has been paid to a certain spot on Mount Sinai, where has been a Convent, time out of mind; for, it is well understood that the present Convent is only a successor to one more ancient. May we ask, then, whether an institution of a similar nature existed here in the days of Elijah? 1 Kings xix. 8.—If so, when that prophet determined to visit Horeb, the Mount of God, he did not intend to withdraw to a mere solitary desert, but, to seclude himself in the remotest establishment of the kind (possibly, too, the meanest) where sons of the prophets were associated; as far from the power of Jezebel as personal safety required; and, it may be, beyond the dominion of that idolatrous queen of Israel. As to his “lodging there in a cave,” verse 9. as rendered in our translation, this, he might do *constantly*, notwithstanding better accommodations at hand; or, he might occasionally visit the summit of the mountain, and on one of these visits he might sleep on the rock, in some station, not unlike the sleeping place of BAUMGARTEN and his companions.

But the strictest sense of the words seems to be preferable; “he went unto the [sacred] place, to *THE cave*,” or cavity, [with the π demonstrative]—*q.* that where Moses had been screened by Divine power? Exod. xxxiii. 22. “and he passed a night in the [sacred] place.”—Here, as he hoped, and expected, the word of the Lord came to him: and from hence he went forth to stand on the mount, before the Lord, verse 11. We make no account of the idle tales of the Monks, on the spot; our remarks dismiss the whole of them; and indeed they are unworthy of notice, as is hinted by Dr. SHAW.

It is probable, that trees of some kind (*e. gr.* palms bearing dates) “grew on this mountain, &c. in the days of Elijah, as fruits do at present: but, whether any Jewish (religious) establishment might have been supported by them, alone, is uncertain. We cannot help observing the very frugal fare of the present inhabitants of this Convent, who yet are numerous, (150); we know, too, that ancient eremitical fare was no less abstemious than the modern is; and such would coincide with the views of Elijah in his retirement, as it would with those of whoever made this spot a residence. The prophet who had been supported by the casual bounty of a *rookery*, might be more than content with the wild productions of Mount Horeb,—the bushes of which yielded him fruit, and the springs furnished water.

The following thoughts, on another subject, are submitted with great deference.

It is well known, that neither critic, commentator, nor version, has been able correctly to explain the phraseology Deut. xxxiii. 3. Whoever doubts this, will be convinced on consulting the *long* note of Dr. GEDDES, *in loc.* As the subject is geographical, let us try the effect of Geography on it. Comparing the Deity to the Sun, the Poet says 1. “JEHOVAH *over Sinai dawned*—Sinai is the Mountain of that name: 2. *And he rose like the Sun over Seir*, taken as the general name of the promontory, *to us*, [Sep, Onk. Syr. Vulg.] 3. *He shone over Mount Paran*, taken for the mountains at the extremity of the base of Sinai, where the camp of Israel was, in the valley

of Paran [or, those on the other side of the valley of Paran] 4. *He came* [*i. e.* his rays] *over Meribah Kadesh*, “the waters of strife,” where he shewed his [rectitude] holiness, by supplying the thirst of his people; *over the waters of Ashdath*, the copious flowing springs, *to us*.” This last verse seems to be in contrast with the torrent of Paran, in the bed of which the camp of Israel stood, which had [and has] water in it only at certain times, being otherwise generally dry: whereas, these springs says the Poet, were copious and permanent. Thus understood, every word in the passage tells; every place is in the neighbourhood of Sinai, and the metaphor of the sun, progressively advancing from its dawn to its rise—from its rise to its strength, is strictly supported. It is even possible, that the metaphor is drawn from actual observation on the spot. 1. In the morning the lofty peak of Sinai receives the earliest inflections of the solar light: next, the light spreads over the surrounding mountains of Seir, North-East and East of Sinai: 2. At noon, it diffuses itself over mount Paran;—being South, it shines on the opposite hills, those beyond the valley of Paran: in the afternoon, it illumines the waters of Meribah; and lastly, it visits the permanent springs—*Ashdath*. Compare the course of historical events with this course of the sun: Sinai—Exod. xix. 20. Seir and Paran—the subsequent transactions in the station and camp: Meribah Kadesh,—copious streams.—Numb. xx. 2—14.

No. DLVIII.

IDEAS OF THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE LAND OF CANAAN;
AND ITS DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE TWELVE TRIBES.

WE come now to the entrance of Canaan; which, we have already observed, was effected by Moses and Joshua, by passing eastward of the Dead Sea, and crossing the river Jordan above its entrance into that collection of waters. Till within these few years nothing was known of the character or properties of this country; recent travels into parts of it, the publication of which is impatiently expected, will furnish information equally new and gratifying. In the mean while, we must be content to adduce the best evidence in our power; with such remarks and inferences as it may justify.

I am desirous of submitting to the reader a Description and Character not only of the Holy Land in general, but of the Allotments to the different Tribes of Israel. This, however, is by no means an easy undertaking: scarcely any traveller has penetrated across the Jordan, into the eastern provinces; or into the districts of Mount Lebanon, where the northern boundaries terminated of Asher, Napthali, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

We have seen that the inhabitants of Gaza, fit out caravans to meet the pilgrims returning from Mecca, and travel “three long days,” for that purpose: it is natural to infer, that the pilgrims are not likely to meet with effectual supplies of refreshments, the productions of the country, for several days after they leave Accaba, or Eloth, on their way to Damascus. This unfruitful character of the country, it may be presumed, does not suddenly change; nor indeed does it much abate, till we arrive among the streams which fall into the Dead Sea, on the south and east. With this agree the observations of Dr. SHAW; which, though made from a distance, seem to be well founded.

“From the mountains of *Quarantania*, we have a distinct view of the land of the *Amorites*, of *Gilead*, and of *Basan*, the inheritance of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and of the half tribe of *Manasseh*. This tract, in the neighbourhood particularly of

the river *Jordan*, is, in many places, low and shaded, for want of culture perhaps, with tamarisks and willows: but at the distance of two or three leagues from the stream, it appears to be made up of a succession of hills and valleys, somewhat larger and seemingly more fertile than those in the tribe of *Benjamin*. Beyond these plains, over against Jericho, where we are to look for the mountains of *Abarim*, the northern boundary of the land of Moab, our prospect is interrupted by an exceeding high ridge of desolate mountains, no otherwise diversified than by a succession of naked rocks and precipices, rendered in several places more frightful, by a multiplicity of torrents which fall on each side of them. This ridge is continued all along the eastern coast of the Dead Sea, as far as our eye can conduct us, affording, all the way, a most lonesome melancholy prospect, not a little assisted by the intermediate view of a large stagnating unactive expanse of water, rarely if ever enlivened by any flocks of birds that settle upon it, or by so much as one vessel of passage or commerce that is known to frequent it. Such is the general plan of that part of the Holy Land which fell under my observation."

But quitting the land of Moab, the scene is greatly improved as we proceed farther northward, and advance toward the immense and fertile plains of the Howran. We have already seen that Ibn Haucal gives the same name, *Masharik*, to the country of Howran, as to the plains near Damascus, which have always been considered by the Orientals as a terrestrial paradise. The Arabs report of that city, that Mahomet should say, on a distant sight of it, "he would not enter it; as there was but one paradise for man, and he would not have his in this world." "Beyond the mountain, and to the south-west of Damascus," says a Catholic missionary, "the plain of Hawran begins. Its fertility is so great, that it is called the granary of the Turks. In fact, there arrive almost daily caravans from all parts of the empire, which carry away the corn. The meal made of it is excellent, whereof they make loaves above two feet long, and half a foot in thickness. It will keep a whole year without corrupting. When it grows dry, they steep it in water, and find it as good as if new made. Both rich and poor prefer it to all other sorts of bread." *Journey from Aleppo to Damascus*. 1736. 8vo. p. 66.

I shall only add, that VOLNEY, as quoted in a foregoing article, describes them, as "the immense plains of Hawran;" their length, as "five or six days' journey;" and their soil as most fruitful.

With this description agrees the request of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh to Moses, Numb. xxxii. 1—5. "this country is a land for cattle, —if we have found grace in thy sight give us this land for a possession."

The tribe of Reuben lay to the south: east of this tribe was the Desert: west of it the Jordan and the Dead Sea; north of it was the tribe of Gad; and southward a track overrun by the Israelites, but afterwards recovered by the Moabites. This tribe appears to have had mountains accompanying the side of the Jordan; but as mountains supply streams, it may be presumed that they had many intervals of great fertility.

The tribe of Gad lay north of Reuben; it should appear that the mountains receded from the Jordan, in the territories of this tribe; and the eastern face of these mountains were habitable; but whether the descendants of these Israelites possessed those parts, may be doubted: perhaps, only partially.

The half tribe of Manasseh, or Eastern Manasseh, extended north to the southern ridge of Lebanon, and the springs of Jordan; the same, no question, may be

affirmed of these parts as of those appertaining to the tribe of Napthali; which we shall next proceed to describe.

Dandini, speaking of Mount Lebanon, says, "This country consists in elevated and stoney mountains, extending north and south. Nevertheless, the industry and labour of man has made it one uniform plain: for, gathering into dykes the stones which are scattered about, they form continued walls, and constantly going forwards, they raise others in succession higher; so that at length, by means of equalizing hills and valleys, they convert a barren mountain into a beautiful level, easily susceptible of culture, and at once fertile and delightful. It abounds in corn, excellent wine, oil, cotton, silk, wax, wood, animals wild and tame, especially goats. There are but few small animals, the winter being severe, and the snow perpetual. There are many sheep, fat and large as those of Cyprus, and others in the Levant. In the forests are wild boars, bears, tigers, and other animals of the same nature. The rest of the plains abound in partridges, which are as large as common hens. There are no dove-cotes, but quantities of pigeons, turtle doves, thrushes, becca-figos, and other kinds of birds. There are also eagles. They do not dig around the vines, but till the ground with oxen; the plants being set in strait lines, at proper distances. Neither do they prop them, but let them trail on the ground. The wine they produce is delicate and agreeable. There are grapes as large as plumbs. The size of the bunches of grapes is surprising: and when I saw them I easily discovered why the Hebrews had so great longing to taste them, and why they so passionately desired to conquer the Promised Land, after having seen the specimen which the spies brought from the neighbouring district. These mountains, then, do not only abound in stones, but in all sorts of provisions."

De la Roque describes the western face of Libanus, and the valley between Libanus and Anti Libanus, in the highest terms, as to fruitfulness, pleasantness, and salubrity; but the south aspect of Lebanon he did not visit.

The following account of the Jordan, which here originates, is principally extracted from that writer; who has taken much pains on the subject.

The source of the river Jordan is incontestably in the mountains of Anti Libanus, in the region now called *Wad-et-tein*; it is subject to the Pacha of Damascus, and comprehends the Mount Hermon of the ancients. The Jordan rises near the district anciently called *Panium*, or *Paneas*, where the city *Paneades* stood, which was afterwards called Cesarea Phillippi. Josephus indeed says the true source of the Jordan was at *Phiala*, in the Trachonitis, from whence it flowed by subterranean passages, till it appeared at Panium. Phiala was a round bason, always full, never running over. Panium, says the same writer, was a grotto, excavated by nature, at the foot of a high mountain. This grotto is extremely deep, and filled with a standing water; and from below this grotto issue the fountains of Jordan. Pliny says much the same; to which Eusebius adds, that the mountain also was named Panium. But in another place, he says, the river Jordan rose at a small town called Dan, four thousand paces distant from Paneas. So that two fountains uniting their streams united also their names—*Jor-Dan*. Eugene Roger, who travelled in the Holy Land in 1636, says, Jor is a small village, in the tribe of Napthali, at the foot of Mount Libanus, south, whence the principal source of the Jordan issues, about a league from Dan. These two villages, says he, are inhabited by Druses, who breed many goats. Notwithstanding these testimonies, some modern critics have thought that only one source is entitled to the honour of originating the Jordan: but, in general, the idea of two fountains has prevailed, and per-
haps

haps there are few rivers which rise from a single source only. Josephus in many places speaks of fountains, in the plural. We have hinted that the region of *Wad-et-tein*, where all the inhabitants of Mount Libanus place the sources of the Jordan, included the Mount Hermon of the ancients,—or a part of this mountain;—as the whole was of great extent, and had various appellations. Among others, that part of it where the grotto Paneas was, received the name of Panion, being consecrated to the god Pan, the deity of mountains, forests, and chases: and here his image was worshipped. Here a temple, probably, was first erected, and became the cause of establishing a small town; which in succeeding ages received various names, as Laish, Dan, Cesarea-Philippi, Claudia Cesarea, and Neroniadis: but this last being odious, was not permanent; the town recovered its name of Cesarea-Philippi, then of Paneades, or *Banias*, which it retains, though some of the Mahometans call it *Belina*. William, archbishop of Tyre, in his History of the Holy War, informs us, that near to this city was a vast forest, named in his time, the Forest of Paneades; a very proper place for feeding sheep: and that a prodigious multitude of Arabs and Turcomans, after having made a treaty of peace with Godfrey of Bologna, retired to this forest, and there collected their cattle; among which, says the historian, was an infinite number of horses. This forest is considered by the Archbishop as a part of the forest of Lebanon: which may be true, notwithstanding it overspread great part of Mount Hermon. The city of Paneades, or Cesarea-Philippi, after being taken by the Christians in the Holy War, was strongly fortified; but was retaken by Saladin. The Jordan is but a trifling stream, till after receiving several rivulets, and by the nature of the country, after running two or three leagues it forms what is now called the Marsh of Jordan, anciently Lake Merom: which extends about two leagues in circumference, when the snows melt on Mount Libanus, but is dry in the heats of summer. This marsh is almost wholly overgrown with reeds, of that kind which is used for writing with, and for fledging of arrows. The environs of the lake are full of tigers, bears, and even lions, which descend from the neighbouring mountains. Coming out of this lake the Jordan resumes its course southwards, and at half a league distance is crossed by a stone bridge, which the inhabitants call Jacob's Bridge, because they say it was in this place that patriarch wrestled with the angel. After a course of eight or nine leagues, this river enters the lake of Genesareth, which is the same as the sea of Galilee, or the sea of Tiberias. This lake is in length from north to south about ten leagues, and in width about four or five. Its banks are very agreeable, and produce all sorts of fruit trees. It abounds also in good fish; but scarcely any body fishes for them. The Jordan having passed through this lake, issues near the ruins of Scythopolis, and, after about thirty leagues, loses itself in the *Lacus Asphaltites*, or Dead Sea; which in length is about twenty-three leagues, in breadth seven or eight. The Jordan is the most considerable stream that issues from Lebanon: and is not unfitly called the eldest son of that mountain. In fact, except the Nile, it is the most considerable river known in these parts; and it has also some of the phenomena of that river.

The following is Volney's description of it, "As we approach the Jordan, the country becomes more hilly and better watered; the valley through which this river flows, abounds, in general, in pasturage, especially in the upper part of it. As for the river itself, it is very far from being of that importance which we are apt to assign to it. The Arabs, who are ignorant of the name of Jordan, call it *el-Sharia*. Its breadth, between the two principal lakes, in few places exceeds sixty or eighty feet; but its depth is about ten or twelve. In winter it overflows its narrow channel; and, swell-

led by the rains, forms a sheet of water sometimes a quarter of a league broad. The time of its overflowing is generally in March, when the snows melt on the mountains of the Shaik: at which time, more than any other, its waters are troubled, and of a yellow hue, and its course is impetuous. Its banks are covered with a thick forest of reeds, willows, and various shrubs, which serve as an asylum for wild boars, ounces, jackals, hares; and different kinds of birds."

The reader will consider the Dead Sea, as being originally divided into several streams, running among low grounds, by which they were absorbed: and among which they fertilized the fields, the gardens, and other delights of the inhabitants. The present vicinity of Damascus is the nearest approach to this idea of the "cities of the plain." The waters which render this city so enchanting terminate in a marsh, as I presume those of the Jordan did; without reaching the ocean, or falling into any other river. The following extract may elucidate this conception.

"Damascus is the capital and residence of the Pacha. The Arabs call it *el-Sham*, agreeably to their custom of bestowing the name of the country on its capital. The ancient Oriental name of *Demeshk* is known only to geographers. This city is situated in a vast plain, open to the south and east, and shut in toward the west and north by mountains, which limit the view at no great distance; but, in return, a number of rivulets rise from these mountains, which render the territory of Damascus the best watered and most delicious province of all Syria; the Arabs speak of it with enthusiasm; and think they can never sufficiently extol the freshness and verdure of its orchards, the abundance and variety of its fruits, its numerous streams, and the clearness of its rills and fountains. No city contains so many canals and fountains; each house has one; and all these waters are furnished by three rivulets, or branches of the same river, which after fertilizing the gardens for a course of three leagues, flow into a hollow of the Desert, to the south-east, where they form a morass called *Behairat-el-Mardj*, or the Lake of the Meadow." VOLNEY, vol. ii. p. 269.

Another writer says, "This lake is three leagues from Damascus, toward the east, ten or twelve leagues long, and five or six broad. It produces excellent fish, and the copse which surrounds it, a great quantity of game. The wonder is, that though it receives not only the above-mentioned river but many stray waters besides, yet it never overflows."

Returning now to the head of the Jordan, we find the tribes of Napthali and Asher. To Napthali we have attended in part. Mr. Maundrell gives us reason to suppose, that Asher lying on the sea coast, had some advantages which Napthali had not. He says, "a very fertile plain extends itself to a vast compass before Tyre."

"The plain of *Acra* extends itself in length from *Mount Saron* as far as *Carmel*, which is at least six good hours; and in breadth, between the sea and the mountains, it is in most places two hours over. It enjoys good streams of water at convenient distances, and every thing else, that might render it both pleasant, and fruitful. But this delicious plain is now almost desolate, being suffered, for want of culture, to run up to rank weeds, which were, at the time when we passed it, as high as our horses' backs.

"The plain of Esdraelon is of vast extent, and very fertile, but uncultivated: only serving the Arabs for pasturage."—"We turned out of the plain of Esdraelon, and entered the precincts of the half tribe of Manasseh. From hence our road lay for about four hours, through narrow valleys, pleasantly wooded on both sides." As to Zebulon, Mr. M. only mentions in one place, his being "an hour and half in crossing the delicious plain of Zebulon,"—to that of *Acra*. "Our stage this day was some-

what less than seven hours ; it lay about W. by N. through a country very delightful, and fertile beyond imagination."

Of the tribe of Benjamin he says, " All along this day's travel from *Kane Leban* to *Beer*, and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before : presenting nothing to the view, in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations ; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas from the description given of it, in the Word of God : insomuch that it almost startles their faith, when they reflect, how could it be possible, for a land like this, to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time ; the sum given in by Joab, 2 Sam. xxiv. amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain that any man, who is not a little biassed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples.

" For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills must have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants no less than if the country had been all plain, nay perhaps much more ; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface, affords a larger space of ground for cultivation than this country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect level.

" For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines, along the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders, they supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down ; and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another from the bottom to the top of the mountains.

" Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps wherever you go in all the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot of ground in this whole land, that was not formerly improved, to the production of something or other, ministring to the sustenance of human life. For, than the plain countries nothing can be more fruitful, whether for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently of milk. The hills, though improper for all cattle, except goats, yet being disposed into such beds as are afore described, served very well to bear corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden stuff, which makes the principal food of these countries for several months in the year. The most rocky parts of all, which could not well be adjusted in that manner for the production of corn, might yet serve for the plantation of vines, and olive-trees ; which delight to extract the one its fatness, the other its sprightly juice, chiefly out of such dry and flinty places. And the great plain joining to the Dead Sea, which, by reason of its saltness, might be thought unserviceable both for cattle, corn, olives, and vines, had yet its proper usefulness, for the nourishment of bees, and for the fabrick of honey : of which Josephus gives us his testimony, *De Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 4.* And I have reason to believe it, because when I was there, I perceived in many places a smell of honey and wax, as strong as if one had been in an apiary. Why then might not this country very well maintain the vast number of its inhabitants, being in every part so productive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey ? which are the principal food of these eastern nations : the constitution of their bodies, and the nature of their clime, inclining them to a more abstemious diet than we use in England, and other colder regions."

Dr. SHAW gives the following account of the tribes of Issachar, Benjamin, Judah, and Dan.

“ Leaving Mount Carmel to the N. W. we pass over the S. W. corner of the plain of Esdraelon, the lot formerly of the tribe of Issachar, and the most fertile portion of the land of Canaan. The most extensive part of it lyeth to the eastward, where our prospect is bounded, at about fifteen miles distance, by the mountains of Hermon and Tabor, and by those upon which the city of Nazareth is situated. Advancing farther into the half tribe of Manasseh, we have still a fine arable country, though not so level as the former; where the landskip is changed every hour by the intervention of some piece of rising ground, a grove of trees, or the ruins of some ancient village. The country begins to be rugged and uneven at Samaria, the north boundary of the tribe of Ephraim; from whence, through Sichein, all the way to Jerusalem, we have nothing but mountains, narrow *defilées*, and valleys of different extents. Of the former, the mountains of Ephraim are the largest, being most of them shaded with large forest trees; whilst the valleys below are long and spacious, not inferior in fertility to the best part of the tribe of Issachar. The mountains of the tribe of Benjamin, which lye still further to the southward, are generally more naked, having their ranges much shorter, and consequently their valleys more frequent. In the same disposition is the district of the tribe of Judah; though the mountains of *Quarantania*, those of *Engaddi*, and others that border on the plains of Jericho and the Dead Sea, are as high, and of as great extent, as those in the tribe of Ephraim. Some of the valleys likewise which belong to this tribe, such as that of Rephaim, Eschol, and others, merit an equal regard with *that parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph* (Gen. xlviii. 22.) But the neighbourhood of Ramah and Lydda, is nearly of the same arable and fertile nature, with that of the half tribe of Manasseh; and equally inclineth to be plain and level. The latter of these circumstances agreeth also with the tribe of Dan, whose country, notwithstanding, is not so fruitful, having in most parts a less depth of soil: and bordereth upon the sea coast in a range of mountains.”

The following description from VOLNEY, includes the tribes of Simeon and Judah.

“ Palestine, in its present state, comprehends the whole country included between the Mediterranean to the west, the chain of mountains to the east, and two lines, one drawn to the south, by Kan Younes, and the other to the north, between Kaisaria and the rivulet of Yasa. This whole tract is almost entirely a level plain, without either river or rivulet in summer, but watered by several torrents in winter. Notwithstanding this dryness the soil is good, and may even be termed fertile; for when the winter rains do not fail, every thing springs up in abundance; and the earth, which is black and fat, retains moisture sufficient for the growth of grain and vegetables during the summer. More dourra, sesamum, water-melons, and beans, are sown here than in any other part of the country. They also raise cotton, barley, and wheat; but, though the latter be most esteemed, it is less cultivated, for fear of too much inviting the avarice of the Turkish governors, and the rapacity of the Arabs. This country is indeed more frequently plundered than any other in Syria; for, being very proper for cavalry, and adjacent to the Desert, it lies open to the Arabs, who are far from satisfied with the mountains: they have long disputed it with every power established in it, and have succeeded so far as to obtain the concession of certain places, on paying a tribute, from whence they infest the roads, so as to render it unsafe to travel from Gaza to Acre.”

From these testimonies the reader may easily collect the general character of this country; and of those parcels of it which fell to the lot of the different tribes respectively. But there is one character of it which has never been properly estimated. I mean its strength in a military point of view, and as military science stood in ancient days. If we examine it as originally intended, and promised to the sons of Israel, we find it bounded, and at the same time effectually defended, on the east by the whole length of the river Jordan, and the Dead Sea: on the north by the mountain of Lebanou, and its branches; these, of course, afford strong grounds, on which to resist an invading enemy: on the west by the great sea, where its ports were not favourable to an assailant, being but of moderate capacity, and ill calculated to accommodate a fleet; and on the south by the wearisome desert, with hills; at which the Israelites themselves had been repulsed. We conclude then, that the first departure from the plan of settling this peculiar people was a fatal error; since it deprived the intended country of so great a proportion of population as two tribes and a half; whereas, that density of population which these tribes must have produced, would have been the security of the whole, and would have rendered it impregnable. We may also infer, that had these two tribes and half settled in Canaan, they would have enabled the Israelites to have driven out the inhabitants of those towns which eventually maintained their situations; so that the *entire country* would have been completely Israelite, and the consequent uniformity of opinion, of interest, of prejudices, &c. would have contributed greatly to the permanency of this *compact* and *confirmed* commonwealth.

This country was also so situated, that it possessed the power of choosing what intercourse it thought proper with surrounding nations. For instance, caravans for traffic might rendezvous at Damascus, and pass into Arabia, or into Egypt, without entering, or but little, the Israelite dominions; and so from Egypt, to Damascus, to the Euphrates, and even to Bozra: while the intercourse between Egypt, Greece, and the whole of Europe, by sea, was maintained without any interference with the ports of Palestine. We conclude then, that Balaam was perfectly correct when he said, "this people shall dwell *alone*"—*secluded*, having little communication with other nations.

That the Hebrews were not likely to perform voyages of long continuance, may be inferred from the established peculiarities of their food; and this may contribute to account for the employment of Tyrians by Solomon, in his expeditions to Ophir. In short, every thing leads us to consider this nation as intended for an agricultural, sedentary, recluse people; whose country was compact, and almost insulated, like themselves: but, these intended advantages were rendered ineffectual by the departure of a considerable portion of the nation from the original plan of their settlement, whereby it was mutilated, if not destroyed; and the commonwealth was deprived of that federal bond, that unity of interest, of design, of religion, and of fraternity, which might have resisted the efforts of enemies to subjugate separate parts, and so, by degrees, the whole.

No. DLIX. PECULIARITIES OF THE COUNTRY EAST OF THE JORDAN.

THE following information is the whole that is at present known concerning these parts; except that report states the existence of ruins of very extensive and magnificent structures: lines of colonnades not inferior to those of Palmyra; vestiges of

important cities, temples, theatres, and other antiquities, of which more complete accounts, are earnestly desired.

We have a number of Travels in the country west of the Jordan, from the Mediterranean to Jerusalem, whether from Acre, from Joppa, or from Egypt ; but for *several centuries* the east of the Jordan has remained almost unknown ; and undescribed. The present inhabitants, are such banditti, that Europeans are justified in deeming it the height of imprudence to venture among them.—Such is the effect of Mohammedan morality ! Yet it seems possible, by obtaining powerful protection, greatly to diminish this danger. The late adventurous M. Seetzen, visited this country. (His Travels were published in 1810) The description he gives of the disguise he assumed, of the distresses he underwent, and of the kind of people he met with, it must be acknowledged, is stimulant only to that bold and determined spirit which most enjoys itself in difficulties. His account is to this effect :—

“ I had intended from Acre, to visit the ancient town of Edrei, now called Draa, and the two Decapolitan cities of Abila, now Abil, and Gadara.—The first of these places, Edrei, is often mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, as one of the most important towns in the territory of the king of Basan, who, in the time of Moses, lived at Astaroth, the present Busra. But the country was so infected by the nomade Arabs, that I could procure neither horse, nor mule, nor ass. Yussuf [his servant] even declared to me a second time that he could not venture to go with me. It was not without difficulty that I at last found a guide ; but to save the only coat which I had to my back, and which the Arabs would not have failed to have taken from me, I was obliged to make use of a precaution sufficiently strange, which was, to cover myself with rags ; in fact to assume the disguise of a mesloch, or common beggar. That nothing about me might tempt the rapacity of the Arabs, I put over my shirt an old kombaz, or dressing gown, and above that an old blue and ragged shift—I covered my head with some shreds, and my feet with old slippers. An old tattered Abbai, thrown over my shoulders, protected me from the cold and rain, and a branch of a tree served me for a walking stick.—My guide, a Greek Christian, put on nearly the same dress, and in this trim we traversed the country nearly ten days, often stopped by the cold rains, which wetted us to the skin.—I was also obliged to walk one whole day in the mud with my feet bare, since it was impossible to use my slippers on that marshy land, completely softened by the water.

“ The town of Draa, situated on the eastern side of the route of the pilgrims to Mecca, is at present uninhabited and in ruins. No remains of the beautiful ancient architecture could be found, except a sarcophagus, very well executed, which I saw near a fountain, to which it serves as a bason. Most of the houses are built with basalt.

“ The district of *el Botthin* contains many thousand caverns made in the rocks, by the ancient inhabitants of the country. Most of the houses, even in these villages which are yet inhabited, are a kind of grotto, composed of walls placed against the projecting points of the rocks, in such a manner that the walls of the inner chamber, in which the inhabitants live, are partly of bare rock, and partly of mason-work.

“ Besides these retreats, there are in this neighbourhood, a number of very large caverns, the construction of which must have cost infinite labour, since they are formed in the hard rock. There is only one door of entrance, which is so regularly fitted into the rock, that it shuts like the door of a house.

“ It appears, then, that this country was formerly inhabited by Troglodytes, without reckoning the villages whose inhabitants may be regarded as such. There are still to be found many families living in caverns, sufficiently spacious to contain them and

all their cattle. These immense caverns are moreover to be found, in considerable numbers, in the district of *al-Jedur*, some leagues to the southward of *M'kess*, where also we met with several families of the Troglodytes. . . .

“Besides my guide I had taken with me an armed peasant, and after a troublesome walk we arrived at night at a vast natural cavern, inhabited by a Mohammedan family. After going through a wide and pretty long passage, we perceived at the other end a part of the family assembled round a fire, and employed in preparing supper, which consisted principally of a kind of bouilli, mixed with wild herbs, and gruel made of wheat. I was wet through by the rain, and had walked all day barefooted. This fire was, therefore, insufficient to warm me, although the persons and cattle which came in at sun-set, filled nearly all the cavern. I should probably have passed a bad night, if the old father of the family had not kindly thought of conducting us, after supper, to another cavern at a small distance. After having passed a door of ordinary size, we found there all the flock of goats belonging to this Troglodyte, and at the end a large empty space, where they had lighted for us the immense trunk of a tree, whose cheerful blaze invited us to sleep around it. The fire was kept in all night, and the chief of this hospitable family brought us also a good mess of rice.

“The first appearance of these fierce inhabitants of the rocks had given me some uneasiness, but I afterwards found that they were not more barbarous than other peasants of these districts. The old father of the family appeared, on the contrary, to be a sensible and humane man. . . .

“Several artificial grottos have been worked in the rocks around *Karrak*, where wheat is preserved for ten years.”

The immense caverns mentioned in Scripture, in which a number of armed men were hid, with cattle, &c. need no longer excite surprize. We learn also that the wonderful caves of the dead, the last of houses appointed for all living, were close resemblances to these dwellings; so that the *house*, or the *chambers*, of death, is correct, as a literal description of these dreary mansions.—Many transactions might pass in caverns, in that country, which would appear common and ordinary there, though we think them wonderfully strange. Compare the residence of Lot in one of these caves, in this very neighbourhood, Gen. xix. 30.

M. Seetzen went round the Dead Sea, at its southern extremity; and returned on its western side, northwards, to Tiberias, where he had left his servant Yussuf: who had given up the expectation of seeing him again.

No. DLX. SUGGESTIONS ON THE APPLES OF SODOM.

AMONG other things noticed by M. Seetzen, is the famous Apple of Sodom; of which report stated that it had all the appearance of the most inviting fruit; but was filled with nauseous and bitter dust, only. It has furnished many moralists with allusions; and also a poet, Milton, in whose infernal regions

A grove sprung up—laden with fair fruit—
 —greedily they pluck'd
 The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
 Near that bituminous lake, where Sodom flam'd;
 This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
 Deceiv'd; they fondly thinking to allay
 Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit
 Chew'd bitter ashes, which th' offended taste
 With spattering noise rejected:—

Our traveller endeavours to explain this peculiarity, by the following observations :

“The information which I have been able to collect on the Apples of Sodom (*Solanum Sodomeum*) is very contradictory and insufficient; I believe, however, that I can give a very natural explanation of the phænomenon, and that the following remark will lead to it :

“Whilst I was at Karrak, at the house of a Greek curate of the town, I saw a sort of cotton, resembling silk, which he used as tinder for his match-lock, as it could not be employed in making cloth.

“He told me that it grew in the plains of el-Gôr, to the east of the Dead Sea, on a tree like a fig-tree, called Aoéschaer. The cotton is contained in a fruit resembling the pomegranate; and by making incisions at the root of the tree, a sort of milk is procured, which is recommended to barren women, and is called Lébbin Aoéschaer.

“It has struck me that these fruits, being, as they are, without palp, and which are unknown throughout the rest of Palestine, might be the famous Apples of Sodom. I suppose, likewise, that the tree which produces it, is a sort of fromager (*Bombax*, Linn.) which can only flourish under the excessive heat of the Dead Sea, and in no other district of Palestine.”

This curious subject is still farther explained, in a note added by M. Seetzen's Editor.

“A species of *Asclepias*, probably the *Asclepias-Gigantea*. The remark of M. Seetzen is corroborated by a traveller, who passed a long time in situations where this plant is very abundant. The same idea occurred to him when he first saw it in 1792, though he did not then know that it existed near the Lake Asphaltites. The umbella, somewhat like a bladder, containing from half a pint to a pint, is of the same colour with the leaves, a bright green, and may be mistaken for an inviting fruit, without much stretch of imagination. That, as well as the other parts, when green, being cut or pressed, yields a milky juice, of a very acrid taste: But in winter, when dry, it contains a yellowish dust, in appearance resembling certain fungi, common in South Britain; but of pungent quality, and said to be particularly injurious to the eyes. The whole so nearly corresponds with the description given by Solinus (*Polyhistor*), Josephus, and others, of the *Poma Sodomæ*, allowance being made for their extravagant exaggerations, as to leave little doubt on the subject.

“The same plant is to be seen on the sandy borders of the Nile, above the first cataracts: the only vegetable production of that barren tract. It is about three feet in height, and the fruit exactly answering the above description, &c.

“The downy substance found within the stem, is of too short staple probably for any manufacture, for which its silky delicate texture, and clear whiteness, might otherwise be suitable. *.* It serves to stuff pillows, &c.

No. DLXI.

FARTHER PARTICULARS OF THE COUNTRY EAST OF THE JORDAN; ALSO OF THE DESERT LEADING TO EGYPT.

AFTER M. Seetzen, the next traveller who has visited these districts is Mr. Burckhardt, who extended his course much farther south than M. Seetzen, and, indeed, traced very nearly the whole of the route taken by Moses and the Israelites, anciently, when traversing these countries, in their advance to Canaan. We shall
give

give his relation in his own words, in a letter (dated *Cairo, September 12, 1812.*) addressed to the Secretary of the African Institution.

“My first station from Damascus was Saffad, (Japhet) a few hours distant from Djessr Beni Yakoub, a bridge over the Jordan to the south of the lake Samachonitis. From thence I descended to the shore of the lake of Tabarya (Tiberias), visited Tabarya, and its neighbouring districts, ascended Mount Tabor, and tarried a few days at Nazareth, I met here a couple of petty merchants from Szalt, a castle in the mountains of Balka, which I had not been able to see during my late tour, and which lies on the road I had pointed out to myself for passing into the Egyptian deserts. I joined their caravan; after eight hours march, we descended into the valley of the Jordan, called El Ghor, near Bysan (Scythopolis); crossed the river, and continued along its verdant banks for about ten hours, until we reached the river Zerka (Jabbok), near the place where it empties itself into the Jordan. Turning then to our left, we ascended the eastern chain, formerly part of the district of Balka, and arrived at Szalt, two long days journey from Nazareth. The inhabitants of Szalt are entirely independent of the Turkish government; they cultivate the ground for a considerable distance round their habitations, and part of them live the whole year round in tents, to watch their harvest and to pasture their cattle. Many ruined places and mountains in the district of Balka preserve the names of the Old Testament, and elucidate the topography of the provinces that fell to the share of the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Szalt is at present the only inhabited place in the Balka, but numerous Arab tribes pasture there their camels and sheep. I visited from thence the ruins of Aman or Philadelphia, five hours and a half distant from Szalt. They are situated in a valley on both sides of a rivulet, which empties itself into the Zerka. A large amphitheatre is the most remarkable of these ruins, which are much decayed, and in every respect inferior to those of Djerash. At four or five hours south-east of Aman, are the ruins of Om Erresas and El Kotif, which I could not see, but which, according to report, are more considerable than those of Philadelphia. The want of communication between Szalt and the southern countries delayed my departure for upwards of a week; I found at last a guide, and we reached Kerek in two days and a half, after having passed the deep beds of the torrents El Wale and El Modjeb, which I suppose to be the Nahaliel and Arnon. The Modjeb divides the district of Balka from that of Kerek, as it formerly divided the Moabites from the Amorites. The ruins of Eleale, Hesebon, Meon, Medaba, Dibon, Arver, [for these names see Numbers, ch. xxi. xxxii.] all situated on the north side of the Arnon, still subsist, to illustrate the history of the Beni Israel. To the south of the wild torrent Modjeb I found the considerable ruins of Rabbat Moab, and, three hours distant from them, the town of Kerek, situated at about twelve hours distance to the east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. Kerek is an important position, and its chief is a leading character in the affairs of the deserts of southern Syria; he commands about 1200 match-locks, which are the terror of the neighbouring Arab tribes. About 200 families of Greek Christians, of whom one third have entirely embraced the nomade life, live here, distinguished only from their Arab brethren by the sign of the cross. The treachery of the Shikh of Kerek, to whom I had been particularly recommended by a grandee of Damascus, obliged me to stay at Kerek about twenty days. After having annoyed me in different ways, he permitted me to accompany him southward, as he had himself business in the mountains of Djebal, a district which is divided from that of Kerek by the deep bed of the torrent El Ansa or El Kahary, eight hours

distant from Kerek. We remained for ten days in the villages to the north and south of El Ansa, which are inhabited by Arabs, who have become cultivators, and who sell the produce of their fields to the Bedouins. The Shikh having finished his business, left me at Beszeyra, a village about sixteen hours south of Kerek, to shift for myself, after having maliciously recommended me to the care of a Bedouin, with whose character he must have been acquainted, and who nearly stripped me of the remainder of my money. I encountered here many difficulties, was obliged to walk from one encampment to another, until I found at last a Bedouin, who engaged to carry me to Egypt. In his company I continued southward, in the mountains of Shera, which are divided from the north of Djebal by the broad valley called Ghoseyr, at about five hours distance from Beszeyra. The chief place in Djebal is Tafyle, and in Shera the castle of Shobak. This chain of mountains is a continuation of the eastern Syrian chain, which begins with the Anti-Libanus, joins the Djebel el Shikh, forms the valley of Ghor, and borders the Dead Sea. The valley of Ghor is continued to the south of the Dead Sea; at about sixteen hours distance from the extremity of the Dead Sea, its name is changed into that of Araba, and it runs in almost a straight line, declining somewhat to the west, as far as Akaba, at the extremity of the eastern branch of the Red Sea. The existence of this valley appears to have been unknown to ancient as well as modern geographers, although it is a very remarkable feature in the geography of Syria, and Arabia Petræa, and is still more interesting for its productions. In this valley the Manna is still found; it drops from the sprigs of several trees, but principally from the Gharrab; it is collected by the Arabs, who make cakes of it, and who eat it with butter; they call it Assal Beyrouk, or the Honey of Beyrouk. Indigo, gum arabic, the silk tree called Asheyr, whose fruit encloses a white silky substance, of which the Arabs twist their matches, grow in this valley. It is inhabited near the Dead Sea in summer-time by a few Bedouin peasants only, but during the winter months it becomes the meeting place of upwards of a dozen powerful Arab tribes. It is probable that the trade between Jerusalem and the Red Sea was carried on through this valley. The caravan, loaded at Eziongeber with the treasures of Ophir, might, after a march of six or seven days, deposit its loads in the warehouses of Solomon. This valley deserves to be thoroughly known; its examination will lead to many interesting discoveries, and would be one of the most important objects of a Palestine traveller. At the distance of a two long days journey north-east from Akaba, is a rivulet and valley in the Djebel Shera, on the east side of the Araba, called Wady Mousa. This place is very interesting for its antiquities and the remains of an ancient city, which I conjecture to be Petra, the capital of Arabia Petræa, a place which, as far as I know, no European traveller has ever visited. In the red sand stone of which the valley is composed, are upwards of two hundred and fifty sepulchres entirely cut out of the rock, the greater part of them with Grecian ornaments. There is a mausoleum in the shape of a temple, of colossal dimensions, likewise cut out of the rock, with all its apartments, its vestibule, peristyle, &c. It is a most beautiful specimen of Grecian architecture, and in perfect preservation. There are other mausolea with obelisks, apparently in the Egyptian style, a whole amphitheatre cut out of the rock with the remains of a palace and of several temples. Upon the summit of the mountain which closes the narrow valley on its western side, is the tomb of Haroun (Aaron, brother of Moses). It is held in great veneration by the Arabs. (If I recollect right, there is a passage in Eusebius, in which he says that the tomb of Aaron was situated near Petra). The information of Pliny and Strabo

on the site of Petra, agree with the position of Wady Mousa. I regretted most sensibly that I was not in circumstances that admitted of my observing these antiquities in all their details, but it was necessary for my safety not to inspire the Arabs with suspicions that might probably have impeded the progress of my journey, for I was an unprotected stranger, known to be a townsman, and thus an object of constant curiosity to the Bedouins, who watched all my steps in order to know why I had preferred that road to Egypt, to the shorter one along the Mediterranean coast. It was the intention of my guide to conduct me to Akaba, where we might hope to meet with some caravan for Egypt. On our way to Akaba we were however informed that a few Arabs were preparing to cross the desert direct to Cairo, and I preferred that route, because I had reason to apprehend some disagreeable adventures at Akaba, where the Pasha of Egypt keeps a garrison to watch the Wahabi. His officers I knew to be extremely jealous of Arabian as well as Syrian strangers, and I had nothing with me by which I might have proved the nature of my business in these remote districts, nor even my Frank origin. We therefore joined the caravan of Arabs Allowein, who were carrying a few camels to the Cairo market. We crossed the valley of Araba, ascended on the other side of it the barren mountains of Beyane, and entered the desert called El Ty, which is the most barren and horrid tract of country I had ever seen; black flints cover the chalky or sandy ground, which in most places is without any vegetation. The tree which produces the gum arabic grows in some spots; and the tamarisk is met with here and there, but the scarcity of water forbids much extent of vegetation, and the hungry camels are obliged to go in the evening for whole hours out of the road in order to find some withered shrubs upon which to feed. During ten days forced marches, we passed only four springs or wells, of which one only, at about eight hours east of Suez, was of sweet water. The others were brackish and sulphureous. We passed at a short distance to the north of Suez, and arrived at Cairo by the pilgrim road."

No. DLXII. FARTHER PARTICULARS OF THE ANCIENT PETRA.

THE account transmitted by Mr. Burckhardt, has been subsequently completely verified by Mr. Legh, a gentleman well known by his *Travels in Egypt*. His narration forms an interesting portion of Dr. Macmichael's *Journey to Constantinople*, in 1818.

Under the article PETRA, in the *Dictionary*, the reader has seen the perplexities of the learned in their endeavours to ascertain that city, once so famous and so powerful. Those perplexities are now removed; and we have discovered demonstrations of a seat of government, a considerable population, and a respectable state of the arts, in the midst of a vast accumulation of rocks, and (apparently) an unproductive desert. The existence of a rivulet, or stream of water, at this place, cannot escape the reader's notice: and he has been partly prepared for residences, and even extensive dwellings, among rocks, cut out of them, or annexed to them, by the description M. Seetzen has given of the modern Troglodytes by whom he was received. The importance of these discoveries is indisputable; and the whole, as already known, justifies the inference of a state of things, of national power, and of intercourse, in ancient times, (and probably, in the most remote antiquity with which we are acquainted) entirely different from any conception we could previously form. It is pleasant to see the accounts of ancient writers justified; and still more to see

the allusions, and historical facts of Scripture, supported by existing evidences to which no possible imputation of inaccuracy can be attached.

The reader will observe, that Mount Sinai was seen from Mount Hor; also its distance, three days' journey; undoubtedly, therefore, Mount Hor was visible from Sinai: and Burckhardt places *Wady Mousa* (Petra) at two long days' journey N. E. from Akaba; and north of it he places the valley of Ghor: the reader may now compare the Mosaic history with this narrative to great advantage.

Passing on by Roman ruins, and occasionally Roman roads, Mr. Legh, &c. arrived at Shubac the 20th of May. "On the 23d, the sheikh of Shubac, Mahomet Ebn-Raschid, arrived, and with him also came the sheikh, Abou-Zeitun (*Father of the Olive-tree*), the governor of Wadi Moosa. The latter proved afterwards our most formidable enemy, and we were indebted to the courage and unyielding spirit of the former for the accomplishment of our journey, and the sight of the wonders of Petra. When we related to the two sheikhs, who had just entered the camp, our eager desire to be permitted to proceed, Abou-Zeitun swore, "by the beard of the Prophet, and by the Creator," that the *Caffrees*, or Infidels, should not come into his country."

Mahomet Ebn-Raschid as warmly supported them, and "Now, there arose a great dispute between the two sheikhs, in the tent, which assumed a serious aspect, the sheikh of Wadi Moosa at length starting up, vowed that if we should dare to pass through his lands we should be shot like so many dogs. Our friend Mahomet mounted, and desired us to follow his example, which, when he saw we had done, he grasped his spear and fiercely exclaimed, "I have set them on their horses, let me see who dare stop Ebn-Raschid." We rode along a valley, the people of Wadi Moosa, with their sheikh at their head, continuing on the high ground to the left, in a parallel direction, watching our movements. In half an hour we halted at a spring, and were joined by about twenty horsemen provided with lances, and thirty men on foot with matchlock guns, and a few double mounted dromedaries, whose riders were well armed. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the chief, Ebn-Raschid, took an oath in the presence of his Arabs, swearing, "By the honour of their women, and by the beard of the Prophet, that we," pointing to our party, "should drink of the waters of Wadi Moosa, and go wherever we pleased in their accursed country."

Soon after they left the ravine; and the rugged peak of Mount Hor was seen towering over the dark mountains on their right, with Petra under it, and Gebel-tour, or Mount Sinai, distant three days' journey, like a cone in the horizon. They reached Ebn-Raschid's camp of about seventy tents, (usually 25 feet long and 14 feet wide,) in three circles, and next morning attempted, but in vain, to obtain the consent of the hostile shiekh to pass through his territory. They did not, however, come to blows, and at length they passed the much contested stream on which stood the mud village of Wadi Moosa; Ebn-Raschid, with an air of triumph, insisting on watering the horses at that rivulet. Mr. L. continues, "While we halted for that purpose, we examined a sepulchre excavated on the right of the road. It was of considerable dimensions: and at the entrance of the open Court that led to the inner chamber were represented two animals resembling lions or sphinxes, but much disfigured, of colossal size. As this was the first object of curiosity that presented itself, we began to measure its dimensions; but our guides grew impatient, and said, that if we intended to be so accurate in our survey of all the extraordinary places we should see, we should not finish in ten thousand years."

They therefore remounted, and rode on through niches sculptured in the rocks, frequent representations of rude stones, mysterious symbols of an indefinite figure detached in relief, water courses or earthen pipes, arches, aqueducts, and, all the signs of a wonderful period in the ancient annals of this memorable scene. "We continued (says the narrative) to explore the gloomy winding passage for the distance of about two miles, gradually descending, when the beautiful façade of a temple burst on our view. A statue of Victory with wings, filled the centre of an aperture like an attic window; and groups of colossal figures, representing a centaur and a young man, were placed on each side of a portico of lofty proportion, comprising two stories, and deficient in nothing but a single column. The temple was entirely excavated from the solid rock, and preserved from the ravages of time and the weather by the massive projections of the natural cliffs above, in a state of exquisite and inconceivable perfection. But the interior chambers were comparatively small, and appeared unworthy of so magnificent a portico. On the summit of the front was placed a vase, hewn also out of the solid rock, conceived by the Arabs to be filled with the most valuable treasure, and showing, in the numerous shot-marks on its exterior, so many proofs of their avidity; for it is so situated as to be inaccessible to other attacks. This was the *hasna*, or treasure of Pharaoh, as it is called by the natives, which Ebn-Raschid swore we should behold."

A colossal vase belonging, probably, to another temple, was seen by Captains Irby and Mangles, at some distance to the westward, and many excavated chambers were found in front of this temple of Victory. About three hundred yards farther on was an amphitheatre. "Thirty-three steps (*gradini*) were to be counted, but unfortunately the proscenium, not having been excavated like the other parts, but built, was in ruins."

The remains of a palace, and immense numbers of bricks, tiles, &c. presented themselves on a large open space, while "The rocks which enclosed it on all sides, with the exception of the north-east, were hollowed out into innumerable chambers of different dimensions, whose entrances were variously, richly, and often fantastically, decorated with every imaginable order of architecture."

Petra was, in the time of Augustus, the residence of a king who governed the Nabathæi, or inhabitants of Arabia Petræa, who were conquered by Trajan, and annexed to Palestine. More recently, it was possessed by Baldwin I. king of Jerusalem, and called by him *Mons Regalis*.

No. DLXIII. ON THE SEPULCHRE OF AARON, ON MOUNT HOR.

THE evidence already adduced leaves unquestionable the *possibility* that excavations in rocks may continue unimpaired for many ages. That monuments so extremely ancient as the days of Moses and Aaron should still bear their testimony to facts of other times, is too wonderful to be received without due circumspection. —If they were referred to buildings, to structures erected by human power, they would be something more than dubious: but, this hesitation does not apply to chambers cut in rocks, or on the sides of rocky mountains; if the *identity* of such places can be established, their *antiquity* need occasion no difficulty; if the Tomb of Aaron be not the tomb of any other person, it may be admitted to all the honours of the distant age to which it is ascribed. The rock and the mountain originated with the world, and will endure to the end of time. At least, it is proper that what is said of the Tomb of Aaron should find its place in a work like the present.

Our travellers left Petra, and taking a south-westerly direction, arrived at the foot of Mount Hor by three o'clock in the afternoon. They climbed the rugged ascent, and found "A crippled Arab hermit, about 80 years of age, the one half of which time he had spent on the top of the mountain, living on the donations of the few Mohammedan pilgrims who resort thither, and the charity of the native shepherds who supply him with water and milk. He conducted us into the small white building, crowned by a cupola, that contains the tomb of Aaron. The monument is of stone, about three feet high, and the venerable Arab, having lighted a lamp, led us down some steps to a chamber below, hewn out of the rock, but containing nothing extraordinary. Against the walls of the upper apartment, where stood the tomb, were suspended beads, bits of cloth and leather, votive offerings left by the devotees; on one side, let into the wall, we were shewn a dark looking stone that was reputed to possess considerable virtues in the cure of diseases, and to have formerly served as a seat to the prophet."

No. DLXIV. OF KEREK, AND OF SHIPS BUILT THERE.

IN consequence of the confusion which the reader has seen under the article *PETRA* in the *Dictionary*, it may be just worth while to observe, that our Map of *ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE HISTORIES*, contains *two* places in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, both marked *Karac*: the northern of these, adjoining the Dead Sea, E. appears to be the *Kerek* of Mr. Burckhardt; the Southern approaches the situation of his *Wady Mousa*, and probably, was intended by D'Anville for the ancient *Petra*. If the same similarity of name occurred in former ages, the cause of the confusion among the ancient historians, or of our confused acceptance of their words, is sufficiently obvious.

There is a very remarkable fact, mentioned by an Arabian writer, Mackrizi, in his *History of the Sultans of Egypt*, called Es-Selouk, which connects with this subject. He says, that in the year of the Hegira 578, [A. D. 1185.] while the Christians were masters of the Holy Land, "the Prince *Renaut* (the *Rinaldo* of the Crusaders, and the Italians) the Franks' chief of Kerek, built ships, and transported them by land to the Red Sea." By this proceeding—a proceeding entirely unexpected by the Mahomedans—he obtained a considerable naval force in that quarter. It is obvious to remark, that by the same means Solomon might build and convey vessels intended for his voyages to Ophir; instead of constructing them in docks, at Eloth, or Ezion Gaber, as hitherto supposed. In No. ccxvii. Note 13. we have alledged the impossibility of *ships* being sent *overland*, by Hiram king of Tyre, for Solomon's service: it is due to truth, to acknowledge, that this impossibility is much abated by this record of the exertion of Prince Renaut; to which we must add, that the Mohammedans, to oppose the Christian navy, "built ships at Cairo, and at Alexandria," says Mackrizi; and these eventually, triumphed over their versaries in the Red Sea. By the same powers as *ships* built at Kerek, at Cairo, and at Alexandria, were transported overland, and launched in the Red Sea, might the ships of Solomon be transported overland, under the direction of Hiram's naval officers. Such are the *possibilities* of the case, on which the reader will exercise his judgment.

It will occasion no wonder that this extraordinary fact should be unknown to us hitherto: nor does the possibility of it, appear to have been suspected by Josephus, in the case of Solomon; hence he evades the difficulty, which he found in Scripture, 2 Chron. viii. 18. by considering the articles sent as *models* of ships; not as ships in bulk, or in their finished state.

No. DLXV. OF THE HOLY LAND, WEST OF THE JORDAN;

FROM LATER TRAVELLERS.

WE shall close our accounts of the character of the Holy Land, by extracts from the description given by Dr. E. D. CLARKE of those parts of it through which he passed, in travelling from Acre to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Joppa. Beside being one of our latest travellers, that gentleman is distinguished as one of the most observant; and, from the nature of his studies, extremely well qualified to judge on the particulars he reports.

He says, "The land, uncultivated as it almost every where appeared in Djezzar's dominions, was redundantly fertile;" p. 397. . . After leaving Shef'hamer, the mountainous territory begins, and the road winds among valleys covered with beautiful trees. Passing these hills, we entered that part of Galilee which belonged to the tribe of Zabulon; whence, according to the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak, issued to the battle against Sisera, "*they that handled the pen of the writer.*" The scenery is, to the full, as delightful as in the rich vales upon the south of the Crimea: it reminded us of the finest parts of Kent and Surrey. The soil, although stony, is exceedingly rich, but now entirely neglected. . . Had it pleased Djezzar to encourage the labours of the husbandman, he might have been in possession of more wealth and power than any Pacha in the Grand Signior's dominions. The delightful plain of Zabulon appeared every where covered with spontaneous vegetation, flourishing in the wildest exuberance." p. 400.

No. DLXVI. VIEW FROM THE MOUNT OF BEATITUDES:

INCLUDING THE SEA OF GALILEE.

"WE left our route to visit the elevated Mount where it is believed, that Christ preached to his Disciples that memorable Sermon, concentrating the sum and substance of every Christian virtue. Having attained the highest point of it, a view was presented, which for its grandeur, independently of the interest excited by the different objects contained in it, has no parallel in the Holy Land.

"From this situation we perceived that the plain, over which we had been so long riding, was itself very elevated, Far beneath appeared other plains, one lower than the other, in that regular gradation concerning which observations were recently made, and extending to the surface of the Sea of Tiberias, or Sea of Galilee. This immense lake, almost equal in grandeur of its appearance, to that of Geneva, spreads its waters over all the lower territory, extending from the North-East towards the South-West, and then bearing east of us. Its eastern shores present a sublime scene of mountains, extending towards the North and South, and seeming to close it in at either extremity; both towards *Chorazin*, where the Jordan enters; and the *AULON* or *Campus magnus*, through which it flows to the Dead Sea. The cultivated plains reaching to its borders, which we beheld at an amazing depth below our view, resembled, by the various hues their different produce exhibited, the motley pattern of a vast carpet. To the north appeared snowy summits, towering, beyond a series of intervening mountains, with unspeakable greatness. We considered them as the summits of Libanus; but the Arabs belonging to our caravan called the principal eminence *Jebel el Sieh*, saying it was near Damascus: probably, therefore, a part of the chain of Libanus. This summit was so lofty, that the snow entirely covered the upper part

of it; not lying in patches, as I have seen it, during summer, upon the tops of very elevated mountains, (for instance, that of *Ben Nevis* in Scotland,) but investing all the higher part with that perfect white and smooth velvet-like appearance which snow only exhibits when it is very deep; a striking spectacle in such a climate, where the beholder, seeking protection from a burning Sun, almost considers the firmament to be on fire. The elevated plains upon the mountainous territory beyond the northern extremity of the Lake are called by a name, in Arabic, which signifies *the Wilderness*. To the South West, at the distance of only twelve miles, we beheld Mount Thabôr, having a conical form, and standing quite insular, upon the northern side of the plain of Esdraelon. The mountain whence this superb view was presented, consists entirely of limestone; the prevailing constituent of all the mountains in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. p. 456.

“As we rode towards the Sea of Tiberias, the guides pointed to a sloping spot from the heights upon our right, whence we had descended, as the place where the miracle was accomplished by which our Saviour fed the multitude: it is, therefore, called *The Multiplication of Bread*; as the Mount above, where the Sermon was preached to the disciples, is called *The Mountain of Beatitudes*, from the expressions used in the beginning of that discourse. This part of the Holy Land is very full of wild animals. Antelopes are in great number. We had the pleasure of seeing these beautiful quadrupeds in their natural state, feeding among the thistles and tall herbage of these plains, and bounding before us occasionally, as we disturbed them. The Arabs frequently take them in the chase. The Lake now continued in view upon our left. The wind rendered its surface rough, and called to mind the situation of our Saviour's Disciples, when, in one of the small vessels which traverse these waters, they were tossed in a storm, and saw Jesus, in the fourth watch of the night walking to them upon the waves. Matt. xiv. 24. Often as this subject has been painted, combining a number of circumstances adapted for the representation of sublimity, no artist has been aware of the uncommon grandeur of the scenery, memorable on account of the transaction. The Lake of Genesareth is surrounded by objects well calculated to heighten the solemn impression made by such a picture: and, independent of the local feelings likely to be excited in its contemplation, affords one of the most striking prospects in the Holy Land. It is by comparison alone that any due conception of the appearance it presents can be conveyed to the minds of those who have not seen it: and, speaking of it comparatively, it may be described as longer and finer than any of our Cumberland and Westmorland lakes, although, perhaps it yields in majesty to the stupendous features of Loch Lomond in Scotland. It does not possess the vastness of the Lake of Geneva, although it much resembles it in particular points of view. The Lake of Locarno in Italy comes nearest to it in point of picturesque beauty, although it is destitute of any thing similar to the islands by which that majestic piece of water is adorned. It is inferior in magnitude, and, perhaps, in the height of its surrounding mountains, to the Lake Asphaltites; but its broad and extended surface, covering the bottom of a profound valley, environed by lofty and precipitous eminences, added to the impression of a certain reverential awe under which every Christian pilgrim approaches it, give it a character of dignity unparalleled by any similar scenery. p. 462.

“On the plain of Esdraelon, in the most fertile part of all the land of Canaan—(which though a solitude, we found like one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture,) the tribe of Issachar rejoiced in their tents.”

No.

No. DLXVII. OF SICHEM AND SAMARIA.

"THE view of the ancient SICHEM, now called *Napolose*, otherwise *Neapolis*, and *Napolkos*, surprized us, as we had not expected to find a city of such magnitude in the road to Jerusalem. It seems to be the metropolis of a very rich and extensive country, abounding with provisions, and all the necessary articles of life, in much greater profusion than the town of Acre. White bread was exposed for sale in the streets, of a quality superior to any that is to be found elsewhere throughout the Levant. The governor of *Napolose* received and regaled us with all the magnificence of an Eastern sovereign. Refreshments, of every kind known in the country, were set before us; and when we supposed the list to be exhausted, to our very great astonishment a most sumptuous dinner was brought in. Nothing seemed to gratify our host more, than that any of his guests should eat heartily; and to do him justice, every individual of the party ought to have possessed the appetite of ten hungry pilgrims, to satisfy his wishes in this respect.

"There is nothing in the Holy Land finer than a view of *Napolose*, from the heights around it. As the traveller descends towards it from the hills, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers; half concealed by rich gardens, and by stately trees collected into groves, all around the bold and beautiful valley in which it stands. Trade seems to flourish among its inhabitants. Their principal employment is in making soap; but the manufactures of the town supply a very widely extended neighbourhood, and they are exported to a great distance, upon camels. In the morning after our arrival, we met caravans coming from Grand Cairo; and noticed others reposing in the large olive plantations near the gates."

No. DLXVIII. OF THE TOMBS OF JOSEPH, JOSHUA, AND OTHERS.

"THE history of Sichem, referring to events long prior to the Christian dispensation, directs us to antiquities, which owe nothing of their celebrity to any traditional aid. The traveller directing his footsteps towards its ancient Sepulchres, as everlasting as the rocks wherein they are hewn, is permitted, on the authority of sacred and indelible record, to contemplate the spot where the remains of Joseph, of Eleazar, and of Joshua, were severally deposited. If any thing connected with the memory of past ages be calculated to awaken local enthusiasm, the land around this city is pre-eminently entitled to consideration. The sacred story of events transacted in the fields of Sichem, from our earliest years is remembered with delight; but with the territory before our eyes where those events took place, and in the view of objects existing as they were described above three thousand years ago, the grateful impression kindles into ecstasy. Along the valley we beheld "a company of Ishmaelites, coming from Gilead," Gen. xxxvii. 25. as in the days of Reuben and Judah, "with their camels bearing spicery, and balm and myrrh," who would gladly have purchased another Joseph of his brethren, and conveyed him, as a slave, to some Potiphar in Egypt. Upon the hills around, flocks and herds were feeding, as of old; nor in the simple garb of the shepherds of Samaria was there any thing repugnant to the notions we may entertain of the appearance presented by the sons of Jacob. It was indeed a scene to abstract

and to elevate the mind; and under emotions so called forth by every circumstance of powerful coincidence, a single moment seemed to concentrate whole ages of existence. The Jews of the twelfth century acknowledged that the Tomb of Joseph then existed in Sichem, although both the city and the Tomb were the possession and boast of a people they detested. "The town," says Rabbi Benjamin, "lies in a vale, between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, where there are above a hundred *Cuthæans*, who observe only the law of Moses, whom men call *Samaritans*. They have priests of the lineage of Aaron, who rests in peace, and those they call *Aaronites*; who never marry but with persons of the sacerdotal family, that *they may not be confounded with the people*. Yet these priests of their law offer sacrifices and burnt-offerings in their congregations, as it is written in the law, (Deut. xi. 29.) "*Thou shalt put the blessing on Mount Gerizim.*" They therefore affirm, that this is the House of the Sanctuary; and they offer burnt-offerings, both on the Passover, and on other festivals, on the altar which was built on Mount Gerizim, of those stones which the children of Israel set up after they had passed over Jordan. They pretend that they are descended from the tribe of Ephraim: *and have among them the Sepulchre of Joseph the Just*, the son of our father Jacob, who rests in peace, according to that saying, *the bones also of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up with them out of Egypt, buried they in Schechem.*" MAUNDRELL notices the Tomb of Joseph; still bearing its name, unaltered, and venerated even by the Moslems, who have built a small temple over it. Its authenticity is not liable to controversy; since tradition is, in this respect, maintained on the authority of Sacred Scripture; and the veneration paid to it by Jews, by Christians, and by Mahometans, has preserved, in all ages, the remembrance of its situation. Having shewn, on a former occasion, that Tombs were the origin of temples, it is not necessary to dwell on the utter improbability of their being forgotten among men who approached them as places of worship. The Tomb of Joshua was also visited by Jewish pilgrims in the twelfth century. This is proved by the Hebrew Itinerary of Petachias, who was contemporary with Benjamin of Tudela; and its situation, marked by him with the utmost precision, is still as familiar to the Jews of Palestine, as the place where the Temple of Solomon originally stood. It was, in fact, in the midst of a renowned cemetery, containing also the sepulchres of other Patriarchs; particularly of one, whose synagogue is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, as being in the neighbourhood of the warm baths of Tiberias. These Tombs are hewn in the solid rock, like those of Telmessus in the Gulph of Glaucus, and are calculated for duration, equal to that of the hills wherein they have been excavated. p. 513.

"When it is once understood what the real monuments are, to which those traditions allude; the veneration always paid by that people to a place of sepulture; their rigorous adherence, in burial, to the cemeteries of their ancestors; the care with which memorials are transmitted to their posterity; and other circumstances connected with their customs and history, which cannot here be enumerated; it is not merely probable, but it amounts almost to certainty, that the sepulchres they revere were originally the Tombs of the persons to whom they are now ascribed."

These observations and inferences of this intelligent traveller fully support the suggestions we have hazarded on the identity of the Tomb of Aaron, in Mount Hor. That, like these, is cut in the solid rock; and seems to have been acknowledged as genuine, throughout a course of ages. In fact, if the Tombs of Joseph, of Joshua, of Eleazar, &c. are still distinguished, there can be no reason assigned, why the sepul-

chre of Aaron should be destroyed, or forgotten. If the Tombs of the Pharaohs exist, as we know they do exist, in the rocks of Egypt—nothing hinders the existence of Chambers of Sepulture, of equal, or of more than equal, antiquity in the rocks of Judea.

No. DLXIX. OF JACOB'S WELL.

“THE principal object of veneration is *Jacob's Well*, over which a church was formerly erected. This is situated at a small distance from the town, in the road to Jerusalem, and has been visited by pilgrims of all ages; but particularly since the Christian æra, as the place where our Saviour revealed himself to the woman of Samaria. The spot is so distinctly marked by the Evangelist, and so little liable to uncertainty, from the circumstance of the Well itself, and the features of the country, that, if no tradition existed for its identity, the site of it could hardly be mistaken. Perhaps no Christian scholar ever attentively read the fourth chapter of St. John, without being struck with the numerous internal evidences of truth which crowd upon the mind in its perusal. Within so small a compass it is impossible to find in other writings, so many sources of reflection and of interest. Independently of its importance as a theological document, it concentrates so much information, that a volume might be filled with the illustration it reflects on the history of the Jews, and on the geography of their country. All that can be gathered on these subjects from Josephus seems but as a comment to illustrate this chapter. The journey of our Lord from Judea into Galilee; the cause of it; his passage through the territory of Samaria; his approach to the metropolis of this country; its name; his arrival at the Amorite field which terminates the narrow valley of *Sichem*; the ancient custom of halting at a Well; the female employment of drawing water; the Disciples sent into the city for food, by which its situation out of the town is obviously implied; the question of the woman referring to existing prejudices which separated the Jews from the Samaritans; the depth of the Well; the Oriental allusion contained in the expression, “*living water*,” the history of the Well, and the customs thereby illustrated; the worship upon Mount Gerizim; all these occur within the space of twenty verses: and if to these be added, what has already been referred to in the remainder of the same chapter, we shall perhaps consider it as a record, which, in the words of Him who sent it, “WE MAY LIFT UP OUR EYES, AND LOOK UPON, FOR IT IS WHITE ALREADY TO HARVEST.” p. 517.

No. DLXX. OF THE COUNTRY FROM NAPOLOSE TO JERUSALEM.

“WE left Napolose one hour after midnight, that we might reach Jerusalem early the same day. We were however, much deceived concerning the distance. Our guides represented the journey as a short excursion of five hours: it proved a most fatiguing pilgrimage of eighteen. The road was mountainous, rocky, and full of loose stones: yet the cultivation was every where marvellous: it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and stony valleys of Judæa were entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive-trees; not a single spot seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were entirely covered with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of agricultural

perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile, by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, whereon soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Among the standing crops, we noticed millet, cotton, linseed, and tobacco; and occasionally small fields of barley. A sight of this territory can alone convey any adequate idea of its surprising produce: it is truly the Eden of the East, rejoicing in the abundance of its wealth. Under a wise and a beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales;—all these, added to the serenity of the climate, prove this land to be indeed “a field which the Lord hath blessed: God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.”

The reader will recollect, that this account refers to the territory passed through in the route from Acre to Tiberias and Jerusalem. A less flattering picture is drawn of the direct road from Jerusalem to Joppa; and of the countries bordering on the desert to the south. It must, however, be confessed, that these parts maintained numerous flocks and herds, anciently, and that places are not wanting where the same might be maintained, at this day, did circumstances admit the necessary safety and protection.

Should any European traveller be so fortunate as to be allowed to accompany the caravan from Gaza to meet the Mecca pilgrims; or, to examine the district of Beersheba, and of Paran, S. of the Dead Sea, our account of the Holy Land would be more complete than we can boast of, at present; and we might possess the means of clearing up many points connected with the residence of Israel in the Wilderness, and other Scripture histories, which continue involved in obscurity, for want of such information.

No. DLXXI. ENQUIRIES WHETHER THE DEPORTATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES AND JUDÆANS WERE TOTAL.

THE reader will do well to bear in mind, that the Jordan, as it divided the country possessed by the Israelites, so it divided the interests and the politics of that people. It happened, occasionally, that the south was invaded, but the north was in peace; and often the districts beyond Jordan were oppressed, or even subdued, before the shock was felt on the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. This, at length, proved the ruin of the whole nation. The two tribes and half, settled East of the Jordan, as most exposed to inroads, yet least readily assisted, dwelling too in a country so very desirable as to attract the eye of avidity, yet calculated rather to breed pacific than warlike inhabitants, being also, we may conjecture, best known by means of passengers; these tribes were the first to be carried into captivity by invaders from the north. From these districts, if once occupied by enemies, the transit was easy over the Upper Jordan; and the northern tribes of Israel were of course exposed to inroads of the conquerors; by whom, in the issue, they were displaced. Judah retained its independence longer; but Judah at length was invaded from the north, was subjugated to a foreign power, and its inhabitants were treated like those of other conquered countries, being led away by the conqueror, at his pleasure.

But though we say the inhabitants were removed from their native country, yet, it appears from incidental observations in Scripture, that some remained; and Major

RENNELL has lately offered several reasons for believing that only certain classes of this people were deported to Assyria, or to Babylon. As this is an enquiry of some consequence ; because, it leads to the consideration of that proportion of them which returned to the land of Judea in after ages, we shall give the Major's remarks pretty fully. [Comp. MAP of CANAAN shewing the CAPTIVITIES of ISRAEL and JUDAH.]

The Chronology of Abp. USHER, and of Sir ISAAC NEWTON, allow the following dates, for the events under consideration:

| | Ante A. D. | Difference. |
|---|------------|-------------|
| Captivity of the two and half tribes, and of the Syrians of Damascus, by Tiglath Pileser: | 740 | |
| ———— of the ten tribes by Shalmanezzer | 721 | 19 |
| ———— of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar | 606 | 134 |
| Destruction of Jerusalem | 589 | 151 |
| Decree of Cyrus, for the return of the Jews | 536 | 204 |

The Eastern tribes were taken away by Tiglath Pileser, about 740 B. C.: and this was done, it appears, at the solicitation of the king of Judea, against thoe of Israel and Syria, who threatened him. It is said (2 Kings xvi. 9.) that 'the king of Assyria took Damascus, slew their king, Resin, and carried the people captive to Kir;' by which the country of Assyria is unequivocally meant. But Josephus says (*Antiq.* ix. c. 12. 3.) that they were sent to Upper Media; that Tiglath Pileser sent a colony of Assyrians in their room; and that at the same time, he afflicted the land of Israel, and took away many captives out of it.

In 2 Kings xv. 29. it is said, that 'Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, took Ijon, and Abel-beth-Maacha, Janoah, Kadesh and Hazor, and Gilead and Galilee; all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.' But, in the account of the same transaction in 1 Chron. v. 26. it is said, that Tiglath Pileser 'carried away the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and brought them to *Halah*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river of *Gozan*, unto this day.'

Josephus, relating the same transaction, *Antiq. lib.* ix. c. 11. 1. says, that Tiglath Pileser 'carried away the inhabitants of Gilead, Galilee, Kadesh, and Hazor, and transplanted them into his own kingdom;' by which, in strictness, Assyria should be understood: but it appears from the book of Tobit, that Media was also subject to him; so that there is no contradiction.

We come next, in order, to the proper subject of the ten tribes.

In 2 Kings xvii. 6. Shalmanezzer, king of Assyria, is said to have carried away Israel into Assyria, and to have 'placed them in *Halah* and in *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan*, and in the cities of the *Medes*.'

"Josephus, speaking of the same event, says, (*Antiq.* ix. c. 14. 1.) that Shalmanezzer took *Samaria* (that is, the capital of the Israelites), demolished the government, and transplanted ALL the people into Media and Persia: and that they were re-placed by other people out of Cuthah; which, says he, (in section iii. of the same chapter) is the name of a country in Persia, and which has a river of the same name, in it. Of the Cutheans, continues he, there were *five* tribes, or nations; each of which had its own gods; and these they brought with them into Samaria. These, he observes, were the people afterwards called *Samaritans*; and who, although they had no pretensions, affected to be kinsfolk to the Jews. And hence, we may suppose, arose the violent animosity that subsisted between the two nations.

"The Cutheans (he says) had formerly belonged to the *inner* parts of Persia and Media.

“ In 2 Kings xvii. 24. it is said, that the people brought to supply the place of the Israelites, were from five places: *i. e.* *Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim*: and also, that they worshipped as many different deities.

“ Thus, we have the history of the removal of the ten tribes of Israel, at different periods; as also of the people of Damascus, to the same countries: all of which was effected by the kings of Assyria; whose capital was at Nineveh. But, previous to the second captivity (or that of Judah) by the Babylonians, these last had become masters of all Assyria: Nineveh had been destroyed; and Babylon had become the capital of the empire of Assyria, thus enlarged by conquest.

“ There are no particulars given, respecting the carrying away of Israel to Nineveh, as of Judah to Babylon: but we may, perhaps, be allowed to consider both, as parallel cases; and thence infer, that the conduct of the king of Nineveh, was much the same with that of the king of Babylon.

“ Josephus says, that ALL the nation of Israel was taken away, and their places supplied by the *Cutheans*. 2 Kings ch. xvii. leaves us to understand the same, if taken literally: that is, that Shalmanezzer ‘carried Israel away *into* or *unto* Assyria;’ and that people were brought from divers countries, and ‘placed in the cities of Samaria, *instead* of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof.

“ Certainly, if these accounts are to be taken *literally*, we must suppose no other, than that the *whole nation* was carried away; which supposition, however, occasions some difficulty, not only from the numbers to be carried away, but from the obvious difficulty of *feeding* by the way, and of finally placing, in a situation where they could be *fed*, so vast, and in a great degree, so useless a multitude, when removed to a strange country. Wheresoever they came, they must either have been starved themselves, or they must *virtually* have displaced nearly an equal number of the king’s subjects, who were already settled, and in habits of maintaining themselves, and probably of aiding the state.

“ They were said to be carried to Nineveh. This residue of the ten tribes (that is *seven and a half*) cannot be estimated lower than at two-thirds of the population of Nineveh, itself. And it may be asked, who *fed* them, in their way across Syria and Mesopotamia, to Nineveh? And admitting an exchange of the *Cutheans* for the *Israelites*, on so extended a scale, as to include the agricultural and working people of all classes, a sovereign who should make such an exchange, where an interval of space, of near a *thousand* miles intervened, would at least discover a different kind of policy from that, which in our conception, was followed by the king of Assyria.

“ Were we to avail ourselves of the Bible statement, and take between $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 millions, for the people of Israel; and of these, three-fourths for the *seven and a half* tribes carried away by Shalmanezzer, that is, more than $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions, we might well rest the argument there. But even reduced to the more probable number of 700,000, and upwards,—how was such a multitude to be provided for? Nor is this stated to be an act of *necessity*, but of *choice*!

“ We shall now state the particulars that are given, respecting the Babylonish captivity.

“ It appears then, that Nebuchadnezzar carried away the *principal* inhabitants, the *warriors*, and *artisans* of every kind; and these classes *only*; leaving behind, the *husbandmen*, the *labourers*, and the poorer classes, in general; that is, the great body of the people. [Compare No. cccxxvii.]

“ May it not be concluded, that much the same mode of conduct was pursued by

the king of Nineveh, as by him of Babylon; although it is not particularized? It cannot be supposed that either Media or Assyria wanted husbandmen.

“The history of Tobit shews, not only that the Jews were distributed over Media, but that they filled situations of trust and confidence. And, on the whole, it may be conceived that the persons brought away from the land of Israel, were those, from whom the conqueror expected useful services, in his country; or feared disturbances from, in their own. In effect, that the classes were much the same with those brought away from Judea, by the king of Babylon: and that the great body of the people remained in the land, as being of use there, but would have been burthensome, if removed: consequently, that those who look for a *nation* of Jews, transplanted into Media, or Persia, certainly look for what was never to be found; since no more than a select part of the nation was so transplanted.

“In the distribution of such captives, it might be expected that a wise monarch would be governed by two considerations: first, to profit the most by their knowledge, and industry; and secondly, to place them in such a situation, as to render it extremely difficult for them to return to their own country. The geographical position of Media appears favourable to the latter circumstance, there being a great extent of country, and deep rivers between.

“One circumstance appears very remarkable. Although it is positively said, that only certain classes of the Jews were carried to Babylon, at the latter captivity; and also, that on the decree of Cyrus, which permitted their return, the principal part *did* return, (perhaps 50,000 in all) yet so great a number was found in Babylonia, in after-times, as is really astonishing. They are spoken of by Josephus, as possessing towns and districts, in that country, so late as the reign of *Phraates*; about forty years before Christ. They were in great numbers at Babylon itself; also in Seleucia and Susa. Their increase must have been wonderful; and in order to maintain such numbers, their industry and gains also must have been great. But it must also have been, that a very great number were disinclined to leave the country in which they were settled, at the date of the decree. Ammianus Marcellinus, so late as the expedition of Julian, speaks of a Jews’ town, at the side of one of the canals between the Euphrates and Tigris.”

Such are the principal arguments of Major RENNELL; there are others to which he has not adverted. In 2 Chron. xxx. we find the pious Hezekiah wrote to “all Israel, Ephraim, and Manasseh”—and “divers of Asher, Manasseh, Issachar and Zabulon,” obeyed his injunctions, and came to Jerusalem to keep his passover; so that “since the time of Solomon, son of David, there had not been the like in Jerusalem.” Moreover, we read in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, 4, 5. that king Josiah not only “purged Judah and Jerusalem,” in the first place, from idolatry, but, he went in person and did the same “in the cities of Manasseh, (the half tribe west of Jordan) Ephraim, Simeon, and even unto Napthali,” “throughout all the land of Israel.” This he could not have done, had he not possessed some authority over the country he visited; and had not the people of this country acquiesced in the propriety of what he was doing, knowing it to be agreeable to their ancient laws and institutions. This implies a population of Hebrews by descent.

Now as Josiah extended his reformation throughout Israel, as he was killed at Megiddo, a town in the center of Israel, and defending Israel against an invader, there is no room to doubt, but that the main body of the then population of Israel was descended from those who had been left in the country, when the principals of the nation as to station and quality were led into captivity.

It can hardly be supposed, that Israel was treated then more severely than Judah was afterwards: on the contrary, one would imagine, that repeated revolts would be the most signally punished, yet we find that Nebuchadnezzar left some Judæans behind; although he carried off whoever could be of any service to him, in embellishing his new capital; that city which he so greatly improved, as to render it the subject of his pride:—"this great Babylon, which I have built."

If these suggestions are founded on truth, they may assist our endeavours to discern the real character of the Samaritans. It will be recollected, that what history we have of these people, is not from Israelite writers, or from themselves, but, from their rivals the Jews, whose description of them contains no equivocal tokens of national animosity and dislike. Whereas, if the bulk of the Israelites were left in their native land, if the population, though decimated were not wholly deported, then the descent claimed by the Samaritans from the tribe of Ephraim, may well be allowed them; and then, it is neither more nor less than injustice, to deny their general relation to the Hebrew community. This does not exclude the fact, that a number of Cutheans was intermingled among them; who probably, occupied advantageous situations; whether as to office or property: but these must always have been known, must always have been distinguished, as the Turks are, at this day, in their various lines of descent, among the Greeks. Nor is it by any means unlikely, that these different people should employ different arguments, according to events: When the affairs of the Jews were prosperous, the Israelite-Samaritans might claim affinity with them, and truly: when the Jewish people were in difficulties, the Cutheans would naturally endeavour to ingratiate themselves with the heathen governors and sovereigns who despotized Judæa. So far as they appear in the Gospel History, we do not see that the Samaritans were worse than the Jews; indeed, they seem, on the whole, to have been more open to conviction than the zealots of the southern tribes:—and this is clear from their history,—that while the temple of Jerusalem is destroyed, and the national rites are abolished, the Samaritans are still preserved as a people, though inglorious; they maintain their ancient observances, though imperfectly; they derive their descent from their proper patriarchs, in their own country: though probably, not without considerable breaches and intervals in their means of proof; they possess authentic copies of the Mosaic institutes; free from Babylonish mutations; under these they act; and Providence has continued them to the present time, as evidence of various points of history, and incidental facts, connected with Holy Writ. So little cause had the Jewish zealot to despise "those who reside in the Mount of Samaria; and that foolish people which dwell in Schechem." Ecclus. i. 28.

No. DLXXII. ON THE STATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE HOLY CITY OF JERUSALEM,

AT DIFFERENT TIMES; WITH A PLATE, HINTING AT ITS DIMENSIONS
IN FOUR DIFFERENT PERIODS.

THE alterations made by Time on the face of the earth, though considerable, are not comparable to those produced by the labours of man; Mountains, Rocks, and for the most part Rivers, also, remain; not greatly changed from their ancient appearances, where only acted upon by the lapse of ages: but, where the devices and exertions of human art, and the varying intentions of human purpose, have been directed, the consequent changes are striking, and their effect in producing dissimilarity is wonderful. Every city bears witness to the truth of this; but, as very few cities, in addition

addition to the character of society, habitation, or polity, add that of *sanctity*, we with difficulty make proper allowance for the power of this principle, or for the various permanent effects which inevitably follow it.

Votaries who attribute to a particular locality the character of sanctity, will desire not only to honour, but also to adorn the subject of their consecration: they will dignify the place of their devotion to the utmost of their power,—while this very attention will excite rivalry and enmity; and a place thus distinguished, will be distinguished also by the consequences of that enmity; it will be attacked and defended, destroyed and restored, with a resolution and perseverance, not always experienced by establishments merely civil. Such has been the lot of that very ancient city, Jerusalem; and to illustrate in part, at least, the evidence of this fact, with the nature of its consequences, is the intent of our present reflections.

The antiquity of the Jewish nation, of which Jerusalem was the capital, is considerable; but the origin of the city itself may reasonably be placed in ages long preceding. The name seems to be compounded of two appellations; first, *Salem*, or *Peace*; secondly, *Jebus*, afterwards varied into *Jerus*; this perhaps denoting the inhabitants especially; or at least, originating in a reference to their appellation. Josephus informs us that *Salem* was the capital of the kingdom of Melchizedek, and the same city as *Jeru-salem*: the Arabians assert, that it was built in honour of that illustrious patriarch, by twelve neighbouring kings; whether, or not, they *built* it for him, we may be allowed to suppose they respected, and perhaps, protected, it; and, this in consequence of the sacred character of Melchizedek, Gen. xiv. Without farther investigation, therefore, we shall consider the ancient *Salem* as the nucleus of the succeeding *Jerusalem*.

Instances of a sacred precinct, or spot set apart for worship, giving rise to a town, are numerous, and the progress is nothing more than natural; yet must it be carefully remembered that every sacred precinct is not a temple, nor does it imply the existence of a temple; for, in early ages, many places were allotted for religious ceremonies and public worship, &c. to which no building ever was attached; and indeed, tribes who constantly dwelt in tents, and were perpetually removing from place to place, according to the seasons, might consecrate particular patches of ground, remarkable rocks, or hills, &c. but could have no inducement to erect buildings upon them for purposes of devotion.

To treat this enquiry properly, it must be assumed that Mount *Moriah* was one of those places esteemed sacred. It afforded probably, a plot of ground, of convenient size, for the resort of worshippers, and this obtained repute on account of its character; it was of some determinate and regular form (oblong square, perhaps) prepared and levelled, bounded, also, by a hedge, or a plantation of trees, called in Scripture, “a grove;” and so far consecrated, by separation from the adjacent lands. Such a separated hill top being resorted to, at first a few tents were pitched at the foot of the hill, to accommodate the resorters, supposed to be numerous, on public occasions; to these succeeded a few houses, and by degrees the village increased to a town, until at length the establishment assumed the importance of a city. In one of these stages, probably, that of a small town, we first become acquainted with *Salem*; of which we read, that Melchizedek came forth from it; that the valley of “*Shaveh*,” or “the King’s Dale,” was adjacent to it; that it was considered as a place peculiarly sacred, and where the word of the Lord was communicated to the sons of men.

It is not easy to say with certainty whether *this* Mount *Moriah* be that on which

Abraham offered up his son Isaac, Gen. xxii. General opinion favours the affirmative; but general opinion is not decisive, though it may be accepted as presumptive evidence. This would point to its acknowledged sanctity at a still earlier period, for it appears, that Abraham did not find an altar constructed on that mountain where he sacrificed; yet it was doubtless a consecrated place; it agrees therefore with the notion suggested of a portion of ground set apart by enclosure, and conjecture may alledge that in this enclosure, *i. e.* in some part of the hedge, or grove around it, the ram, substituted instead of Isaac, was caught by his horns: this hedge is denoted by the word *Sabek*, and the Lxx. render "caught in the plant [plantation?] *sabek*," retaining the term; the Talmud renders *trees*. Interpreters differ on the species of this plant, but from the import of the word elsewhere, it seems to denote a closely planted grove, or thicket, (Psalm lxxiv. 5. Isaiah ix. 5.) which is precisely what is assumed as its import here. This offers one mark of a consecrated place, which the history fixes to the summit of Mount Moriah; while possibly the usual residence of Melchizedek was (in his tents) in what we may call the *town* of Salem, at some distance, down, or beside, the mount. That patriarch might be absent at this time—or, Abraham might reach the consecrated spot, privately;—or, there might in that early age be no establishment, worthy the name of a town, *near* the consecrated spot; merely perhaps a few straggling shepherds, (in this resembling Mount Sinai.) Circumstances may easily be adjusted to the utmost privacy, whether any, or none, of these conjectures be admitted.

That many places were distinguished in the manner described is well known in classic antiquity; and they are the most ancient *high places*; a description of sacred establishments, that afterwards occurs frequently enough in the history of the Hebrews.

Our Plate contains four Plans of the site of Jerusalem; the first exhibits the situation of Mount Moriah, with the *sanctum* marked on it; and a few other places, as "the King's Valley," or "Valley of Equity:" taken for that which was afterwards called "the Valley of Jehoshaphat," or, "of the Judgment of the Lord." The tribunal might possibly stand where that called the Golden Gate is, now. This is in compliance merely with the tradition, which says, that from hence all mankind shall be judged: and this, apparently, is the echo of a fact that here mankind *had been* judged. As the whole of these four Plates are traced from the same plan, the reader will perceive at once, by mere inspection, the relation these places bear to each other, and will judge from their appositions, better than from any prolonged description.

The next event of importance to the city of *Salem*, is apparently, in 2 Samuel v. 6. &c. (but *really* the incident of David's depositing there the head of Goliath, happened some years earlier: of which hereafter.) It might be asked, why should David wish to establish himself in this city, particularly? Was it because here *had been* the scene of transactions in ancient time, analogous to those which he meditated as proper for the seat of his sovereignty?—because, this was the place *chosen* by the Lord, *anciently*, to put his name there? Certainly, this presumed sanctity is at least plausible; and it agrees with the supposable motives by which the Jebusites were induced to refuse David. The addition of the royal residence could add nothing to its dignity, but rather the contrary, in the opinion of those whose veneration for it was inherited from their remote ancestors. But, here it is necessary to enquire, who was this Jebusite which so tauntingly insulted David? Looking back to Josh. xviii. 28. we find *Jebusi* the name of Jerusalem, which is varied, Judges xix. 10, to *Jebus*; it is noticed also as one of the cities of the Jebusites, a people "not of the children

of Israel." In Gen. x. 16. we read, that Canaan was the father of the Jebusite; and it seems that from the early age to which that chapter refers, this family had been settled here;—a family unquestionably of the *ancient Canaanites*, such as those with whom Abraham and Isaac covenanted; and perfectly distinct from the *Palli*, who overrun Canaan, while Israel was in Egypt. These *Palli* were the intruders who were chiefly expelled by the Israelites. Exod. xxxiv. 11. This notion supposes these early inhabitants to retain their original possessions, according to the words of the historian, Numb. xiii. 29. Joshua xv. 63. "the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day;" meaning, at most, that the Judahites had a hamlet adjacent to this establishment of the Jebusites; for, that *Jebus* itself was "in the hands of strangers," appears from the conduct of the Levite, Judges xix. 10. And thus, I think, may be reconciled, those passages which relate the slaughter of its king, *i. e.* its *Palli* king, (Joshua xii. 10.) and the expulsion of its people, *i. e.* its *Palli* people; who certainly accompanied their king to battle, and shared his fate. From Judges i. 8. we learn that the children of Judah had smitten and burnt Jerusalem, (*i. e.* the *Palli* city)—but, if the *ancient Canaanite* part of the city were spared, or, if *these ancient Canaanites* escaped to Mount Moriah, a place rendered sacred by the ancestors of Judah themselves, then *these* might still "dwell among the children of Judah." This hypothesis of two descriptions of Canaanites, solves every difficulty; which otherwise seems almost impossible; as we are told, in the same chapter, verse 26. that "Benjamin did not expel the Jebusites, but they dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem, unto this day." And something like this is *necessary*: for, if neither Judah nor Benjamin drove out the Jebusites, then they were not driven out; but, if the king of Jerusalem was slain, if Jerusalem was fought against, taken, smitten with the edge of the sword, and burned, then surely its inhabitants were driven out;—which is a contradiction in terms, not to be endured.

We are now prepared to assign reasons for two circumstances which have strangely puzzled interpreters; the first is, that, 2 Sam. xxiv. 23. Araunah the Jebusite is called "*King*," (and in all copies and all versions, as Dr. GEDDES notes with surprise,) meaning I suppose, that he derived a pedigree from the *ancient Canaanite* kings of the place, and even at this time held at least family authority over his *clan*, the inhabitants of the town. Perhaps, too, the name *Ornan* given him, 1 Chron. xxi. 18. was his Hebrew, or Jewish, name; while *Araunah* was his Canaanite, or Jebusite, appellation.

The second circumstance is of greater consequence; for we read 1 Chron. xxi. 29. that the Jewish national altar, whereon David certainly ought to have sacrificed, was at this time stationed at Gibeon; now, what could induce the angel of the Lord to tell Gad, and Gad to tell David (verse 18.) that he should go up, and raise an altar to the Lord, in the threshing-floor of *Ornan*, *i. e.* *Araunah*, the Jebusite, unless here had been a consecrated place, *formerly*? Why did David *go out* from his royal palace—Mount Zion, and pass through the interjacent city? Was there not ample space on Zion? with plenty of conveniences, the king's own property, but he must, under peremptory direction, go down Mount Zion, and go up Mount Moriah, to raise an altar, on premises not his own?

Now, if this threshing-floor adjoined the originally consecrated spot on Mount Moriah, then it was the nearest approach to that most ancient *Fanum*, which was in David's power; he could not enter this holy place personally; but he sacrifices as near to it as possible,—close to it. This threshing-floor he purchases of *Araunah*

(with cattle, &c.) for "*fifty shekels of silver*;" but, afterwards, explaining to the Jebusite his intention of building a magnificent Temple on Mount *Moriah*, he obtains in addition for that purpose, the whole summit of the mountain, including the site of the ancient *Fanum* itself, from its natural guardian *Araunah*, for "*six hundred shekels of gold*." 1 Chron. xxi. 25.

The price seems to have been very great; too great indeed, for the mere value of the ground: but this view of the subject accounts for it;—it was *sacred* property;—it would not have been alienated, even for the reception of a royal establishment or a palace, &c. but, as its sacred character was to be preserved and perpetuated, as additional religious honour was the purpose for which it was resigned, objections subsided. David obtained it for perpetual consecration, yet at a great price; so that *Araunah* received on occasion of this transfer, fifty shekels of silver in payment for his own private property; and six hundred shekels of gold as a consideration for the public property of his family, and of his people. Thus the sacred character of the place marks it as the proper station for an intercessory altar, under circumstances so urgent, extraordinary, and afflictive; while these very circumstances, in connection with the impulse of piety, induce David to purchase it, and *Araunah* to part with it; perhaps, not without reluctance, and certainly at a price liberal, if not magnificent. The reader will turn to our Plate, No. II. and estimating the relative situations of Mount Zion, and Mount *Moriah*, he will perceive to what distance David proceeded from one, that he might erect an altar on the other. N.B. David afterwards brought the Tabernacle-altar, &c. into his own palace, Mount Zion, and Solomon transferred them to the Temple on Mount *Moriah*; which seems to manifest a pretty steady adherence on the part of the Jebusite to the *honour* of his possession; which he did not relinquish, till every thing was ready for constructing the intended Temple: [too sacred to be made a working place, 1 Kings vi. 7.]

There is another passage, which must not be overlooked in this enquiry;—That it was customary for victors to carry the trophies of their victory to the Temples of their deities, and there to consecrate them, is well known. So we find the Philistines, 1 Samuel xxxi. 10. suspending in triumph the bodies of Saul and his sons, on the walls of Beth Shan [the Temple of Shan]; but, the armour of Saul they deposited in the Temple of Ashtaroth. In like manner, 1 Sam. xvii. 54. David carried the head of Goliath in triumph to Jerusalem; but he put his armour in the sacred tent, (not David's own tent, for he had none, being merely sent out on a message; but) the national tabernacle, for here we find part of it (the sword) long after; and from the tabernacle he received it again, by the hand of Ahimelech, 1 Sam. xxi. 9. Now, what could induce David to carry the bloody trophy of his victory to Jerusalem, rather than to any other sacred, or public, or famous depository, unless Jerusalem were renowned for sanctity? Was the national Ark there?—No. Was this city, at this time a royal residence?—No. Had it a stronger claim than Bethlehem, where the victor lived? Not unless it were derived from superior sanctity; under which all becomes easy; and clearly the after-proceedings of the Philistines with the body of Saul, were but a repetition of David's proceedings with the head of Goliath.

The result of these considerations confirms the proposition, that *here* was a sacred place of worship, from the most remote antiquity, and before Solomon embellished this Mount, by erecting his Temple on its summit.

It is proper, therefore, strongly to urge the distinction between Mount Zion, the city of David, and Mount *Moriah*, the city of Jerusalem. Those names are frequently used by theological writers, as if they were identically the same place; whereas, one

of them, Zion, was distinguished as being the seat of the royal or kingly office ; the other as being the seat of the national worship ; how frequently so ever these may be associated by the sacred writers, after the time of David, yet they are not the same ; neither are they, strictly taken, equivalent to each other ; but are distinct, though combined.

We are not writing a history of the city of Jerusalem at length, and can but hint at its subsequent enlargements by succeeding kings of Judah.

The city of Jerusalem was built on hills, and was encompassed with mountains, Psalm cxxv. 2. on a stony and barren soil : it was about sixty furlongs in length, according to Strabo, *lib.* xvi. Adjacent to Jerusalem, were the fountains of *Gihon* and *Siloam*, and the brook *Kidron* : also the waters of *Ethan*, which Pilate conveyed through aqueducts into the city. Joseph. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 15. *de Bello*. The ancient city of *Jebus*, which David took from the Jebusites, was not large. It stood on a mountain, south of the Temple. There David built a new city, which he called “ *the city of David*,” whereon stood the royal palace.

Between these mountains lay the valley of *Millo*, which separated the ancient *Jebus* from *the city of David*, but was filled up by David and Solomon, to unite the two cities, and to render them more level and uniform. 1 Kings ix. 15, 24. xi. 27. After the reign of Manasseh, a new city is mentioned, called the *Second*, inclosed with walls by that prince. 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. xxiii. 14. and 2 Kings xxii. 24. The Maccabees considerably enlarged it on the north, by inclosing a third hill, as part of Jerusalem. Josephus speaks of a fourth hill, called *Bezetha*, which Agrippa joined to the city. This new city lay north of the Temple, along the brook *Kidron*. In consequence of these junctions, Jerusalem had never been so large, as when it was attacked by the Romans. It was then thirty-three-furlongs in circumference :—nearly four miles and a half. Josephus informs us, that the wall of circumvallation, constructed by Titus, was thirty-nine furlongs ; or four miles, eight-hundred and seventy-five paces. Others admit a much larger extent. See Vallalpandus, for the affirmative ; and M. Reland, for the negative, *Palestin. t.* 2. *lib.* iii. See in the *Dictionary* the article JERUSALEM.

The condition of Jerusalem in the time of Christ, was much the same as afterwards, when assaulted by the Romans ; and what this was, Tacitus being a Roman, and a military man, may inform us. He says,

“ Jerusalem stood upon an eminence, difficult of approach. The natural strength of the place was increased by redoubts and bulwarks, which, even on the level plain, would have made it secure from insult. Two hills, that rose to a prodigious height, were inclosed by walls constructed with skill, in some places projecting forward, in others retiring inwardly, with the angles so formed, that the besiegers were always liable to be annoyed in flank. The extremities of the rock were sharp, abrupt, and craggy. In convenient places, near the summit, towers were raised sixty feet high, and others, on the declivity of the sides, rose no less than a hundred and twenty feet. These works presented a spectacle altogether astonishing. To the distant eye they seemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city, there were other fortifications inclosing the palace of the kings. Above all was seen, conspicuous to view, the Tower of Antonia, so called by Herod, in honour of the triumvir, who had been his friend and benefactor.

“ The Temple itself was a strong fortress, in the nature of a citadel. The fortifications were built with consummate skill, surpassing, in art as well as labour, all the rest of the works. The very porticos that surrounded it were a strong defence. A

perennial spring supplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were scooped under the rock. The rain water was saved in pools and cisterns. Since the reduction of the place by Pompey, experience had taught the Jews new modes of fortification; and the corruption and venality, that pervaded the whole reign of Claudius, favoured all their projects. By bribery they obtained permission to rebuild their walls. The strength of the works plainly shewed that, in profound peace they meditated future resistance. The destruction of the rest of their cities served to increase the number of the besieged. A prodigious conflux poured in from all quarters, and among them the most bold and turbulent spirits of the nation. The city, by consequence, was distracted by internal divisions. They had three armies, and as many generals. The outward walls, forming the extent, were defended by Simon: John, otherwise called Bargioras, commanded in the middle precinct: Eleazar kept possession of the Temple. The two former commanded the greatest number of soldiers: the latter had the advantage of situation. The three parties quarrelled among themselves. Battles were fought within the walls; stratagems were practised; conflagrations destroyed part of the city, and a quantity of grain was consumed in the flames. Under colour of performing a sacrifice, John contrived to send a band of assassins, to cut off Eleazar and his whole party in one general massacre. By this atrocious deed he gained possession of the Temple. From that time two contending factions threw every thing into confusion, till the enemy at their gates obliged them to unite in their common defence." TACITUS, *Hist. lib. v.* Mr. Murphy's Translation.

These accounts are particularly interesting, because they clearly illustrate the natural strength of Jerusalem, and justify the boastings of the native Hebrews; of which Scripture gives instances, as, Psalm cxxii. 3. cxxv. 2. Under these circumstances, how very unlikely, perhaps even *ridiculous*, did the prophecy of our Lord appear to the Jews, Luke xix. 43. every word of which opposes their confidence in these defences. "Thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee (rather raise a *circumvallation*) and compass thee around—and shall keep thee in on every side—and shall lay thee even with the ground—and thy children within thee—and they shall not leave within thee one stone on another." It is not impossible that this was *literally* fulfilled in every particular, so far as regarded Jerusalem itself: though certain towers, or even lines of houses, or streets, of the cities appended to the ancient town, might be spared, to accommodate the Roman garrison stationed in the place.

Our fourth Subject shews the present state of Jerusalem, the Holy City, the Holy Temple, "trodden down by the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." It is necessary that we should fix this idea in our minds, "till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled"—and then, the probability is, that this same spot which during so many ages has been distinguished, and still is distinguished by consecration and sanctity, though degraded, shall again enjoy favours which will render it conspicuous. Different opinions may be entertained respecting the nation of the Jews, and consequently respecting the fate of their capital, Jerusalem; but, the result of these enquiries is not adverse to the modest conjecture, that it is still to be the scene of events foretold in prophecy, which will be no less corroborative of faith, when they do happen, than those events have been which are narrated in history; events which surely no one can properly consider, without feeling a persuasion rising to expectation, of a somewhat,—though to describe, or to determine, that *somewhat*, may be difficult.

No. DLXXIII. POSTERIOR EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE TEMPLE

WHATEVER changes have taken place in Jerusalem, and how different soever the surface of the city may be from what it was originally, there are, nevertheless, certain fixed localities on which we may rest our confidence. Such are--the site of the Temple, and--the Mount Sion, south of that structure, as marked on our Plate; and we rather particularize this, because modern inconsistency extends the name Sion to the hill of Calvary, now included in the general enclosure of the city. It was not so, anciently; and it ought not to be so, now: the error probably arose from the misapplication of metaphor and figure in religious speculation; in this it is not singular at Jerusalem.

We combine, therefore,—the character of certainty annexed to the situation of the Temple, with that equal character of certainty that the Holy Place is actually *trodden down by Gentiles*,—that *the times of the Gentiles are not fulfilled*. And yet, the Gentiles who at this moment tread the courts of the Sanctuary, in nothing resemble those to whom the prophecy seemed applicable, in the first instance. Human foresight could never have imagined them; could never have predicted them; could have formed no idea of their rise, of their progress, of their character, of their power;—in short, they are Gentiles of that *caste*, to use a term now familiarized among us, which never could have been contemplated by the diviners, the seers, the pseudo-prophets, of the period when these memorable and indefeasible words were uttered.

This demands closer examination: for, correctly speaking, the struggle against Christ and his doctrine, by the Jews and their polity, lay very much between that Holy Place, the Temple at Jerusalem, and the principle asserted by our Lord, in his conversation with the woman of Samaria, of worship equally acceptable to the Father, in all places alike. Of what was Christ accused?—Of intending “to DESTROY THE TEMPLE OF GOD,” Matt. xxii. 61. Mark xiv. 58. Comp. John ii. 19. Of what was the protomartyr Stephen accused?—“This man ceaseth not to speak *blasphemous words against this HOLY PLACE*;—for we have heard him say, that Jesus of Nazareth SHALL DESTROY THIS HOLY PLACE,” Acts vi. 13. Of what was Paul accused?—“Men of Israel, help! this is the man who teacheth all men every where against the people, and against the law, and *against this Place*: and he hath brought Greeks also into the TEMPLE, AND HATH POLLUTED THIS HOLY PLACE,” Acts xxi. 28.

This was the watch-word to instigate popular fury; and it may be said, without offence against truth, that Christ fell a victim to the prejudices of the people in favour of the Temple; and not to those only of the mere mob; for Caiaphas, the High Priest, not unnaturally dreaded lest the Romans should come and take away our PLACE”—i. e. our Holy Place; in other words, should destroy the Temple, John xi. 48. The consequences of these prejudices, we know; we know too, that Stephen was murdered; and that Paul was on the point of being murdered, from an infuriated impulse of the same zeal: “the Temple of the Lord!!! the Temple of the Lord!!! the Temple of the Lord!!!”

The continuation of this history is happily preserved to us in the Works of Josephus: from them we learn that to the very day of the total ruin of their nation, the zealots presumed on a miraculous interference from Heaven, in favour of the sacred Edifice on which they had set their hearts; and, as they supposed, the Divi-

nity had set his heart also. The flames devoured it: an inconsiderate Roman soldier, disregarding its magnificence, set fire to it; and in spite of every effort of the general to save so costly and splendid a Building, it sunk into a heap of mouldering ruins.

Before this time, the prediction of Christ that it should be *trodden down by the Gentiles*, was universally known; and as the preliminary part of the prediction was fulfilled in the destruction of this venerated object, it could not but excite the faith and confidence of Christians, the grief and mortification of the Jews, and the admiration of the whole world. There can be no doubt, but what it contributed much to the spread of Christianity: it was a signal event; an event that justified many inferences. But there still remained a part of the prophecy to be accomplished. The phrase "*times of the Gentiles*," was ambiguous: it might bear various interpretations: the Jews would naturally put the most favourable construction on it, so far as they regarded it at all; and the power by which the Temple had been destroyed, would retain a persuasion of possessing the ability, whenever it felt the inclination, of restoring this sacred Edifice from desolation to splendor. It is a question of some consequence to us, whether the attempt was ever made, and how far it succeeded?

Notwithstanding the severe lesson the Jewish nation had received, by the miseries suffered from the superiority of the Roman arms under Titus, yet this people, in their various dispersions, zealously cherished the hope of restoration. To accomplish this, they depended on their own prowess. Hence continual seditions and rebellions; insomuch that the ordinary policy of statesmen forbade the heathen Roman emperors from entertaining any thought of assembling the Jews in a national body; and Adrian found it necessary to punish them, to banish them, and to oppress them still more than his predecessors had done. [See ADRIAN, in the *Dictionary*.] Their turbulence continued, though their power was extinguished; nor could succeeding Emperors venture to place any confidence in them. At length, the empire became Christian in the person of Constantine; and when it could least of all be expected, an attempt was made, under auspices, which, at the moment might be deemed uncommonly favourable: and these we shall consider, with their circumstances and consequences.

No. DLXXIV. OF JULIAN'S ATTEMPT TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE.

FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS, or JULIAN, was nephew of Constantine the Great: he was born Nov. 6. A. D. 331. He was educated a Christian; but, taking a liking to the dictates of the philosophers, he indulged his inclination to the ancient religion of the empire; and when he succeeded to the Imperial power, [A. D. 361.] he exerted it, in opposing the progress of Christianity, and in restoring all things to their former state. His education as a Christian brought him acquainted, among other points of learning, with the prediction of Christ respecting the Temple of Jerusalem; and he hoped to thwart that, with the doctrine at large, by annulling so much of it, as remained unaccomplished. It was, then, less from regard to the Jews, than from well-informed hatred to the Christians, that he proposed to re-build the Temple, and that he commanded his officers and governors to assist this undertaking to the utmost. This order they obeyed: Alypius, governor of Antioch, set himself to the work with the greatest resolution; and made considerable progress in the necessary preparations.

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As might be expected, the Jews forwarded the labours with enthusiastic zeal: it is even said, by Gregory Nazianzen, "that their women not only contributed with great readiness all their valuable ornaments, but also gave their personal assistance to the work, carrying earth in their robes and richest garments, not thinking any thing too much to promote so pious a design." Chrysostom adds, that even the blind, and those who were debilitated by old age, yet gave their assistance.—And now, what could prevent the completion of this design? The Christian writers, *oratorically*, describe the interruption it received as miraculous; but their evidence has been charged with partiality. No such charge, however, can rest on that of Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen, a good historian, who had been well acquainted with the emperor Julian, for many years. He says, "When therefore Alypius had set himself to the work with the greatest resolution, and was also assisted by the governor of the province, frightful balls of fire (*globi flammurum*) broke out near the foundations; and those eruptions being repeated, they rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, who were scorched and burnt several times before they left off. But the element continuing to repel them, they ceased from their enterprize."

This testimony is decisive as to the fact: nor are the causes of this fact so impenetrable in the present day, as they were, perhaps, in the days of Dr. LARDNER. A building so extensive as the Temple of Jerusalem, would demand different preparations in various parts of its site. In some places, the rock would be the natural foundation, and easily accessible; in other places, remains of the ancient foundations would be preserved sufficiently entire to receive new constructions. [So in rebuilding St. Paul's Church, after the fire of London, Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN availed himself of the old foundation, in nine-tenths of its extent.] Vast quantities of earth and rubbish would require removal, from different quarters; thereby opening vaults and caverns (constructed, as the Rabbins affirm, by Solomon, *deep* in the rock,) which had been closed for ages. Whoever is acquainted with our coal-mines, knows, that certain inflammable *gasses* (the fire-damp, &c.) collect among their workings, which often by contact with the atmospheric air, explode; but, especially, if light or fire approaches. Many lives are annually lost by such explosions: (and many more were formerly lost, before the application of Sir HUMPHRY DAVY's Safety Lamp.) Something analogous occurs in the subterranean constructions of ancient ruins: and, in short, there are many instances, in various situations, of fatal accidents occasioned by the combustion of long-imprisoned *gasses*.

We are not to suppose that all the labours of this undertaking were in an equal state of forwardness; nor that these globes of flame burst out from all parts, alike; nor that the terrified workmen confined themselves to philosophical accuracy in describing what they saw and what they felt. Neither are we bound to contemplate an interposition of Heaven beyond the operation of natural causes. When Gregory Nazianzen says of the Jewish women at work, as above described, — "being interrupted by a hurricane and an earthquake, they ran away for shelter," we may acknowledge our assent. We may farther acknowledge the effects of lightning, and of other electric phenomena, without implicitly believing "a light from heaven, exhibiting a cross with a circle round it, and marking a cross on the bodies and garments of spectators." We freely admit (as Socrates says,) that "there came down from heaven a fire which consumed all the workmen's tools: and you might see mallets, irons for polishing stones, saws, axes, spades, and all such instruments which are made use of in building, consumed by the flames: the

fire preyed on these things for a whole day together:"—we admit this, because we know, it is the property of iron, therefore of iron tools, to attract lightning; as it is of lightning to consume them: nor is it impossible that this "fire from heaven," or its attendant meteors, might inflame the *gasses* existing in the subterranean vaults, &c. &c. now exposed to its action.

The testimony involves the character of Ammianus Marcellinus, a Heathen; of Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, Christian fathers; all four contemporaries. The authorities for the fact are brought together by *J. Alb. Fabricius*. Nevertheless, LARDNER objected to the history, from the best of motives: GIBBON would have objected, but was compelled to say "such authority (as the story rested on) should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous mind."

When four contemporary credible writers agree in the main incidents of a fact, nothing short of evidence unusually preponderating can justify our denial of that fact: nor should it be overlooked, that the Christian relators appeal on this subject to the observation and evidence of the most competent witnesses, with a boldness that implies their complete conviction of its truth.

By premising that the works were in different states of forwardness, we have prepared the reader to conclude, that, though all were forsaken, yet some would be sufficiently raised above the foundations to evince the obedient diligence of the overseers and workmen. Nor, is it necessary to suppose that when Omar built the present mosque he would remove all tokens of those preceding labours. —They still exist; and for the discovery of their existence we are indebted to Dr. E. D. CLARKE, in whose mind they had occasioned diversified reflections. He first thought they might be part of the original constructions of the Temple. He says,—“By the sides of the spacious area in which it [the Mosque of Omar] stands, are certain vaulted remains: these plainly denote the masonry of the ancients; and evidence may be adduced to prove that they belonged to the foundations of Solomon’s Temple. We observed also that *reticulated stucco*, which is commonly considered as an evidence of Roman work.”

He afterwards changed his mind; and in a Note in his Appendix, the Dr. says, “The extraordinary appearance of the *opus reticulatum* in this building, being irreconcilable with Jewish masonry, may lead to a very curious, if not important inference, concerning these foundations. The author was at first inclined to believe, with Phocas and Golius, that they were remains of the Temple of Solomon, as it was restored by Herod, a few years before the Christian æra. Judæa, it is true, was then a Roman province; but it does not necessarily follow, either that Roman workmen were employed, or that the Roman taste was consulted in the style of the superstructure.”

[Indeed the text of Josephus seems to prove the contrary; for he states, that the Jewish priests were employed to superintend the plan of the work, and the labours of the artificers.—*Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 14.*]

“On maturer deliberation, after duly considering what has been written on the subject, particularly by Chrysostom, there seems every reason for believing, that, in the *foundations* here alluded to, we have a standing memorial of Julian’s discomfiture, when he attempted to rebuild the Temple; and perhaps of a nature which might have satisfied Lardner himself, that his doubts concerning the fact were unwarrantable. Ammianus Marcellinus, whose testimony, as that of a Heathen writer, confounded even Gibbon’s incredulity, pretty plainly indicates that some progress had

been made in the work, before the prodigy occurred which rendered the place inaccessible to the artificers whom Julian had employed. It is expressly stated by him, that Alypius was *earnestly employed in carrying on the building*, and that the Governor of the province *was assisting the operation*, when the flames burst forth. Chrysostom, alluding to the fact, as notorious, and attested by living witnesses, says, "YEA, THEY MAY VIEW THE FOUNDATIONS LYING STILL BARE AND NAKED; AND IF YOU ASK THE REASON, YOU WILL MEET WITH NO OTHER ACCOUNT BESIDES THAT WHICH I HAVE GIVEN." From these concurring testimonies, and from the extraordinary remaining evidence of the *opus reticulatum*, it can hardly be denied but that an appeal may be made to these remains as the very work to which Chrysostom alludes. The words of Ammianus seem to warrant a similar conclusion: *Metuendi globi flammarum PROPE FUNDAMENTA crebris assultibus erumpentis.*" On what authority Mosheim asserts that the Jews who had "*set about this important work were obliged to desist, before they had even begun to lay the foundations of the sacred edifice,*" does not appear; except it be upon the following passage from Rufinus, "*Apertis igitur fundamentis calces cœmentaque adhibita; nihil omnino deerat, quin die postera, veteribus deturbatis, nova jacerent fundamenta.*" Warburton, who has cited this passage, is nevertheless careful, in weighing the evidence as to the fact, to consider the testimony of Chrysostom as of a superior nature, being that of a living witness; whereas Rufinus, who lived in the subsequent age, could only relate things as they had been transmitted to him; therefore the appeal made by Chrysostom to the existence of the *foundations* may be supposed to supersede any inference likely to be derived from these words of Rufinus, as to their not having been laid before the Prodigy took place; and the present appearance of the *opus reticulatum* in the masonry, proves that the workmanship is strictly Roman. Prideaux, in his "Letter to the Deists," makes indeed a bold assertion, and without veracity, in saying, that there "*is not now left the least remainder of the ruins of the Temple*, to show where it once stood; and that those who travel to Jerusalem, have no other mark, whereby to find it out, but the Mahometan mosque erected on the same plot by Omar." There is in fact a much better mark; namely, *the mark of Julian's discomfiture*, in the remains of Roman masonry upon the spot: and if this be disputed, it can only be so, by admitting that the foundations now "*lying bare and naked*" were those of the temple built by Herod; in direct opposition to authenticated records concerning their demolition by Titus, who commanded his soldiers to dig up the *foundations* both of the Temple and the city. "Both the Jewish Talmud and Maimonides affirm," says Whitby, "that Terentius Rufus, the captain of his army, caused a ploughshare to rase the soil whereon the *foundations* of the Temple stood.

"After all that has been said, let the reader bear carefully in mind, that the prophecy of Christ, existing in full blaze, needs not any support from the establishment of Julian's miraculous discomfiture. The ruin of the Temple, and of the city; the abolition of the Mosaical dispensation; the total overthrow and dispersion of the Jews; constitute altogether an EXISTING MIRACLE, perplexing the sceptic with incontestable proof of the Divine origin of our religion."

We have no occasion to add to these reflections of the learned and intelligent writer. The facts are before the reader; and we leave him to the pleasure of seeing the authority of the Christian advocates and historians established on a basis so undeniable and satisfactory.

We may observe, nevertheless, in conclusion, that we are not bound to take too strictly the expressions of the Jewish writers that Rufus passed a ploughshare over *ALL PARTS* of the *foundations* of the Temple. As that edifice stood on a rock; and was greatly built into the rock, those deeper parts would escape the ravages of fire, and could not be dislocated without greater labour than they cost to construct them. Some, even of Solomon's foundations, laid with large heavy stones, may still be in their places.

It remains merely to hint, that from the numerous instances he had seen of Roman work, &c. Dr. CLARKE was a perfect judge of the certainty of what he saw, and was not likely to mistake Saracen work, or any other, for genuine labours of the Romans, as practised at the date assigned to this event. We may safely rest on the Doctor's competency, among our many other obligations to him.

No. DLXXV. ANCIENT SEPULCHRES ON MOUNT SION.

THE following account by Dr. CLARKE, of his discovery on the outside of the walls of Jerusalem, is important: it refers to times and events more ancient than those of the foregoing Number; and therefore more closely connected with the Bible History. The remarks annexed are reprinted from the *LITERARY PANO-RAMA*, vol. xiii. p. 803. *et seq.*

"We had been to examine the hill which now bears the name of Sion; it is situated upon the south side of Jerusalem, part of it being excluded by the wall of the present city, which passes over the top of the Mount. If this be indeed Mount Sion, the prophecy (Mich. iii. 12.) concerning it, that the plough should pass over it, has been fulfilled to the letter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived. Here the Turks have a mosque over what they call the tomb of David. No Christian can gain admittance; and as we did not choose to loiter among the other legendary sanctities of the Mount, having quitted the city by what is called "Sion Gate," we descended into a dingle or trench, called Tophet, or *Gehinnon*, by Sandys. As we reached the bottom of this narrow dale, sloping towards the Valley of Jehosaphat, we observed upon this side of the opposite mountain, which appears to be the same called by Sandys the "Hill of Offence," facing Mount Sion, a number of excavations in the rock, similar to those already described among the ruins of Telmessus in the Gulph of Glaucus: and answering to the account published by Shaw of the *Cryptæ* of Laodicea, Jebilee and Tortosa. We rode towards them; their situation being very little elevated above the bottom of the dingle on its southern side. When we arrived, we instantly recognised the sort of Sepulchres which had so much interested us in Asia Minor, and, alighting from our horses, found that we should have ample employment in their examination. They were all of the same kind of workmanship, exhibiting a series of subterraneous chambers hewn with marvellous art, each containing one or more repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers. Comp. Isaiah xiv. 15. 18. Ezek. xxxii. 20. &c. p. 550.

"Upon all the Sepulchres at the base of this Mount....there are inscriptions in Hebrew and in Greek. The Hebrew inscriptions are the most effaced: of these it is difficult to make any tolerable copy. Besides the injuries they have sustained by time, they have been covered by some carbonaceous substance, either bituminous or fumid, which rendered the task of transcribing them yet more arduous.

The Greek inscriptions are brief and legible, consisting of immense letters deeply carved in the face of the rock, either over the door, or by the side, of the Sepulchres.

“ Upon the first we observed these characters :

+ T H C A Γ I A C
C I W N

OF . THE . HOLY
SION

“ Having entered by the door of this Sepulchre, we found a spacious chamber cut in the rock, connected with a series of other subterranean apartments, one leading into another, and containing an extensive range of receptacles for the dead. . . .

“ The Hebrew inscriptions, instead of being over the entrances, were by the side of the doors. Having but little knowledge of the characters with which they were written, all that could be attempted was, to make as faithful a representation as possible of every incision upon the stone, without attempting to supply any thing by conjecture; and even admitting in certain instances doubtful traces, which were perhaps casualties caused by injuries the stone had sustained, having no reference to the legend. . . .

“ From the imperfect state of this inscription, and the decomposition of the rock itself, whereon it is placed, the copy may be liable to error. It was made, however, with great care, and due attention was paid to the position of the lines. The words of the inscription are supposed to be Arabic, expressed in Hebrew and Phœnician characters. All the face of this mountain, along the dingle, supposed to be the Vale of *Gehinnon* by Sandys, is marked by similar excavations. p. 556.

“ Continuing our researches along this dingle, as it inclines towards the east, before its junction with the larger Valley of Jehosaphat, we came to Sepulchres . . . similar to those described . . . near the place commonly shewn as *Aceldama*, or the *Field of Blood*.

“ None of these inscriptions are now in a state to be interpreted . . . In the second, the mixture of letters usually called Etruscan and properly Phœnician, with the characters of the Greek alphabet, added to the imperfect state of the inscription, seem to render illustration hopeless.

“ In some of these Sepulchres were ancient paintings, executed after the manner of those found upon the walls of Herculaneum and Pompeii; except that the figures represented were those of the Apostles, the Virgin, &c. with circular lines, as symbols of glory, around their heads. These paintings appeared upon the sides and upon the roof of each sepulchral chamber, preserving a wonderful freshness of colour, although much injured by Arabs and Turks, whose endeavours to efface them were visibly displayed in many instances.” p. 568.

What Dr. C. describes as “ hopeless,” and abandons in despair, it becomes me not to attempt without the greatest circumspection and modesty. In desperate cases all that can be done is to guess, at a peradventure; and where nothing of consequence depends on the result, *conjecture* impeaches neither the intention, nor the integrity of the conjecturer. I could willingly have spared myself this laborious enquiry; but, apparently, the discovery affords evidence in support of Biblical history; and that object is worth the trouble. I therefore state my thoughts; desiring the reader to accept them as CONJECTURES only.

I begin with the second inscription, copied from Dr. C. page 568. What are blanks in Dr. C. are marked in smaller letters. The first three lines read thus:

ΘΗΚΗΔΙΑΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΤΙ. FL.
 ◇ΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΟΝ◇ΣΤΗ[
 P R I N C E P S I & B E N A S
 ΘΘΛΛ...Ι&Γ
 C O Γ I & H

Θηκη—a *Conditorium*, or receptacle for the dead, a Sepulchre;—δια στρατηγον—*by order of the general*, Titus Flavius, Son of Vespasian, Prince of the Roman Youth.”

Whatever be thought of the letters proposed for filling up the blanks, it is clear that this inscription mentions, “*the Son of Vespasian*,”—also, that the existing word in the third line is a *Latin* word, *juvenes*;—and that the first is a Greek word importing a *Sepulchre*. The following lines of the original, which are too much obliterated to be read, may be names of persons (soldiers?) here deposited by order of the general;—the last word transcribed seems to be ΣΙ&Ν.

The Roman army was composed in part of foreigners, ignorant of Latin; and among them Asiatics, equally ignorant of Greek: nor can we suppose the soldiers, natives of Italy, were themselves learned. We are not, therefore, to wonder at incorrect language written by them, or at the mixture, conspicuous in this inscription, which presents at the same time Greek words and Greek letters; with a Latin word and Latin letters; also Phenecian letters, and originally, no doubt a Phenecian word.

Supposing this inscription to commemorate soldiers who fell at the siege of Jerusalem, under Titus, I avail myself of whatever authority it affords for assigning a like character to the inscription No. 1. Dr. C. page 555. The upper lines of it are too much mutilated to be restored by me; but being Hebrew letters, they may possibly refer to Galilean troops. The last line but one I read thus:—

ΣΥΥΣ ΓΟΙΝΤΧΙΑΐ
 S Y R U S G O I N T T I L I N

Whether this be one name, *Cyrus Quintillian*, or two names, *Cyrus* and *Quintillian*, I know not; nor is it of any consequence. It is enough, that this inscription also contains several names; and that neither *Cyrus* nor *Quintillian* can be deemed Hebrew.

Moreover, this inscription is a mixture of letters derived from different languages. The third letter in *Cyrus*, is the Hebrew *resh*, ר. the x in *Quintillian*, is the Samaritan *tau*, or ט; the last letter but one is the Hebrew *jod*, י; and the last letter itself is the Samaritan *nun*, נ. Thus we have two demonstrative proofs of a mixture of letters in the same inscription, written by soldiers, at the date of the promulgation of the Gospel. Thus has Providence very unexpectedly brought to light an undeniable evidence for the truth of the Gospel History, in a matter apparently so minute, and incidental, as to have escaped the imaginations of all critics and commentators, to this day; neither *could* they have conjectured the truth.

All our learned say, the inscription on the cross of Jesus, was in three LANGUAGES: “It was,” says Dr. Doddridge, “written in *Latin*, for the Majesty of the Roman Empire; in *Greek*, for the information of the vast numbers of Hellenists that used that language, as indeed most provinces of the Roman empire did; (see

Brerewood's Enquiries, chap. i—iv.) and in *Hebrew*, as it was the vulgar language." That is to say, it was in fact, three inscriptions, each in a different language.

It never could enter the mind of any reader that one single inscription was written in *words* borrowed from three different languages (as the inscriptions copied by Dr. CLARKE evidently are)—much less that any single inscription, so short as this, could be written in *letters* belonging to three different alphabets.—But what says the Evangelist Luke, chap. xxiii. 33?—"a superscription also was written over him in LETTERS ἑρμηνεύων, of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew." Had it been in three parts, each in one *language*, it might have been (by one writer at least of the four) described as three *inscriptions*; but all the evangelists mention it as *one* inscription; and the apostle John is particular in saying it was *a title*, and *THE title*, in the singular. Now, from these inscriptions in the rocks of Mount Sion, we learn, that it was an ordinary thing for the soldiery to employ *letters* of the three languages in *one inscription*; and if Pilate wrote that "title" himself; or, which is much more likely, transferred the labour to some low officer of his guard, the writer did no more in so doing, than did the soldiers of Titus's army a few years afterwards. I have heretofore had occasion to vindicate the correctness of the information obtained by St. Luke, and must be allowed to consider this as another instance of his *punctilious* accuracy.

It is probable, that this superscription was merely written—with chalk, perhaps; and roughly enough—on a board that was nailed to the head of the cross; not on paper, as painters usually represent it. The monks say the board was olive-wood.

It is obvious to remark what support these inscriptions afford to history, which attributes the destruction of Jerusalem to Titus: no additional argument is really necessary: but the reader will compare with this evidence what has been adduced on occasion of the Arch of Titus, in Nos. cci. cciii.

N. B. This mixture of languages and letters accounts at once for the verbal variations observable in the superscription, as given by the evangelists; each preserving the sense of it, though unable to give a *fac simile* copy of it to the reader.

No. DLXXVI. OBSERVATIONS ON DR. CLARKE'S LOCATION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

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—"IT is from [pious] extravagances, constituting a complete system of low mercenary speculation and priestcraft throughout this country, that devout, but weak men, unable to discriminate between monkish mummary and simple truth, have considered the whole series of topographical evidence as one tissue of imposture, and have left the Holy Land worse Christians than they were when they arrived. Credulity and scepticism are neighbouring extremes: whosoever abandons either of these, generally admits the other. It is hardly possible to view the mind of man in a more forlorn and degraded state than when completely subdued by superstition; yet this view of it is presented over a very great portion of the earth; over all Asia, Africa, almost all America, and more than two-thirds of Europe: it is difficult to say where society exists without betraying some or other of its modifications; nor can there be suggested a more striking proof of the natural propensity in human nature towards this infirmity, than that the Gospel itself, the only enemy that superstition ever had, should have been chosen for its basis. In the Holy Land, as in Russia, and, perhaps, in Spain and Portugal, the Gospel is only known by repre-

sentations more foreign from its tenets than the worship of the sun and the moon. If a country, which was once so disgraced by the feuds of a religious war, should ever become the theatre of honourable and holy contest, it will be when Reason and Revelation exterminate ignorance and superstition. Those who peruse the following pages, will, perhaps, find it difficult to credit the degree of profanation which true religion has here sustained. As it now is, the pilgrims return back to their respective countries, either divested of the religious opinions they once entertained, or more than ever shackled by the trammels of superstition.

“Among the early contributors to the system of abuses thus established, no one appears more pre-eminently distinguished than the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the First, to whose charitable donations these repositories of superstition were principally indebted. No one laboured more effectually to obliterate every trace of whatsoever might have been regarded with reasonable reverence, than did this old lady, with the best possible intentions, whensoever it was in her power. Had the sea of Tiberias been capable of annihilation by her means, it would have been desiccated, paved, covered with churches and altars, or converted into monasteries or markets of indulgences until no feature of the original remained.”

Such are the reflections of DR. CLARKE, on his entrance into the Holy Land; and to their general truth I subscribe without reluctance. The Doctor, however, has, in one particular instance, that relating to Mount Calvary, contradicted so diametrically all foregoing writers, that I cannot avoid a few remarks on his new hypothesis. The reputation of the author renders such investigation necessary; for, if his principles be erroneous, and yet should prevail, assuredly the latter error will be worse than the first; and the extreme of believing nothing reported by monks, may prove more injurious to Christianity than that credulity which, in common with the Doctor, I sincerely and deeply lament. Happy would it have been, as I suppose, if Helena had left the sacred places to speak for themselves, and narrate their history in all the simplicity of nature—*IF they were in the SIMPLICITY OF NATURE, in her time;*—but, if they were already spoiled, disfigured, and laboriously thrown into confusion, by the governing powers *BEFORE HER TIME*, then it seems to be treating her memory with unmerited harshness, to impute to her those effects, which we now regret. She did no more than restore to honour those places which she found purposely and violently mutilated, and *EXCESSIVELY* dishonoured.

DR. CLARKE has shewn himself a rash geographer, in reference to the Holy Land, in several instances; and it will not surprize any one to find, that he has erred with equal infelicity in determining the situation of Mount Calvary with relation to the city of Jerusalem. Speaking of the place of Crucifixion, he asks,

“Of what nature was that place of crucifixion? It is very worthy of observation, that every one of the Evangelists (and among these, “he that saw it and bare record”) affirm that it was “*the place of a Skull*”; that is to say, a *public cemetery*, “called in Hebrew, *GOLGOTHA*; without the city, and very near to one of its gates. St. Luke calls it *CALVARY*, which has the same signification. . . Can there be aught of impiety or of temerity in venturing to surmise, that upon the opposite summit, now called Mount Sion, without the walls, the crucifixion of the Messiah was actually accomplished? . . . Among the Sepulchres at the base of this Mount, “There was one which particularly attracted our notice, from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour’s tomb. The large stone that once closed its mouth had been, perhaps for ages, rolled

rolled away. Stooping down to look into it, we observed, within a fair Sepulchre, containing a repository, upon one side only, for a single body; whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two. It is placed exactly opposite to that which is now called Mount Sion. As we viewed this Sepulchre, and read upon the spot the description given of Mary Magdalene and the disciples coming in the morning, (John xx.) it was impossible to divest our minds of the probability that here might have been the identical Tomb of Jesus Christ; and that up the steep which led to it, after descending from the gate of the city, the disciples strove together, when "John did outrun Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre." They are individually described as *stooping* down to look into it; they express their doubts as to the possibility of removing so huge a stone, that when once fixed and sealed, it might have baffled every human effort. But upon this, as upon the others already mentioned, instead of a Hebrew or Phenecian inscription, there were the same Greek characters, destitute only of the Greek cross prefixed in the former instances."

Dr. CLARKE, accordingly, in his Map of the City of Jerusalem, has placed three crosses, at no great distance from these Tombs, indicating his opinion as to the place of the Messiah's crucifixion. This hypothesis it is my purpose to invalidate, by observing,—

I. That by universal consent, the place of the crucifixion is called MOUNT *Calvary*;—Dr. CLARKE himself calls it "*a hill*:" he even complains of those who think it might be a *low* hill:—Now, in the place marked by him, *there is no hill whatever*; but *a descent*, between the town of Jerusalem and the city of David: and the Doctor describes the disciples as "*descending* from the gate of the city." This argument alone were decisive, till this ingenious traveller finds a *hill* in this place.

II. In such a confined situation as the Doctor has chosen for the scene, no transaction could be beheld *from a distance*; yet it is expressly said, Matthew xxvii. 55. Luke xxiii. 49. "*all his acquaintance*, and many women were there, beholding *afar off*"—This implies a certain elevation; such a situation, only, being sufficiently conspicuous; it implies moreover an open place.

III. The Dr.'s scene being the public passage from Jerusalem to the City of David [as Temple-Bar from London to Westminster] the Jews would never have suffered the profanation of the Holy City by the execution of criminals within its precincts.

IV. That travellers did not enter Jerusalem by passing through the City of David, is most probable, as they now do not; Simon the Cyrenian, therefore, *coming out of the country*, was not met with hereabouts; and "*those travellers who passed by and reviled*," did not *pass by* here.

V. It was "*as the soldiers came out*," *i. e.* from the governor's residence,—not from Jerusalem, they met Simon, coming out of the country:—Now the governor's residence being in the *northern* part of Jerusalem, they certainly met Simon in that *northern* part; not in the *south*, where Dr. CLARKE has placed the crosses.

VI. That it is probable tradition is right in fixing the "Gate of Justice" near to the governor's residence;—whereas, Dr. CLARKE places it at the farthest possible distance; so that the concourse must have passed through the very heart of Jerusalem; which, considering the then agitated state of the public mind, presents a formidable objection.

Let us now examine what really are the Local Particularities required by the story.

I. The NAME of the place was in Hebrew GOLGOTHA. It is admitted that this term

signifies *a skull*; but it seems to have obtained this signification, not arbitrarily, but in conformity with the import of its root, which therefore demands enquiry.—

Most probably this name alludes to the form of the rising; and is derived from the root *gal*, a circle, knoll, or *rotundity*. Being in the duplicate form, *Gal-gal-ta*, it expresses—circle around circle, or circle above circle [as *Gilgal*, wrote *Galgala* in the Greek, 1 Macc. ix. 2.] or, *round upon round*; which I take to be its import here, with an emphatic suffix; “THE round upon round.” Compare Joshua xviii. 17: and for the emphatic prefix, Neh. xii. 29. [also, what is said in a following No.]

II. The Greek term employed by the Evangelists to translate this Hebrew term is *κρανίον*, *kranion*; which imports the *top* or *summit* of the head: [it is applied in Homer to the summit of a mountain;] the *cranium*, not the whole head; and this farther appears from the name given to the place in Latin,

III. CALVARY, from *Calvus*, a bald *pate*: or the upper part of the head, where baldness begins and fixes itself. Not the whole head, *caput*, from the neck upwards; but that prominence on the head, which is a smaller round (the *pate*) on a larger round (the skull). In some persons this is very conspicuous; in all it is sufficiently marked to justify the distinction between *pate* and *head*. There may be much hair on the *head*, the *pate* of which is bald. [Comp. Gen. xlix. 26.]

Dr. C. in supposing (with Stockius) that the term means “*place of sepulture*,” is very unfortunate; it being always used in the singular, “the place of *A Skull*,” to support his notion it should have been in the plural, “the place of (many) *skulls*.” This peculiarity of form in the rock was what distinguished it when free from buildings, &c.—Has Dr. C. found such a double hill, heap, knoll, or rising, where he has placed his crosses?

Farther, admitting it necessary to allow a public place of sepulture, near to a gate of Jerusalem, we may well be content with that traditionally called “*the Valley of Dead Bodies*,” which intervened between the ancient Gate of Justice, and the present Mount Calvary; and occupied part, if not the whole, of the *four hundred paces* in length of that interval: how much it might occupy in depth, I am unable to determine. The term “*Valley of Dead Bodies*,” much more accurately marks a *public cemetery*, than “the place of *A (single) skull*.” But, if we attend closely to the words of the evangelist Luke, we find that the name of the spot was “*Skull*,” or “*the Skull*.” He says, verse 33. “*and when they were come to a place CALLED καλούμενον—KRANION,—THE SKULL.*”——Now, why should it be called by this name, if not from resemblance to this part of the human frame?

It may be worth while to enquire whether all traces of this peculiarly shaped rock are obliterated?—I acknowledge that they are disguised, under the disfigurations of the Empress Helena. Father Bernardino shall be our guide. He says, “The space occupied by Mount Calvary is now divided into two parts, forming Chapels; the first of these is *twenty-one palms*, in width; and *forty-seven* in length. . . . The second division of Mount Calvary is *eighteen palms* in width, and *forty-seven* in length. . . .

Speaking of the Chapels, he says, they are not on the same level; but, “the MOUNT is in height towards the north two palms and a half; and towards the S.W. two palms and ten inches: and the SMALLER RISING (*il poggiolo*) is in height *seven inches two minutes and a half*. This was the place of the bad thief. Towards the north, the place of the good thief,—it is in height *one palm and six inches*. . . .”

“The steps under the arch towards the north leading to the LITTLE HILL, are in height—the first, *two palms*,—the second, *one palm ten inches*. . . .”

“The letter H. is THE PROPER MOUNT CALVARY;”—This letter H. is placed on the rising described as *il poggiolo*, the LITTLE HILL: marked by a circle, as the place of the cross of Jesus.

This is evidence that this ignorant and superstitious Monk distinguished two **RISINGS** in Mount Calvary; though Dr. CLARKE passed the distinction over without notice. How greatly his observation confirms the derivation traced in the name, may safely be left to the reader's intelligence.

To obtain a clear idea of Mount Calvary we must imagine a rising, [now] about *fifteen* feet high.—[The ascent comprizes *eighteen* stairs. The first flight contains *ten stairs*, the second flight contains *eight*. There are also two others.]—in length more than *forty feet*; and in width more than *thirty feet*; and upon this, nearly in the center, a smaller rising about *seventeen inches* in height; which smaller rising is, says Bernardino, “IL PROPRIO Monte CALUARIO.”

After this, how can Dr. CLARKE affirm that there exists no evidence in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; “*nothing that can be reconciled* with the history of our Saviour's [sufferings and] burial. In order to do away this glaring inconsistency, it is affirmed that Mount Calvary was levelled for the foundations of the church, that the word *oros, mons*, does not necessarily signify a mountain, but sometimes a *small hill*.”—But, would any man, about to fortify a city, suffer a *high hill*, or considerable mountain, on the outside of the city walls, much within bow-shot? He would, surely, either enclose or level such a mount: otherwise, an enemy, occupying this station, by a rapid movement, would drive away the besieged, and without farther effort master the place. Any body may be convinced of this, by consulting Bernardino's twenty-first plate. The idea is ridiculous;—but the good father was an ecclesiastic, not an engineer. It is a venial transgression in him.

We may, however, derive from him farther proof of the course of the ancient wall of the city: for certainly the city wall ran *inside* the ditch or valley which contributed to its defence; and if we find the valley, we know where to place the wall. It will be remembered that this valley was itself a hollow, a kind of dell, in the natural rock.

After noticing the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Valley of Zion *which separates the City of David* from Jerusalem, and others, in proof that Jerusalem stands on a hill *surrounded on all sides by valleys*, he says, p. 59. “*Evers 'Ostro era la Valle de corpi morti, sopra la quale stà il Monte Caluario discosto dalla porta quattrocento passi, come di sopra hò detto, et queste Valli non sono da tutti conosciute, se non da guiditio; e sendo alcune piene d'habitationi; ma chi vuole affaticarsi, et inuestigar le cose troua si non il tutto, in parte.*”—And towards the south-west is the Valley of Dead Bodies, beyond which stands Mount Calvary, distant from the Gate [of Judgment] four hundred paces, as observed above; and these valleys are not known to all, but to the judicious only; they being each of them full of habitations; but whoever will take the trouble to examine the matter closely will find parts of them, if not the whole.” In consequence of this, he has represented a deep ditch accompanying the city wall, between that and Mount Calvary. This determines the extent of the ancient city.

Dr. CLARKE makes himself merry with the monkish tales told of the fissure in “the proper Mount Calvary.”—He says, “at the extremity of this chapel they exhibit a fissure, or cleft in the natural rock: and this, they say, happened at the crucifixion. Who shall presume to contradict the tale? [Who shall say it did *not* happen at that time, and on that occasion?] But, to complete the *naiveté* of the tradition it is also added, that THE HEAD OF ADAM WAS FOUND WITHIN THIS

FISSURE." Again I recur to the monk Bernardino.—"In the fissure is seen *the RESEMBLANCE of a HUMAN SKULL*—which some say is that of Adam; while others say he was buried in Hebron with the other Patriarchs." It is well known, that the Hebrew term *Adam* signifies *man* in general: and to the ignorance of pilgrims of the language in which they received information when visiting the holy places, we owe this *équivoque*. This *RESEMBLANCE of a man's skull*, has been converted into *Adam's skull*, because *Adam* signified *man*.

This circumstance furnishes another thought. This *resemblance* to a human skull is at some depth in the cleft. Is it possible that this cleft should have been open *before* the crucifixion, and that this *imitative skull* should have given name to the mount? If so; it fixes the true station of Mount Calvary to *this place*, beyond all impeachment. Farther, this cleft was certainly open *very soon after* the crucifixion, for we find the blunder about *Adam's head* in early Fathers. Theophylact says, "it is a *tradition*:"—his witnesses are Origen, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Athanasius, &c.—It must have taken some time for this *tradition* to be formed. After all, the Fathers were not deceived by it; for Jerom says expressly, "This is a favourable interpretation, and *pleasing to the ears of the people*;—but IT IS NOT TRUE." Nevertheless, in proportion as we trace this tradition upwards, we narrow the time in which the cleft could have first appeared. It could not be *long* after the crucifixion, when it was first noticed. Might it not be *immediately* after? The monks say it happened *at the time*.—Is it of necessity false, because the monks say it?

I close this account of Mount Calvary, with the statement of distances on the *Via Dolorosa*, as measured by the author who has been our dependence.—[Compare the PLATE, MAP of JERUSALEM.]—From the Palace of Pilate to the Arch of Exposition are *sixty paces*; and from the Arch to where the Holy Mother met her Son, is *one hundred paces*: and from thence to the place where [Simon] the Cyrenian was met, is *sixty paces*; from thence to the house of the Pharisee is *ninety paces*; from thence to the house of Veronica is *seventy-five paces*; and from thence to the Gate of Judgment is *one hundred paces*; and from thence to Calvary is *four hundred paces*; making in all, *nine hundred and forty paces*; or about one mile.

If the situation of Mount Calvary be ascertained, that of the Holy Sepulchre follows of course, being near it; nor would any discussion respecting it have been necessary, had not the Doctor's remarks, in the passage transcribed, demanded some consideration, by way of acknowledgment to their author. He did right to read upon the spot the accounts given by the Evangelists.—But, he has not considered, that,

I. The intention of Providence in placing the body of Jesus in the Tomb of Joseph,—a *new Tomb*—in which *no man had yet been laid*, was, to keep it apart from a number of bodies; so that by no possibility could the objection be raised that "*some other person had been restored to life*, not Jesus."—This would have been completely vitiated by interring him among many, in the rocks pointed out by Dr. CLARKE.

II. The Tomb was (apparently) unfinished: the term *rolling* applied to the stone with which it was closed for the moment, is not that which would be used to denote such a *fixing* of the proper stone by closely *fitting it into the groove*, as implied no farther intention of removal. For, observe, the body was not definitively buried; it was merely preserved, by being hastily strewed over with aromatics; and the women who came early to the Sepulchre, on the second morning after, intended to *anoint* it, one of the chief preparations for burial. Those women, then, who "beheld the Sepulchre, and how the body was laid," did not think the interior of the structure inaccessible. They were ignorant of the placing of the Roman guard of soldiers, and of the sealing

of the stone by the priests: additional securities taken by those most interested, which sufficiently prove that the monument was not finally, but only hastily, closed. Had the proper stone been immoveably fixed, the watch (*sixty men*, say some) had been security sufficient, without the sealing: or, the sealing without the watch. Dr. CLARKE himself informs us, that Tombs finally closed are not to be opened, except by those who have the secret, or by destructive violence; neither of which powers was possessed by the few disconsolate fishermen, disciples of Jesus; or by a company of two or three feeble women.

III. The terms by which the Evangelists describe the nature of this tomb deserve examination. It was, says Matthew, [Joseph's] own new Tomb which he had *cut in the rock*." It was, says Mark, "a Sepulchre *cut out of rock*." But, Luke, omitting the words "*in the rock*," chooses another word to express the workmanship of this Sepulchre; "he placed him a Tomb (or monument) *HEWN*"—*λαξευτῶ*. The Dictionaries give this word the sense of—to polish stones—to carve, or cut stones ornamentally. It should seem then, that, although advantage was taken by Joseph, of some rock rising up to day, in his garden, yet when wrought for a Tomb, being not altogether suitable to a man of his consequence, its deficiencies were supplied with hewn stones, carved into proper form: *i. e.* the body of the Tomb was rock; but a frontispiece was worked to it, to make it handsome. The extent of this rock, or of this frontispiece, we have no means of knowing. The Sepulchre, it should seem, was intended for *one person* only.

Not unlike is the Tomb now shown for that of the Saviour. It is affirmed to be a rock encased with building. Heartily do I wish the building were not there: heartily do I agree with honest Sandys,—“those naturall formes are vtterly deformed, which would haue better satisfied the beholder; and too much regard hath made them lesse regardable. For as the Satyre speaketh of the fountaine of *Ægeria*,

How much more venerable had it beene,
If grasse had cloth'd the circling banks in greene,
NOR MARBLE HAD THE NATIVE TOPHIS MARR'D.”

Yet Sandys speaks expressly of “a compast rooffe of *the* SOLID ROCKE, but lined *for the most part*, with white marble.” This distinction is not noticed by Dr. CLARKE; neither has Dr. CLARKE noticed that the Frontispiece to this Tomb is confessedly modern;—that in this exterior building the arch of the roof is *pointed*; whereas, in the interior chamber, the arch is *circular*:—Proof enough of reparation, without consulting the monks. But if Mr. HAWKINS's History of this Church be correct, in which he says, “Hequen, caliph of Egypt, sent Hyaroc to Jerusalem, who took effectual care that the church should be *pulled down to the ground*, conformably to the royal command:”—if this be true, no doubt, the sepulchre, which was the principal object of veneration in the church, was demolished *most unrelentingly*. It would, therefore, be no wonder to find, that the present building is little other than a shell over the spot assigned to the tomb; and this without any reflection on the character of “old lady” Helena, who could not foresee what the Saracens would do nearly nine hundred years after her death. [Compare the history in a following No.]

Under these circumstances I submit the tomb to the reader's candour: yet would remind the Dr. that there is (or was) such another tomb, I mean as to its standing above ground, as to its allowing entrance to persons, and the performance of religious rites within it, in the edifice called “the Sepulchre of the Virgin.” And, as nearly as I can

learn, that called "the Tomb of David," is of the same kind. So that this Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre is by no means singular.

I abandon, to the Doctor, the altars of the casting lots, &c. &c. believing them to be mere *commemorations*, not that the facts happened on the very feet and inches where the altars stand. In fact, I hold fast to Mount Calvary, principally.

On the whole, we are called to admire the proofs yet preserved to us by Providence, of transactions in these localities nearly two thousand years ago. Facts which, for centuries, employed the artifices and the power of the supreme Government in Church and State, of the Jewish Hierarchy, and of the Roman Emperors, to subvert,—to destroy the evidences of,—yet the evidences defied their malignity;—of the barbarians—Saracens, and Turks, to demolish; but they still survive:—of heathen philosophy, and *soi-disant* modern philosophy, to annul, but in vain. The labours of Julian to re-edify the Temple continue almost *living* witnesses of his discomfiture. The sepulchres of the soldiers who fell in assaulting Jerusalem, remain *speaking* evidences of the destruction of the city, according to prediction, by the Romans. The Holy Sepulchre stands a traditional memorial of occurrences too incredible to obtain credit, unless supported by super-human testimony. Or, if that be thought dubious, Mount Calvary certainly exists, with features so distinct, so peculiar to itself, and unlike every thing else around it, that in spite of the ill-judged labours of honest enthusiasm, of the ridiculous tales of superstition, and the mummery of ignorance and arrogance, we have only to compare the original records of our faith with circumstances actually existing, to demonstrate that the Works on which our belief relies, were actually written in the country, at the time, and by the persons—eye-witnesses—which they profess to be.

No. DLXXVII. THE SUBJECT RESUMED, AND FARTHER INVESTIGATED.

NO wise or honest man will attempt to vindicate an error, under the supposition that it has become venerable or even tolerable, by lapse of ages; and much deference is due to the exertions of competent evidence to detect fallacies, however respectably supported: on the other hand, it does not follow that the suspicions in which modern times indulge, are always well founded, or point at real and substantial misconceptions. Dr. CLARKE more than suspected the correctness of those ancients who placed the scene of the Crucifixion, and of the Resurrection, on the spot now known as Mount Calvary; and a still later traveller, Capt. LIGHT, in his "Travels in Egypt, Nubia, and the Holy Land," has expressed equal dissatisfaction at the continued imposition. These Gentlemen are independent witnesses; and therefore the greater regard is due to their testimony: this will apologize for farther investigation of particulars, which were, as we supposed, dismissed.

Nor is this subject trivial; if indeed the Christian world has been beguiled during so many ages, it is high time the offence were removed; but, if our intelligent countrymen are themselves mistaken, the exposure of their mistakes may counteract the influence of their example. Our object is truth: the issue of the question is, in all other respects, indifferent.

Capt. LIGHT's words are, "The Jews have many synagogues at Jerusalem, but very small, and more filthy than those I have seen in other parts of the East. Although they are oppressed and treated with more contempt at Jerusalem than elsewhere, they still flock to it. To sleep in Abraham's bosom is the wish of the old; the young visit it in the hopes of the coming of the Messiah; some are content to remain, for the commerce they carry on."

“ They pay a heavy tax to the Turkish governor at Jerusalem. The sums to the aga of Jaffa when they land, and to the chief of St. Jeremiah for safe conduct, produce a large revenue to both. The Jewish quarter, as in all Eastern towns, is separate from the rest. I found men from all nations, except England.

“ About four or five years before my arrival, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was burnt down : an accident charged by some to the Armenians, who knew that none of the other sects had money enough to rebuild it ; whilst they, having the command of money, might make what terms they pleased, and obtain what portion of the holy places they chose ; and thus, from the visits of pilgrims, have good interest for their capital.

“ In the preceding pages I have alluded to the circumstance of bringing every thing connected with the crucifixion of our Saviour under one roof, and particularly that of fixing the Sepulchre close to the place of crucifixion. Had not a divine of the church of England combatted the probability of the former being the actual burial place of our Saviour, I should have hesitated in giving an opinion on the subject. In doing so I acknowledge the sacredness of the spot ; but when I saw Mount Calvary within a few feet of the alleged place of sepulture, and the apparent inclination to crowd a variety of events under one roof, I could not help imagining that the zeal of the early Christians might have been the cause of their not seeking amongst the tombs further from the city the real sepulchre. In the Valley of Jehoshaphat, there are caverns which have evidently been tombs : many of them with a stone portal, and bear marks of great antiquity. The text in Scripture says the stone was rolled away, which certainly applies more to a vertical than a horizontal position, the supposed situation of the present tomb ; and is contrary to the custom prevalent of burying the dead in tombs excavated in the sides of rocks, of which memorials are to be found in all parts of the East. As I made these observations before I read Dr. Clarke’s account of Jerusalem, I was much gratified in finding his opinion coincide with mine.”

Capt. LIGHT is mistaken in describing Dr. CLARKE as “ *a divine of the Church of England* :” that this is not his only mistake, will appear, it is hoped, as we proceed.

The first step to be taken in this enquiry is, to determine what kind of sepulchral edifice was that constructed by Joseph of Arimathea, and this can only be accomplished, by strictly examining the words of the original writers who describe it. Dr. CLARKE having inspected a great number of ancient tombs cut in the rock, in various parts of the countries through which he had travelled, and not a few at Jerusalem, itself, as observed in a foregoing Article, had suffered this idea to take entire possession of his mind : he looked for an excavation in a rock, *and nothing more*. But, before we determine that there really was nothing more, we are bound to examine whether the terms employed by the Evangelists to describe the eventually sacred Sepulchre, are completely satisfied, by this restricted acceptance.

It is so well known that the Greeks employed several terms to describe different kinds of sepulchral constructions, that a bare notice of it, is sufficient in this place : Ταφος, Σημα, Τυμβος, Σορος, Σαρκοφαγος, Μνημειον, &c. all refer to the deposition, interment, or commemoration of the dead ; but these are not indiscriminately interchangeable ; though, perhaps, we may find τυμβος connected occasionally with most of them ; and ταφος, possibly, with all of them.

Matthew, (whose work it will be remembered, is a translation from the Syriac) uses two words to describe Joseph’s intended place of burial ; chap. xxvii. verse 60. he says, *he laid the body of Jesus in his own new μνημειω*, [TOMB. Eng. Tr.]—*and they*

rolled a great stone to the door τῆ μνημεῖς [of the SEPULCHRE. Eng. Tr.]—And there were Mary Magdalen, &c. sitting over against τῆ ταφῆς [the SEPULCHRE, Eng. Tr.] This rendering of the same word, μνημεῖον, by both *tomb* and *sepulchre* is injudicious. Campbell more prudently continues to each term of the original that by which he had first chosen to express it, in English: “he deposited the body in his own *monument*—Mary Magdalen, &c. sitting over against the *sepulchre*.”—“Command that the *sepulchre*, τὸν ταφόν, be guarded.”—“Make the *sepulchre*, τὸν ταφόν, as secure as ye can.”—Mary Magdalen, &c. went to visit the *sepulchre*, τὸν ταφόν. “Come, see the place where the Lord lay;—they went out from the *monument*, τῆ μνημεῖς.” I conceive, then, that what is rendered *monument* implies a kind of frontispiece, or ornamental door-way, [the *stone portal* of Capt. LIGHT.] and the Evangelist may include the chambers in this term, as from these the women *came out*. It will follow, that the women, if they sat behind the *taphos*, or on either side of it, while Joseph, &c. were washing and preparing the body, were, as decorum demanded, somewhat withdrawn from the *monument*; to which they directed their attention, not till the body was deposited, or on the point of being deposited. I do not perceive that either of the other Evangelists uses more than one term—the *monument*. The nature of this will justify our closer inspection of it.

The Evangelist Matthew says, this *monument* was ἐλατομήσεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, *cut out—hollowed out—scooped out of the rock*, which formed the substratum of the soil; while his other term, *taphos*, intends the external hillock, or mound-like form of the rock, rising above the general level of the ground. There is no occasion for going beyond the volumes of Dr. CLARKE for proof of this acceptation of the term *taphos*: whether we accompany him among the Tumuli of the Steppes, or those in the plain of Troy,—the Tomb of Ajax,—the Tomb of Æsyetes (which are conical mounds of earth, like our English *barrows*) of which the Dr. gives views, all are *taphoi*.

Mark repeats nearly the words of Matthew, in reference to the *monument*: but Luke, by using the term λαξευτῶ, affords a more precise idea. The word signifies to cut and *polish* stones; it is composed of λας, *a stone*, and ξεω, *to polish, to carve*: but, this carving and polishing implies a pattern, an ornamental figure, of some kind. No man would say of the Sepulchres simply excavated in the rock of the Holy Sion, that they were carved, cut, or polished. To say the least, this Sepulchre of the “rich man of Arimathea,” may be compared to the Sepulchres discovered at Telmessus; of which Dr. CLARKE says,—“In such situations are seen excavated chambers, worked with such marvellous art as to exhibit open façades, porticoes with Ionic columns, gates and doors beautifully sculptured, on which are carved the representation as of embossed iron-work, bolts, and hinges.”

Those ornaments were hewn in the rock; but St. Luke’s words are not restricted to this sense; for, it should seem that the very term rendered *monument*, leads us to *building* of some kind, *prefixed* to the rock; or even standing above it. This evangelist’s phrase, chap. xi. 47. is express to the point, οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα—“ye *build* the *monuments* of the prophets,” where the term *build* is explicit; and it is farther elucidated—if it admits of farther elucidation,—by the “small temple,” built over the excavated Tomb of Joseph; and others, already quoted. Perhaps, even, this term, μνημεῖον, includes or implies some kind of *construction*, not merely excavation; so in the Tomb, of which Dr. CLARKE gives a delineation, p. 244: Helen “*constructed this monument* for herself.”—τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν—but, this *monument* is “composed of five immense masses of stone,” wrought into conjunction;

tion; and forming an upper chamber, "which seemed to communicate with an inferior vault." And this—*construction*—is the regular import of the term *kateskeuasen*, which as regularly accompanies the term *monument*. See CLARKE, p. 250. 256. Montfaucon, vol. v. p. 38, 39. several instances; and in the latest travellers, as Walpole, vol. ii. p. 538. *et al.*

This distinction seems to be observed Mark v. where we read of the man with an unclean spirit, verse 2. who coming out of the *monuments*, τῶν μνημείων, met Jesus; and we are told that he had taken up his residence in the *monuments*, and that he was night and day in the *monuments*, and in τοῖς ὕπερι, the caverns of the mountains," (Schleusner) that is to say, in the sepulchres excavated from the mountain rocks. It is worth while to understand this; inasmuch as we may otherwise look for what we ought not to expect to find. The Sepulchre of David, Acts ii. 29. was a *monument*, not an excavation in the rock of Zion. The rocks were rent, Matt. xxviii. 32. but the *monuments* in which the dead were deposited were opened. This distinction, however, has escaped Parkhurst, in his Article. He says, "the history of the demoniacs, Matt. viii. 28. is well illustrated by what we are told of the philosopher Democritus by Diogenes Laertius, he sometimes lived in *tombs*, ταφοῖς; and by Lucian, that shutting himself up in a *τὸμβ* [no: in a *monument*, μνημα] he there continued writing and composing both night and day." So did Silius Italicus in the *monument* of Virgil; which is a round tower, near Naples.

We conclude, then, on the authority of Matthew, that the intended burial place of Joseph of Arimathea, presented two distinctions, a *Taphos*, and a *Mneion*.

No. DLXXVIII. REMARKS ON CAPT. LIGHT'S MISCONCEPTION.

IF we have successfully "shewn cause" in favour of the present Mount Calvary, the objections of Capt. LIGHT may be dismissed in a few words. That writer has not observed, that we are bound by the expressions of the Evangelist John, to the same spot. "*Now there was IN the place (ἐν τόπῳ) where he was crucified, a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre . . . There they laid Jesus, . . . for the sepulchre was NIGH AT HAND,*" ἐγγύς, close by, adjoining. Whatever were the size of the garden, the Sepulchre was at that part of it which adjoined the place of crucifixion, and therefore was very convenient to those who were performing, in all haste, certain respectful services to the corpse. This evidence completely settles the point.

But, there is a passage in the Old Testament which may prove not inapplicable to this New Testament subject. Jeremiah describing the restoration of Jerusalem, says, chap. xxxi. 38. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built again from (1) the Tower of Hananeel unto (2) the Gate of the Corner; and the measuring-line shall yet go forth over against it, upon the hill (3) Gareb, and shall compass about to (4) Goath; and the whole (5) Valley of the Dead Bodies, and of the Ashes, and all the (6) fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of (7) the Horse Gate toward the east, shall be holy to the Lord." If the reader will consult the PLATE, PLANS of JERUSALEM, No. 3. this evidence will speak for itself. (1) The Tower of Hananeel was certainly in the north of the city;—suppose, at the Tower Antonia; proceeding westward, (2) the Gate of the Corner must have been at that angle where the city wall takes a southerly direction, and runs in a line remarkably straight, to the Tower Phasael. The hills (3) Gareb and (4) Goatha, גִּתְיָא, by the phrase used concerning them, were out of the original limits of the city: and if *Goatha* be, as supposed, the same with *Golgotha*, [Heb. *the Heap of Gotha*] the order in which it is placed

fixes the scene of the crucifixion to the north-western part of the city, at the present Mount Calvary. Here also we find, as described by Bernardino, (5) the Valley of Dead Bodies, or, as the prophet says “the *whole* Valley of Dead Bodies,” implying a considerable length, undoubtedly along the wall, running southward: Which brings us to the very discovery made by Dr. CLARKE, of Tombs in the Hill of Sion: for the prophet next describes the course of the city wall as embracing (6) all the *fields*, says our translation;—but, Aquila renders τα προαστια, *the suburbs*; and the Vulgate, *regionem mortis*, the region of death, *i. e.* of interments; reading, with twenty-five mss. and six editions, השרמות, instead of השרמות; and in two words, instead of one. This Region of the Dead in the *suburbs* of the city of David, extends from the Tower of Phasaël eastward, along the valley called *Tropæum*, towards the brook Kidron, and ends at (7) the Horse Gate, south of the south-east corner of the Temple.

Thus have we made the circuit of the walls of Jerusalem; excluding the precincts of the Temple, which were already holy to the Lord, therefore, needed not to be particularized, and Mount Zion, the city of David. If the prophet's words be taken to imply that Gareb and Goatha should be included in his new city (as the word to *compass about*, seems to imply) then we see this exemplified, at this day. And we certainly are greatly obliged to Dr. CLARKE, whose discovery of Tombs in the rock of Sion, enables us to understand a passage of S.S. which has always heretofore been misinterpreted, being constantly taken in connection with the “Fuller's Field,” or with the “Valley of Hinnom,” or some other adjacency, instead of being, as it ought to be, considered as denoting a place of sepulchres, *regionem mortis*; not of dishonourable but of honourable interment. The reader who consults Dr. BLAYNEY's notes *in loc.* will see what superior advantages are now in our power.

The necessity for maintaining the proper distinction between the honourable and the dishonourable places of interment at Jerusalem, will farther appear from considering an action of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, Jer. xxvi. 23. who caused Urijah the prophet to be brought out of Egypt, to Jerusalem, where the king slew him with the sword, and cast his dead body *into the graves of the common people.*” Not into the sepulchres on the Holy hill of Sion: no; criminals—and as such Jehoiakim treated Urijah—were not suffered to be buried there; but, at “the Valley of the Dead Bodies and of the Ashes,” near, or at, Goatha or Golgotha: this ignominious interment operating as an additional punishment. The place, like that formerly on the Esquiline at Rome, as Horace says, Sat. 8.

Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulchrum,

consisted of pits dug to receive the poor, the slave, and the malefactor: and such, no doubt, was the intention of the Sanhedrim in the case of Jesus. They thought by crucifying him at Golgotha he would be thrown, undistinguished, into the nearest pit in the Valley of Dead Bodies; and no more would be heard of him: but, when they found this intention counteracted by the intervention of Joseph and Nicodemus, they equally found themselves under the necessity of adopting other measures; and, however unwilling, of again applying to Pilate, for a Roman guard, in addition to what force was under their own command. The order of events is truly remarkable.

Can we let this part of our discussion close, without observing the powerful light it throws on the oppositions enforced by the prophet Isaiah, liii. 9? *His Sepulchre was assigned* (יָרַח) *with the impious* (plural), *but eventually with the rich man* (singular) *were his mortuary rites* (מִיתָה). This term has embarrassed critics and commentators. They see it cannot be literally taken for *death*s, as the subject of it was

already *cut off out of the land of the living*; and *deaths* in the plural, cannot apply to a single man. Bp. LOWTH has a long note on it, and proposes to render it *his tomb*; but the word being plural, will not follow that construction. We have the same word in the same sense, in reference to the prince of Tyre, Ezek. xxviii. 10. where also it cannot mean *deaths*, as in our translation; for the same reason; and the prophet had previously said, verse 8. *They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die* [rather, be treated after death,] without funeral rites, like those who are thrown overboard during the hurry of a battle,—or who perish in a storm,—or at a great distance, at sea: literally (בְּ) *without the funeral rites* (מִוְתֵי) *of those who are cut off in the heart of the sea*. The prophet repeats his asseveration of the disgrace of this proud prince; *Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? but, thou shalt be a mere man, and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee. The mortuary rites* (מִוְתֵי) *of the uncircumcised shall be thy funerals* (תַּמּוֹת) *in the hand of strangers*: No pomp, no procession, and no monument to commemorate thy exploits and thy dignities after death!

No. DLXXIX. THE HISTORY OF CALVARY FARTHER CONSIDERED.

WHETHER any deference be due to the conjecture which suggests Παροιμι instead of Παρθικι as the inscription of the First Epistle of John, may be left undetermined here; but certain it is, that many thousands of strangers resorted every year to Jerusalem, for purposes of devotion; and these would find themselves interested, with more than ordinary interest, in the transactions which that city had lately witnessed, and with the multitudinous reports concerning them, which were of a nature too stupendous to be concealed. The language of Luke (xxiv. 28.) plainly imports wonder that so much as a single pilgrim to the Holy City could be ignorant of late events; and Paul appeals to Agrippa's knowledge, that "these things were not done in a corner." It is, in short, impossible, that the natural curiosity of the human mind—to adduce no superior principle—should be content to undergo the fatigues of a long journey to visit Jerusalem, yet, when there, should refrain from visiting the scenes of the late astonishing wonders.

So long as access to the Temple at Jerusalem was free, so long would Jews and proselytes from all nations pay their devotions there; and so long would the inquisitive, whether converts to Christianity, or not, direct their attention to Mount Calvary, with the Garden and Sepulchre of Joseph. The Apostles were at hand, to direct all enquirers; neither James nor John could be mistaken; and during more than thirty years the localities would be ascertained beyond a doubt, by the participators and the eye-witnesses themselves. Though the fact is credible, yet we do not read of any attempt of the rulers of the Jews to obstruct access to them, or to destroy them: but, it is likely that they might be in danger on the breaking out of the Jewish war, A. D. 66. and especially on the circumvallation of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. The soldiers of Titus, who destroyed every tree in the country around to employ its timber in the construction of their works, would effectually dismantle the Garden of Joseph: and we cannot from this time reckon, with any certainty, on more of its evidence than what was afforded by the chambers cut into the rock; and possibly, the portal, or monument, annexed to them.

At the time of the commotions in Judea, and the siege of Jerusalem, the Christians of that city retired to Pella, beyond the Jordan. These certainly, knew well the situation of Mount Calvary; nor were they so long absent, as might justify the

notion that they could forget it, when they returned; or, that they were a new generation, and therefore had no previous acquaintance with it. They were the same persons; the same church officers, with the same bishop at their head, Simeon son of Cleophas; and whether we allow for the time of their absence two years, or five years, or seven years, it is morally impossible that they could make any mistake in this matter. Simeon lived out the century; and from the time of his death to the rebellion of the Jews under Barchochebas, was but thirty years, too short a period, certainly, for the successors of Simeon, at Jerusalem, to lose the knowledge of places adjacent to that city. That Barchochebas and his adherents would willingly have destroyed every evidence of Christianity, with Christianity itself, we know; but whether his power included Jerusalem, in which was a Roman garrison, may be doubted.

The war ended some time before A. D. 140. and from the end of the war we are to consider the emperor and his successors as intent on establishing his new city, *Ælia*, and on mortifying to the utmost both Jews and Christians, who were generally considered as a sect of the Jews. It is worth our while to examine the evidence in proof of the continued veneration of the Christians for the Holy Places, which should properly be divided into two periods; the first to the time of Adrian's *Ælia*; the second from that time to the days of Constantine.

Jerom, writing to Marcella, concerning this custom, has this remarkable passage: *Longum est nunc ab ascensu Domini usque ad præsentem diem per singulas ætates currere, qui Episcoporum, qui Martyrum, qui eloquentiam in doctrina Ecclesiastica virorum venerint Hierosolymam, putantes se minus religionis, minus habere scientiæ, nisi in illis Christum adorassent locis, de quibus primum Evangelium de putibulo coruscaverat. Ep. 17. ad Marcell.*

“During the whole time from the ascension of the Lord to the present day, through every age as it rolled on, as well bishops, martyrs, and men eminently eloquent in ecclesiastical learning, came to Jerusalem; thinking themselves deficient in religion, and in religious knowledge, unless they adored Christ in those places from which the Gospel dawn burst forth from the cross.”

It is a pleasing reflection that the leading men in the early Christian communities were thus diligent in acquiring the most exact information: they spared no pains to obtain the Sacred Books in their complete and perfect state, and to satisfy themselves by ocular inspection, so far as possible, of the truth of those facts on which they built the doctrine they delivered to their hearers. So Melito, Bishop of Sardis, [A. D. 170.] writes to Onesimus, “When I went into the East, and was come to the place where those things were preached *and done* :”—So we read that Alexander, Bishop of Cappadocia, A. D. 211. *going to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer, and to visit the sacred places*, was chosen assistant-bishop of that city. This seems to have been the regular phraseology on such occasions; for to this cause Sozomen ascribes the visit of Helena to Jerusalem, “for the sake of prayer, and to visit the sacred places.”—

But this might properly introduce the second period in this history;—on which we lay great stress: it is no longer the testimony of friends; it is the testimony of enemies; it is the record of their determination to destroy to their utmost every vestige of the Gospel of Christ. On that determination we rest our confidence; they could not be mistaken; and their endeavours guide our judgment.—Says Jerom, *Ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Jovis, in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur, existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus,*

quod tollerent nobis fidem resurrectionis et crucis, si loca Sancta per idola polluissent. Bethlehem nunc nostrum et augustissimum orbis locum, de quo Psalmista canit, Veritas de Terra orta est, lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, i. e. Adonidis; et in specu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris Amasius plangebatur. Ess. 13. ad Paulin.—

“From the time of Hadrian to that of the government of Constantine, about the space of one hundred and eighty years, in the place of the Resurrection was set up an image of Jupiter; in the rock of the Cross a marble statue of Venus was stationed, to be worshipped by the people; the authors of these persecutions supposing, that they should deprive us of our faith in the Resurrection and the Cross, if they could but pollute the Holy Places by idols. Bethlehem, now our most venerable place, and that of the whole world, of which the Psalmist sings, *Truth is sprung out of the earth*, was overshadowed by the grove of *Thammus*, i. e. of Adonis; and in the cave where once the Messiah appeared as an infant, the lover of Venus was loudly lamented.”

This is a general account of facts; a few additional hints may be gleaned from other writers. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 17.* says, “Those who followed the faith of Christ, after his death, held in great reverence [or worshipped,] the monument of that wonderful work. But those who hated the religion of Christ, filled up the place with a dyke of stones, and built in it a temple of Venus, with a figure standing up on it; by which they intended to dissipate all recollection of the Holy Place.

Ἀφροδίτης κατ' αὐτὴν ναὸν κατασκευάσαντες ἐπέστησαν ἄγαλμα, μὴ ποιοῦντες μνημεῖον τοῦ τόπου.

Sozomen is more particular: We learn from him that—“The Gentiles by whom the church was persecuted, in the very infancy of Christianity, laboured by every art, and in every manner, to abolish it: the Holy Place they blocked up with a vast heap of stones; and they raised that to a great height, which before had been of considerable depth; as it may now be seen. And moreover, the entire place, as well of the Resurrection, as of Calvary, they surrounded by a wall, stripping it of all ornament. And first they overlaid the ground with stones, then they built a temple of Venus on it, and set up an image of the goddess—*Περιλαβόντες δὲ περίξ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χώρον καὶ τοῦ Κρανίου, διεκόσμησαν, καὶ λίθω τῶν ἐπιφάνειαν κατέστρωσαν:—καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸν κατασκεύασαν, καὶ ζώδιον ἰδρύσαντο.*—their intention being, that whoever there adored Christ, should seem to be worshipping Venus: so that, in process of time, the true cause of this worship in this place should be forgot: and that the Christians, practising this, should become also less attentive to other religious observances; while the Gentile temple and image worship, should be, on the contrary established.”

If any credit be due to these Historians, the heathen levellers had left but little to be done by “old lady Helena” in the way of deforming these sacred objects. They had, with the most violent zeal, changed the features of every part: what was originally a hollow they raised into a hill; what was high they cut down and levelled: to use a homely phrase, they turned every thing *topsy-turvy*. Helena could only cause these places to be cleared and cleansed: to reinstate them in their first forms, was out of her power. And that the evidence of this desecration should not rest on “monkish historians,” Providence has preserved incontestible witnesses in the medals of Adrian, [See the PLATE, MEDALS OF JERUSALEM.] which mark him as the *founder* of the new city, *Ælia*, and exhibit a temple of Jupiter, another of Venus, and various other deities, all worshipped in the once Holy City.

It is evident, that if the rock of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre were surrounded by the same wall, as Sozomen asserts, they could not be far asunder; and this wall,

with the temples and other *sacra* it enclosed, would not only mark these places, but, in a certain sense, would preserve them; as the Mosque of Omar preserves the site of the Temple of Solomon, at this day. While, therefore we abandon to Dr. CLARKE and Capt. LIGHT, the commemorative altars and stations, which we think it not worth while to defend, and while we heartily wish that all these places had been left in their original state, to tell their own story, we must be allowed to relieve the memory of the Christian Empress from the guilt of deforming by intentional honours, these sacred localities; and the monks, however ignorant or credulous, from the imputation of imposing on their pilgrims and visitors, in respect to the site of the places they now shew as peculiarly holy.

Unhappily, our wishes do not terminate here; for we are under the necessity of regretting that we do not now see these places as “old lady Helena” left them. They have been so frequently violated since her time, by the enemies of the faith they commemorate, that we are bound to render thanks to Providence that the rock, itself, remains; and that the principal facts were not transacted on marshy ground, or on yielding sand, but on a rock. They have in later ages suffered destructions, in more than one form; proofs of which we shall extract from Mr. HAWKINS’S *History of Gothic Architecture*, Lond. 1813.

“It appears that the Mahometan prince Aaron had contracted a friendship with Charlemagne, to whom he sent a very splendid embassy, accompanying it with a multitude of valuable presents; and that in consequence of his respect for that emperor, he, in A. D. 813. permitted the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem to be REBUILT, the care of which rebuilding was accordingly committed to Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem, who caused the structure to be re-erected on a larger scale and more magnificently than it had existed before. . . . Constantine Monomachus, emperor of the East, caused the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem to be REBUILT, which *the Saracens had destroyed at the end of the tenth century.*

“For these latter facts Felibien refers to William archbishop of Tyre, whose work occurs among the collection entitled *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Willermus, as he is there called, says, vol. i. p. 630, that he wrote his book in the year 1113; and in the same volume 631, mentioning Hequen, the caliph of Egypt, [A. D. 996. 1009.] he relates, that, amongst other pernicious acts, he commanded the Church of our Lord’s Resurrection, which had been erected by Maximus, bishop of that city, at the command of Constantine Augustus, and afterwards repaired by Modestus, in the time of Heraclius, to be ENTIRELY DEMOLISHED. By the context he evidently means the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; and he adds farther, that this order was sent to a person named Hyaroc, who, in consequence of it took EFFECTUAL CARE THAT THE CHURCH SHOULD BE PULLED DOWN TO THE GROUND, conformably to the royal command.

“After the death of this caliph, his son Dapher succeeded to his throne; and he, at the request of the Roman emperor at Constantinople, surnamed Heliopolitanus, with whom he renewed a league which his father had broken, and for whom he had contracted a friendship, granted permission to the Christians for the *re-erection of this Church.*”

Whatever the rock may preserve, the superstructure, it appears, dates from the period referred to; for, we may with little risk infer, that if any genuine antiquities, above ground, had escaped the destructive hands of the zealots of Jupiter Capitolinus, they would perish under the orders of the fierce Mussulman, Haquen, and the unsparing desolation of his equally fierce commissioner, Hyaroc.

No. DLXXX.

VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

THIS Print shews not only the *outer chamber*, where the pilgrims are represented in acts of devotion, as is their custom, at the commemoration of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, but the *inner chamber* also, with the Altar marking the place where the body of Jesus was laid. This Altar is adorned with lights, and is held in the utmost veneration. The figures in this chamber are an Armenian, and a Copti priest. The entrance is guarded by Turkish Janissaries: and the pilgrims in the outer chamber, are from various eastern parts. The stone which lies down, and which a pilgrim is kissing, is *supposed* to be that which blocked up the entrance at the time of the resurrection: be that as it may, it is of a size exactly fitted to the door-way of the Sepulchre.

The whole of these sacred premises is ornamented with hangings of damask and gold, at the expense of the king of Spain, (I think Charles III. ;) who also so far patronized the Convent, as to pay the arrears of its debt to the Turks, for permission to attend the sacred precincts. The paucity of pilgrims during late years having been insufficient to pay the expenses of the place, the Convent, of course, was distressed; and must have been abandoned, but for this royal generosity and zeal.

The reader has seen the accounts of SANDYS and MAUNDRELL, which form the proper illustrations of this PLATE, in No. CXXXIX. We shall only add the following:—

“On Easter morning the Sepulchre was again set open very early. The clouds of the former morning were cleared up, and the Friars put on a face of joy and serenity, as if it had been the real juncture of our Lord’s Resurrection.

“The mass was celebrated this morning just before the Holy Sepulchre, being the most eminent place in the church, where the Father Guardian had a throne erected, and being arrayed in episcopal robes, with a mitre on his head; in the sight of all the Turks, he gave the host to all that were disposed to receive it; not refusing children of seven or eight years old. This office being ended, we made our exit out of the Sepulchre, and returning to the convent, dined with the Friars.” MAUNDRELL’s *Travels*, p. 75.

Having lately inspected a model of this holy building, brought from Jerusalem, by one of the British officers who accompanied Sir SIDNEY SMITH, in his ever-memorable defence of Acre, I am led to think, that Mr. MAYER, who made the drawing from which our Plate is engraved, in order to shew the Inner-Chamber advantageously, has made the entrance too large: as it certainly is impossible, judging by that model, to see the Altar in the Inner Chamber, as shewn in our print.

No. DLXXXI. VIEW OF THE RENT IN THE ROCK,
IN THE CHAPEL UNDER CALVARY.

THIS Plate shews the internal appearance of this Chapel seen by an additional light. The Altar at the upper end is decorated with brass candlesticks, and other ornaments. The figures represent Friars, resident in the convent, Turkish Janissaries, and some visitors. The annexed extracts from two of our early travellers give as good an account of it, as any we can offer. The first is from SANDYS.

“Against the east end of the stone there is a little chapel. Near the entrance on the right hand stands the sepulchre of GODFREY of *Bullein*, with a Latin epitaph:

HIC JACET INCLYTUS GODEFRIDUS DE BUGLION, QUI TOTAM ISTAM TERRAM ACQUISIUIT CULTUI CHRISTIANO, CUIUS ANIMA REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN.

Here lyeth the renowned GODFREY OF BULLLIN, who won all this land to the worship of Christ. Rest may his soul in peace. Amen.

On the left hand stands his brother BALDWIN's:

REX BALDWINUS, JUDAS ALTER MACHABEUS,
SPES PATRIÆ, VIGOR ECCLESIAE, VIRTUS UTRIUSQUE:
QUEM FORMIDABANT, CUI DONA TRIBUTA FEREBANT,
CEDAR, ÆGYPTI DAN, HAC HOMICIDA DAMASCUS:
PROH DOLOR! IN MODICO CLAUDITUR HOC TUMULO.

“King BALDWIN, another *Judas Maccabeus*, the hope of his country, the strength of the church, the honour of both: who was formidable to, and to whom tribute was paid by *Kedar*, *Dan of Egypt*, and blood-shedding *Damascus*: Ah, grief! he lies inclosed within this little tomb.”

“At about one yard and a half distance from the hole in which the foot of the cross was fixed, is seen that memorable CLEFT IN THE ROCK, said to have been made by the earthquake which happened at the suffering of the God of nature:—when (as St. *Matthew*, xxvii. 51. witnesseth) *the rocks rent, and the very graves were opened*. This Cleft, as to what now appears of it, is about a span wide at its upper part, and two deep; after which it closes: but it opens again below, (as you may see in another chapel, contiguous to the side of *Calvary*) and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. That this Rent was made by the earthquake, that happened at our Lord's passion, there is only tradition to prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense and reason of every one that sees it may convince him; for the sides of it fit like two tallies to each other, and yet it runs in such intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any instruments.” MAUNDRELL, p. 75.

NO. DLXXXII. HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, BY FIRE, OCTOBER 11-12, 1808.

CAPT. LIGHT having incidentally mentioned the Destruction of this Church by Fire, our readers may be desirous of knowing some particulars of that calamity. For ourselves, we confess, that as Christians, our sympathy is peculiarly interested, by this devastation of the most holy of all edifices dedicated to the worship of Christ, our Lord. As Britons, too, we have our feelings, under the consideration, that the structure in question recorded the piety of a native of our island, an Empress of Rome, and of Rome still great. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was an object of curiosity, also, as being one of the most early Christian temples remaining in tolerable condition; while it was an object of veneration, not merely to those who visited it, but to all, who having examined the history of their religion, were aware that it comprized a number of places sanctified by the sufferings and death of the great Redeemer; and though it could not boast the elegance of classic forms, yet it was in technical consideration much distinguished, as containing sundry instances of the passage of Grecian art toward what is commonly termed Gothic.

We

We believe, that it contained the earliest example of *clustered pillars*: or of two pillars united in one, and performing the office of one, in supporting an entablature. Under whatever character, therefore, we contemplate this fabric, now an immense ruin, we cannot but consider it as interesting.

“*Jerusalem, 24 Oct. 1808.*—In the night between the 11th and 12th instant; after the Franciscan monks, who reside in the Holy Sepulchre, had retired to rest, they heard an uncommon noise in the church: they immediately hastened to the spot: and, on their entering it, they discovered the wooden altar together with the wooden cells of the Armenian ecclesiastics situated over the columns of the gallery, in flames; without their being able to divine the cause. From thence the flames descended upon the choir of the Greeks; and from thence to the floor of the church: the fire now assumed a most awful appearance, and threatened the elevated wooden cupola of the Temple with immediate destruction. The Franciscans used their utmost exertions to stop the progress of the flames; but they were too few in number; they also wanted the necessary implements for that purpose; and when they at last succeeded in alarming the ecclesiastics of the adjacent church c. St. Salvator, and of acquainting them, as well as the police, with what had happened, the flames had already reached the cupola. As soon as the alarm was given, the whole of the Roman Catholic youth of the city rushed immediately to their assistance, and exerted themselves with the greatest zeal and intrepidity, but it was impossible to stop the fury of the devouring element; and, between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning, the burning cupola, with all the melting and boiling lead wherewith it was covered, fell in, and thereby gave this extensive building the awful appearance of a burning smelting-house. The excessive heat, which proceeded from this immense mass of liquid fire, caused not only the marble columns which support the gallery, to burst, but likewise the marble floor of the church, together with the pilasters and images in bas relief, that decorated the chapel containing the Holy Sepulchre, situated in the center of the church. Shortly after, the massive columns that supported the gallery fell down, together with the whole of the walls. Fortunately, no lives were lost; only a few persons were hurt, or scorched by the fire. It is remarkable, that the interior of the above-mentioned chapel containing the Holy Sepulchre, and wherein service is performed, has not been in the least injured, although the same was situated immediately under the cupola, and consequently in the middle of the flames:—even, after the Fire had been extinguished, it was found that the silk-hangings, wherewith it is decorated, and the splendid painting, representing the Resurrection, placed upon the altar at the entrance of the Sepulchre, had not sustained the least injury.

FARTHER PARTICULARS.

It will be recollected, that we have the notice of this event from the Latins only, and must make great allowances for the bias of their minds on this occasion. “*The Franciscans had as usual performed the divine service for the night, before they had retired to their cells.—They clambered by a window into a Turkish house that was near, in order to give the alarm.* [We believe, that their gates of exit and entrance next the city, are locked up, every night, and the keys taken away by the Turks.] *The Catholics exerted themselves, even in the midst of the flames, to save what could be saved.—At three o'clock in the afternoon, six hours after the fire was extinguished, two columns only of the side on which is the small monastery of the Franciscans (opposite to the Greeks) gave way: a part of their gallery, and of the principal wall of their side, fell with it; but, it cost no life to any, though several Catholics were hurt.—The fire has damaged*

the door which separated the chapel from the choir of the main church; but the chapel and cells of their monastery have not suffered any injury.—[The Catholics only were allowed to perform divine service in the Holy Sepulchre, and they lay extraordinary stress on its safety.]—‘They add, that *the Chapels of Calvary, of the Crucifixion, and that of Our Lady of Sorrows, wherein the Catholics only performed the service, have suffered very little; to the great astonishment of all the world. The flames were gradually subdued, after great exertion, and ceased about nine o’clock in the morning of October 12.*’

Our readers will have observed, that the HOLY SEPULCHRE itself, has NOT been destroyed, nor even damaged, by the Fire which has consumed the Church. It is even probable, that most of the places considered as sacred, which were marked in the rock, have likewise escaped destruction. To this preservation, the following circumstances may have contributed. 1. The galleries round the Church were built on arcades; so that each supported itself; and consequently, would fall separately: not the whole in a mass. 2. The roof being open at the top, the draught of air was likely to ensure the combustion of the rafters, first at the end adjoining this opening; whereby the burning brands would fall on the pavement, around the Holy Sepulchre, not immediately upon it. Had there been a lantern on the dome, *that* would, most likely, have fallen down on the Sepulchre, immediately below it, and must have damaged it. [See the Plan of this Church, SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST, PLATE II.]

No. DLXXXIII. ON THE SEPULCHRES OF SOVEREIGNS.

MANY are the incidents of Scripture History which receive illustration from the testimony of sepulchral constructions, still existing; the works of most remote ages. Those which were cut into rocks, or into the sides, or the summits of mountains, have bid defiance to the ravages of time and the destructive powers of barbarians. But we have lately contemplated those only of private persons; or of such simple execution as denoted rather the limited abilities of mere heads of families, than the power of a prosperous nation, or the pomp of distinguished Royalty.

In No. ccx. the reader has seen Mr. MAUNDRELL’s description of the Sepulchres at Jerusalem, usually called the *Tombs of the Kings*: their character is too uncertain to support much stress of argument; since their ornaments have an air of more modern execution than circumstances allow us to attribute to the early Kings of Israel. Some incline to suppose they might be intended for branches of the Royal house of David; others remark that the family of the Herods was numerous, and possibly these Tombs may date from about their time; while others attribute them to Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, not long before the destruction of Jerusalem. It is certain that they are mentioned by Josephus; but, his words as they stand, seem to point at two distinct places of burial; for he says, “the third wall of Jerusalem . . . extending to the north . . . ran opposite to the *Sepulchre of Helena*, and being prolonged by the *Royal Caves*, it formed an angle.” If the *Royal Caves* were not the same as the *Sepulchre of Helena*, then these Tombs were known in the days of that writer, by a name analogous to that which they now bear; and to say truth, it must be confessed, that if they were constructed by Helena, they should rather have borne the name of that *Queen*, than of the *Kings*: to which may be added, that the numerous places for depositing bodies which they contain, appear to have been formed in expectation of many interments, and perhaps in succeeding generations; rather than of one or two only, a mother and her son—of a foreign family.

They are about a mile distant from the city; and certainly are a costly, and princely place of burial. But, it does not appear that we can direct them to the illustration of any particular passages of Scripture. They may stand as proofs of that desire of distinction after death which Princes have often indulged, and in which their intentions have been frequently disappointed, by circumstances beyond their foresight. How often has the name designed to have been perpetuated by a Tomb, been forgot, as if it had never been illustrious; and how often has the most elaborate and flattering inscription become illegible, though originally sacred: succeeding ages have laboured in vain to decypher the characters in which it was written, and the record has proved a blank, even to the most learned.

No instances can more emphatically justify the remark, than those presented, to this day, by the Royal Sepulchres of Egypt. Labour, cost, skill, care, sanctity, have been exerted without reserve: they remain Monuments of vast intentions; they astonish by their profusion:—but, if any ask, on whom was all this lavished?—their silence is instructive in proportion to their magnificence.

If there be any exception to this, it is afforded by that wonderful instance of persevering labour and expenditure, which has lately been restored to light by Mr. BELZONI. It is well known, that the Kings of Egypt spared no expense in preparing splendid receptacles for themselves after death; and those who consider the Pyramids as Sepulchres (which has been a prevailing notion) will easily admit that the posthumous ambition of the Pharaohs was fully commensurate with that which they displayed while living. Not to detain the reader longer in this introduction, we present that gentleman's description of this elaborate performance: for the rest we must refer to his Work, and especially his plates.

No. DLXXXIV. MR. BELZONI'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SEPULCHRE OF PHARAOH NECHO.

“THE entrance into the Tomb is at the foot of a high hill, with a pretty steep descent. The first thing the traveller comes to is a stair-case cut out of the rock, which descends to the Tomb. The entrance is by a door of the same height as the first passage. I beg my kind reader to observe, that all the figures and hieroglyphics of every description, are sculptured in basso-relievo, and painted over; except in the outlined chamber which was only prepared for the sculptor....

“This room gives the best ideas that have yet been discovered of the original process of Egyptian sculpture. The wall was previously made as smooth as possible and where there were flaws in the rocks, the vacancy was filled up with cement, which, when hard, was cut away along with the rest of the rock. Where a figure or any thing else, was required to be formed, after the wall was prepared the sculptor appears to have made his first sketches of what was intended to be cut out. When the sketches were finished in red lines, by the first artist, another more skilful corrected the errors, if any, and his lines were made in black; to be distinguished from those which were imperfect. When the figures were thus prepared, the sculptor proceeded to cut out the stone all round the figure, which remained in basso-relievo; some to the height of half an inch, and some much less, according to the size of the figure. For instance, if a figure were as large as life, its elevation was generally half an inch: if the figure were not more than six inches in length, its projection would not exceed the thickness of a dollar, or perhaps less. The angles of the figures were all smoothly rounded, which makes them

appear less prominent than they really are. The parts of the stone that were to be taken off did not extend much farther, as the wall is thickly covered with figures and hieroglyphics; and I believe, there is not a space on those walls more than a foot square, without some figure or hieroglyphic. The garments, and various parts of the limbs, were marked by a narrow line, not deeper than the thickness of a half-crown; but so exact, that it produced the intended effect.

“ When the figures were completed and made smooth by the sculptor, they received a coat of whitewash all over. This white is so beautiful and clear, that our best and whitest paper appeared yellowish when compared with it. The painter came next, and finished the figure. It would seem as if they were unacquainted with any colour to imitate the naked parts, since red is adopted as a standing colour for all that meant flesh. There are, indeed, some exceptions; for, in certain instances when they intended to represent a fair lady, by way of distinguishing her complexion from that of the men, they put on a yellow colour to represent her flesh: yet it cannot be supposed, that they did not know how to reduce their red paints to a flesh colour, for on some occasions, where the red flesh is supposed to be seen through a thin veil, the tints are nearly of the natural colour, if we suppose the Egyptians to have been of the same hue as their successors, the present Copts, some of whom are nearly as fair as Europeans. Their garments were generally white, and their ornaments formed the most difficult part, when the artists had to employ red in the distribution of the four colours; in which there were very successful.— When the figures were finished, they appear to have laid on a coat of varnish; though it may be questioned, whether the varnish were thus applied, or incorporated with the colour. The fact is, that nowhere else except in this Tomb, is the varnish to be observed; as no place in Egypt can boast of such preservation; nor can the true custom [*costume* !] of the Egyptians be seen any where else with greater accuracy.

“ Immediately within the entrance into the first passage, on the left hand, are two figures as large as life; one of which appears to be the hero entering into the Tomb. He is received by a deity with a hawk's head, on which are the globe and serpent. Both figures are surrounded by hieroglyphics; and farther on, near the ground, is a crocodile, very neatly sculptured. The walls on both sides of this passage are covered with hieroglyphics, which are separated by lines from the top to the bottom, at the distance of five or six inches from one another. Within these lines the hieroglyphics form their sentences; and it is plainly to be seen, that the Egyptians read from the top to the bottom, and then recommenced at the top. The ceiling of this first passage is painted with the figures of eagles.

“ Beyond the first passage is a stair-case with a niche on each side, adorned with curious figures with human bodies, and the heads of various animals, &c. At each side of the door at the bottom of the stairs is a female figure kneeling, with her hands over a globe. Above each of these figures is the fox, which according to the Egyptian custom, is always placed to watch the doors of Sepulchres. On the front space over the door are the names of the hero and his son, or his father, at each side of which, is a figure, with its wings spread over the names to protect them. The names are distinguished by being inclosed in two oval niches. In that of NICHAO is a sitting figure, known to be a male by the beard. He has on his head the usual corn measure, and the two feathers: on his knees the sickle and the flail; over his head is a crescent with the horns upward: above which is, what is presumed to be a faggot of various pieces of wood, bound together, and by its side a group twisted in a serpentine form.

Behind the figure are what are thought by some to be two knives, by others feathers; but, as the feathers are of a different form, I for my part, think they are sacrificing knives, which may have served as emblems of the priesthood; for we know, that the heroes or Kings of Egypt, were initiated into the sacred rites of the gods. Below the figure is a frame of two lines drawn parallel to each other, and connected by similar lines, beneath which is the emblem of moving water.

“ In the next oval, on the right, is a sitting female figure with a band round the head fastening a feather; and on her knees she holds the keys of the Nile. Above the head is the globe, and beneath the figure is the form of a tower, as it is supposed, to represent strength. The faces of both figures are painted blue; which is the colour of the great God of the creation. On each end of the oval frames there is the globe and feathers; and beneath it are two hieroglyphics, not unlike two overflowing basins, as they are under the two protecting figures at each side of the oval frame.

“ Next, is the second passage; on the right hand of which are some funeral processions, apparently in the action of taking the sarcophagus down into the Tomb; the usual boat, which carries the male and female figures upon it, and in the centre the boat with the head of the ram, drawn by a party of men.

“ The wall on the left is likewise covered with similar processions. Among them is the Scarabæus, or beetle, elevated in the air, and supported by two hawks, which hold the cords drawn by various figures; and many other emblems and symbolical devices. The figures on the wall of the well are nearly as large as life. They appear to represent several deities; some receiving offerings from people of various classes.

“ Next, is the first hall, which has four pillars in the centre, at each side of which are two figures, generally a male and female deity. On the right hand side wall there are three tiers of figures one above another, which is the general system almost all over the Tomb. In the upper tier are a number of men pulling a chain attached to a standing mummy, which is, apparently, unmoved by their efforts. The two [tiers] beneath consist of funeral processions, and a row of mummies lying on frames horizontally on the ground. On the left is a military and mysterious procession; consisting of a great number of figures all looking towards a man who is much superior to them in size, and who faces them. At the end of this procession, are three different sorts of people from other nations, evidently Jews, Ethiopians, and Persians. Behind them are some Egyptians, without their ornaments, as if they were captives rescued, and returning to their country, followed by a hawk-headed figure, I suppose their protecting deity.

“ I have the satisfaction of announcing to the reader, that, according to Dr. Young's late discovery of a great number of hieroglyphics, he found the names of NICHAO and PSAMMETHIS, his son, inserted in the drawings I have taken of this Tomb. It is the first time that hieroglyphics have been explained with such accuracy, which proves the Doctor's system beyond doubt to be the right key for reading this unknown language; and it is to be hoped, that he will succeed in completing his arduous and difficult undertaking, as it would give to the world the history of one of the most primitive nations, of which we are now totally ignorant. NICHAO conquered Jerusalem and Babylon; and his son PSAMMETHIS made war against the Ethiopians. What can be more clear than the above procession? The people of these nations are distinctly seen. The Persians, the Jews, and the Ethiopians, come in, followed by some captive Egyptians, as if returning into their country, guarded by a protecting deity. The reason why the Egyptians must be presumed to have been captives,

is, their being divested of all the ornaments, which served to decorate and distinguish them from one another. The Jews are clearly distinguished by their physiognomy and complexion; the Ethiopians by their colour and ornaments; and the Persians by their well-known dress; as they are so often seen in the battles with the Egyptians.

“ In the front of this hall, facing the entrance, is one of the finest compositions that ever was made by the Egyptians; for nothing like it can be seen in any part of Egypt. It consists of four figures as large as life. The god Osiris sitting on his throne, receiving the homages of a hero, who is introduced by a hawk-headed deity. Behind the throne is a female figure, as if in attendance on the great god. The whole group is surrounded by hieroglyphics, and inclosed in a frame richly adorned with symbolical figures. The winged globe is above; with the wings spread over all, and a line of serpents crowns the whole. The figures and paintings are in such perfect preservation, that they give the most correct idea of their ornaments and decorations.

“ Straight forward is the entrance into another chamber, with two pillars. The wall of this place is outlined, ready for the sculptor to cut out his figure. It is here that we may plainly see the manner, in which the artist prepared the figure on the wall ready to be cut; and it is almost impossible to give a description of the various figures, which adorn the walls and pillars of this chamber. There are great varieties of symbolical figures of men, women, and animals, apparently intended to represent the different exploits of the hero to whom the Tomb was dedicated.

“ On going out of this chamber into the first hall is a stair-case, which leads into a lower passage, the entrance into which is decorated with two figures, on each side, a male and a female, as large as life. The female appears to represent Isis, having, as usual, the horns and globe on her head. She seems ready to receive the hero, who is about to enter the regions of immortality. The garments of this figure are so well preserved, that nothing which has yet been brought before the public can give a more correct idea of Egyptian customs [costume?] The figure of the hero is covered with a veil, or transparent linen, folded over his shoulder, and covering his whole body, which gives him a very graceful appearance. Isis is apparently covered with a net, every mesh of which contains some hieroglyphic, serving to embellish the dress of the goddess. The necklace, bracelets, belt, and other ornaments, are so well arranged, that they produce the most pleasing effect, particularly by the artificial lights; all being intended to conduce to this purpose.

“ On the wall to the left, on entering this passage, is a sitting figure of the size of life; it is the hero himself, on his throne, having a sceptre in his right hand, while the left is stretched over an altar, on which are twenty divisions. A plate, in the form of an Egyptian temple, is hung to his neck, by a string. . . . Still farther the hall opens into the large vaulted chamber. It would be impossible to give any description of the numerous figures, which adorn the wall of this place. It was here that the body of the king was deposited, as I found in its centre the beautiful sarcophagus, [9 feet 5 inches long; 3 feet 7 inches wide.] This is sculptured within and without with [several hundred] small figures [two inches in height] in intaglio, coloured with a dark blue, and, when a light is put into the inside of it, it is quite transparent. The ceiling of the vault itself is painted blue, with a procession of figures, and other groups relating to the Zodiac.” p. 246. &c.—It was placed over a stair-case in the center of the saloon; which communicates with a subterraneous passage, leading downwards, three hundred feet in length:—the end of which, probably, extends through the mountain to another entrance.

No. DLXXXV. ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

ON a subject so ancient and so curious, it is not prudent to venture an opinion without reserve; and while our acquaintance with the import of hieroglyphics is so slight, the possibility of error should always be present to our minds. Unfortunately, the Table of Egyptian Kings presents in immediate succession two Sovereigns, both named NECHAO, and each succeeded by a son named PSAMMETICHUS. This is not impossible; but it is unlikely. Africanus says, that Jerusalem was taken by NECHAO II. and king Joachas was carried by him into captivity. The successor of PSAMMETICHUS II. was OUAPHRIS, under whose reign the remainder of the Jews sought refuge in Egypt, when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians. Admitting these facts, on the authority of this writer, they confirm the account transmitted by Herodotus, who says, that NECUS defeated the Syrians [Hebrews] at Magdolum [Megiddo] and gained possession of the city of Cadytis [*Al Kuls*, or *Kadesh*, the Holy City.] which he describes as a city in the mountains of Palestine, equal in extent to Sardis. We know that king Josiah was mortally wounded in this battle: His death is fixed about *ante* A. D. 607. Now, the evidence of the procession in this Tomb, as particularly noticed by Mr. B. agrees perfectly with the records of history; and especially with Scripture history, which affords the following information: 2 Kings xviii. 29. "In his days Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him." Then the people took Jehoahaz, and made him king;—but Pharaoh Necho put him in bonds at Riblah, and took him to Egypt, where he died. And he put the land to a tribute of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold: and made Jehoiakim king." The story is told with farther particulars in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. "Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates; and Josiah went out against him. But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day; but against the house wherewith I have war: for God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless Josiah would not turn from him, but disguised himself (Compare No. cccxxvi.) that he might fight with him . . . in the Valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at king Josiah, and the king said to his servants, Have me away; for I am sore wounded." See 1 Esdras, *Apoc.* i. 25—33.

The question where NECHO got his Jewish captives, of which the three in the procession are a specimen, is now easily answered; but, neither of these figures has any mark of royalty, or dignity of any kind: they are all nearly naked. We might have expected a hint at *King* Jehoahaz; but it does not appear. Those figures (three) which Mr. BELZONI calls *Persians* are Babylonians; and they are clad in "goodly Babylonish garments;" not unlike some of the chintz-patterns of India. This shews, that the manufacture of such articles was included in Babylonian pride, at that time. [Comp. ERECH, in *Dictionary*.] These prisoners, no doubt were taken at Carchemish; [he did not "conquer Babylon"] and as few kings of Egypt undertook such distant expeditions eastward, the only Egyptian conqueror to whom we can attribute the capture is NECHO. He also caused a voyage round Africa to be executed; but of this wonderful exertion of maritime skill, no hint appears in this Sepulchre. His son PSAMMETICHUS is said to have reigned seventeen years; which affords a time of royal protection sufficient for the execution of a great part of the embellishments in this Tomb. They were certainly the work of many years; and probably occupied

much of the reign of Ouaphres, or Pharaoh-Hophra, whose connection with Zedekiah king of Judah, led to the ruin of that prince, by inducing him to revolt against the king of Babylon. The unfinished state of some of the chambers, seems to hint at the consequences of a reverse of fortune: for we know, that Pharaoh-Hophra was deposed by his rebellious subjects, and Egypt was over-run and plundered by Nebuchadnezzar: (Compare Ezekiel xxix. 19. xxx. 10.) May this also add its confirmation to events connected with Scripture?

It remains to be enquired whether this magnificent Repository were intended for a single Sovereign, only, or for his family in succeeding generations? The probability is, that several princes were concerned in its embellishments, which were both costly and slow in their execution: And with all probability we may infer, that the dynasty would consider this as their destined Mausoleum. Perhaps time may shew that it has not yet been fully explored: the imitation of stone by plaster among the ancients was perfect; as we learn from the observations made in various places, by Dr. E. D. CLARKE.

Mr. BELZONI, notices a rill of water that runs over the entrance of this Tomb: may this also be attributed to the desire of the loyal Egyptians to conceal the entrance more effectually?—not from natives, but from foreigners; not from an Egyptian successor, but from the revengeful violence of the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar.—Unless we could implicitly rely on the history of the imprisonment, and death of Hophra, as related by Herodotus; who says he was slain at the instigation of jealous Egyptians, his revolted subjects, and was buried in the Temple of Minerva, at Sais.

It were too much to affirm that the insulting and barbarous treatment of the remains of enemies was peculiar to the Chaldeans: we know that Horace attributes this disposition to others, Epod. xvi.

*Barbarus, heu! cineres insistet victor, et Urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungula;
Quæque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini
(Nefas videre) dissipabit insolens.*

If the victorious barbarian should trample on the ashes of Rome, if the bones of Romulus should be scattered to the wind and sun, by the Gauls, or the Germans, there can be no wonder that the Chaldeans, to whom the plunder of Egypt was given as a reward for labour in the unprofitable siege of Tyre, should be furious to obtain the treasures which they anticipated in the Royal Tombs of the Pharaohs. Wherever they could discover them they would force them open. And this probably, was well known to be their practice: it accords with the predictions of Jeremiah, chap. viii.

At that time, saith Jehovah, shall they cast forth
The bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of the princes thereof,
And the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets,
And the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves;
And they shall leave them exposed to the sun, and to the moon,
And to all the host of heaven, which they loved,
And which they have served, and after which they have gone,
And which they have sought, and to which they have bowed down;
They shall not be gathered, nor shall they be buried;
They shall be as dung upon the face of the ground.

We now see by whom the Depositories in the suburbs of the City of David, the *regionis mortis*, and possibly, the *Biban el Maluk* of Judah, might be violated. Vast treasures had certainly been expended on the Tombs of the Kings of Egypt, perhaps,

haps, also on those of the Kings of Judah. Hence might originate reports of prodigious wealth deposited in them; though it must be acknowledged that Josephus speaks of this wealth as a reality, *Ant. lib. vii. cap. ult.*

“Whether the Chaldeans had any notion of this particular deposit, or whether they were tempted by a prevailing custom of burying valuable things together with the bodies of the deceased, doth not appear. But, it is here foretold, that at the taking of Jerusalem the lawless soldiery should break open the Monuments of the Great, and scatter the bones abroad, without concerning themselves to cover them again.” Dr. BLAYNEY. How extremely mortifying and painful this would be to the Jews, we may partly infer from the importance they attached to sepulture in general; and to that of their Kings, in particular; whence it happens that the places of burial of so many of them are recorded for the information of posterity.

No. DLXXXVI. SEPULCHRES OF VARIOUS NATIONS.

IT is more than possible that if we could discriminate accurately the meaning of words employed by the sacred writers, we should find them adapted with a surprising precision to the subjects on which they treat. Of this the various constructions of Sepulchres might, probably, afford convincing evidence; and, perhaps, it is a leading idea in passages where it has not hitherto been observed. The numerous references in S. S. to Sepulchres supposed to be well peopled, would be misapplied to Nations which burned their dead, as the Greeks and Romans did; or to those who committed them to rivers, as the Hindoos; or to those who exposed them to birds of prey, as the Parsees: nor would the phrase *to go down to the sides of the pit*, be strictly applicable to, or be, properly, descriptive of, that mode of burial which prevails among ourselves. Single graves, admitting one body only, in width or in length, have no openings on the sides to which other bodies may be said to go down: nor are such excavated apartments customary in Britain as the reader has seen in our PLATE, GATES OF HADES.

Nor is it unlikely, that the mode of burial is used as the means of distinction among certain Nations or countries, by the sacred writers; as might be instanced in an almost singular passage of the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxii.

Son of man, lament over the multitude of EGYPT,
And describe them as cast down, even herself,
And the daughters of the famous Nations,
Unto the land of the regions below,
With them that go down to the pit.
Why wast thou so sprightly? *in hopes of escaping*,
Down; and lie with the uncircumcised:
In the midst of those slain by the sword, fall thou;
To the sword she is given:
Drag her down; and all her multitudes *shall follow*.
The gods-heroes from the midst of the shades address him, with his coadjutors.
(They have *long since*) gone down:
They lie uncircumcised, slain with the sword.)

ASHUR is there, and all her assembly:
Encircling her in her sepulchral cavern;
All of them slain; having fallen by the sword:
To whom are assigned each his grave, in the sides of the pit;
So was her assembly around her Sepulchre,
(All of them slain, having fallen by the sword,)
Who communicated terror in the land of the living.

There is **ELAM** and all her crowd, encircling her Sepulchre.
 (All of them slain, having fallen by the sword,)

Who have gone down uncircumcised into the land of the regions below :

They communicated their terror in the land of the living,

Yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit.

In the midst of the slain they have set her place of repose,

In the midst of her crowd, encircling her in her sepulchral cavern.

All of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword ;

Although they caused terror in the land of the living,

Yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit.

In the midst of the slain his place is appointed.

There is **MESHECH, TUBAL**, and all her multitude,
 Her surrounding Graves, her Sepulchres,
 (All of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword ;)

Though they communicated their terror in the land of the living,

Yet they shall not lie with the heroes, the fallen of the uncircumcised,

Who [Meshech, Tubal] are gone down to the shades, each with his weapons of war,

And they have given to their swords *places* under their heads ;

But their iniquities shall lie *heavy* upon their bones :

Though the terror of the mighty in the land of the living.

Yea, thou shalt be broken in the midst of the uncircumcised,

And shalt lie with those who are slain by the sword.

There is **EDOM**, her kings, and all her princes,
 Which with their heroisms are given places beside those slain with the sword :

They shall lie down with the uncircumcised,

Even with them that go down to the pit.

There are the princes of the NORTH [*Zephon*] all of them,
 And all the **ZIDONIANS** ;

Which are gone down with the slain, in their terrors,

Notwithstanding their heroisms they are ashamed ;

And they lie uncircumcised, among those slain by the sword.

And bear their confusion with those that go down to the pit.

These shall **PHARAOH** see,
 And shall be comforted over all his multitude, slain by the sword,
PHARAOH and all his army,
 Saith the Lord God :

Because I have communicated my terror in the land of the living ;

And have caused him to lie in the midst of the uncircumcised,

Among them who are slain by the sword,

PHARAOH, and all his multitude,
 Saith the Lord God.

The changes of persons and genders and phrases in these verses are extremely perplexing, and equally unaccountable ; a strict representation of the passage, *verbatim*, would be less intelligible than this looser version.

Here we have Ashur or Assyria, Elam or Persia, Meshech and Tubal, the present Moscovy and Siberia, also Edom, the Zidonians and the countries adjacent, north of Sidon, perhaps as far as Antioch, &c. (certainly, not intending the north of Europe) —and, though the condition of these is described, generally, in nearly the same terms, yet there are remarkable variations introduced by the prophet.

From the Sepulchres of the Kings, yet extant in Egypt, we know that the Sovereigns were, as we may say, buried in society, many Sepulchres encircling the area, and several chambers in one Sepulchre. Of the Assyrian Sepulchres we know but

little; that country is very much new to our researches; yet we have every reason to confide in the correctness of the prophet, who speaks of the *sides of the pit* (i. e. the cells in those sides) as being inhabited. Persia we know cut Sepulchres in rocks, of which evidences are yet remaining; our Plate of TOMBS shews several; and many more are now known by the late missions to the Shah. Not so (probably) Meshech and Tubal: they threw up vast barrows over their valiant leaders; their followers who fell with them shared in the same highly raised mound: they made a point of honour of burying their weapons (and military ornaments) with the dead; and their swords are found under the heads of their skeletons, to this day:—*Suasque arma viro*, as Virgil speaks.

Dr. CLARKE's notices (and views) of the numerous barrows in the Steppes of Russia, are sufficient evidence, on this subject: and the phrase "iniquities (ravages, perhaps) shall lie heavy on their bones," is an allusion to the weight of earth under which they are deposited. It is the very contrary of the ancient wish, *sit tibi terra levis*; "light lie the earth upon thee." The Sepulchres of Edom are illustrated by what our countrymen have found in the ancient Petra; as already noticed in No. DLXII. The Princes of the north of Syria and of Asia Minor, have left wonderful proofs of their powers in excavating rocks; of which every day affords new discoveries. See the publications of the Dilletanti Society, of modern travellers,—Dr. CLARKE, BEAUMONT, WALPOLE, &c. Those of the Zidonians have been described by MAUNDRELL, SHAW, and others. As the *Cryptæ* at Laodicea have been made objects of comparison by Dr. CLARKE, it may not be amiss to transcribe Dr. SHAW's account of them. Latikea, or Laodicea *ad mare*, is in the northern part of Syria. "About two furlongs north of the city, the rocky ground is hollowed below into a number of *Cryptæ* or Sepulchral Chambers, some of which were ten, others twenty or thirty foot square; but the height doth not answer in proportion. The descent into them is so artfully contrived, that the ingenious architect hath left upon the front and side walls of each stair case, several curious designs in Sculpture and *basso relievo*, like those the *sarcophagi* are charged with. A range of narrow cells, wide enough to receive one of these *sarcophagi*, and long enough for two or three, runs along the sides of most of these Sepulchral Chambers, and appear to be the only provision that has been made for the reception of the dead

"The Sepulchral Chambers near *Jebilee*, *Tortosa*, and the *Serpent Mountain*, together with those that are commonly called the *Royal Sepulchres* at Jerusalem, are all of them exactly of the same workmanship and contrivance with the *Cryptæ* of Latikea."

It is somewhat remarkable that the Prophet omits the Sovereign of Babylon. Was this because Babylon being built on marshy ground, afforded no opportunity for excavating Sepulchres in rocks? It does not appear that such Sepulchres could be formed in that city. What places of interment have hitherto been discovered, are in erections above ground. Mr. RICH mentions them; but he found them in masses of brick work. Nevertheless, it is impossible to overlook the sublime ode of the Prophet Isaiah addressed to this potentate,—an ode which the reader has often admired, and which the present enquiries will enable him more fully to appreciate. chap. xiv. The Prophet speaks of the King of Babylon as brought down to Hell [the shades below] and *to the sides of the pit*." This, however, may be principally, a poetical antithesis to the foregoing verse, which records his desire of ascending above the heights of the clouds, and emulating the Most High. And, unless we take the passage in this qualified sense, we shall find it scarcely possible to reconcile it with the enlarged particulars in the following verses:—

All the Kings of the Nations,—all of them,
 Lie in glory; every one in his own house—*Sepulchre*,
 But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch;
 Like the raiment of the slain, thrust through with a sword
 That go down to the stones of the pit;
 As a carcase that is trodden under feet.
 Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial.————

The strongest possible opposition is here intended by this elevated writer. Taking the Sepulchre of Pharaoh Necho as an instance of the posthumous glory of the Kings of the Nations, of the house appertaining to each, respectively, we feel more sensibly the degradation of the Monarch whose preponderance had been terrific to all his neighbours, and whose ambition urged him to aspire at Divinity. The personification of *Sheol*, the region of the dead, appears now to be more than ever striking; with the company roused to meet this dead monarch. The difference of personages imagined by these Prophets as addressing the descending Kings, would justify the investigation of critics; but demands a discussion too extensive for this place.

No. DLXXXVII. THE TOMB OF DANIEL THE PROPHET?

WE have been long enough among the Tombs; but, as we have ascertained *some* of the Old Testament worthies, and are by the train of our enquiries led to Babylonia and Persia, we shall here introduce by way of close to the subject, what information has recently been obtained and communicated in reference to the Tomb of the Prophet Daniel; which is still commemorated, and perhaps exists. Of this, however, the reader will judge, after perusing the following extracts; and will not fail to remark the different degree of confidence admissible to Sepulchres hollowed in the natural rock, above that justified by some other kinds.

“The earliest notice of Daniel’s Tomb, published in Europe, seems to have been given by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Asia between the years 1160 and 1173. The account of his travels, (first printed in Hebrew, 1543) has gone through several editions, and translations into different languages. The Tomb of Daniel is also mentioned by another Jewish traveller, whose Hebrew work, with a Latin version by Hottinger, appeared at Heidelberg in 1659, under the title of “*Cippi Hebraici*.” But in these notices we find a confusion of the Tigris with the Euphrates; of Babylon with Susa. The local tradition which places Daniel’s Tomb at Susa (*Shushan* by the river *Ulai*) appears to me worthy of investigation. Through the more modern authors of some Oriental works, mostly geographical, I have pursued the tradition to Hamdallah Cazvini (of the fourteenth century) and from him (through Rabbi Benjamin, above named) to Ebn Haukal, who travelled in the tenth. [See his *Orient. Geog.* 76.] This is probably the oldest authority, that printed books furnish on the subject; but a venerable historian, Aasim of *Cúlah*, who preceded Ebn Haukal by two hundred years (for he died in 735) mentions the discovery of Daniel’s Coffin at *Sús*, in a ms. Chronicle, from which Sir William Ouseley promises an extract.”

The passage in Ebn Haukal, referred to by Sir W. O. is to this effect: “In the city of *Sús*, there is a river; and I have heard, that in the time of *Abou Mousa Ashoari*, a Coffin was found there: and it is said the bones of Daniel the Prophet (to whom be peace!) were in that Coffin. These the people held in great veneration; and in time of distress, or famine from droughts, they brought them out, and prayed for rain. *Abou Mousa Ashoari* ordered this coffin to be brought, and three coverings or cases to be made for it: the first or outside one of which was of boards, exceedingly strong; and caused it to be buried, so that it could not be viewed. A bay or gulf

of the river came over this grave, which may be seen by any one who dives to the bottom of the water."

Sir W. O. in WALPOLE's *Memoirs of the East*, p. 422. says, "I was finally driven by the heat to the Tomb of Daniel, or, as he is called in the East, Danyall, which is situated in a most beautiful spot, washed by a clear running stream, and shaded by planes and other trees of ample foliage. The building is of Mahomedan date, and inhabited by a Solitary Dervish, who shows the spot where the Prophet is buried, beneath a small and simple square brick mausoleum, said to be, without probability, coëval with his death. It has, however, neither date nor inscription to prove the truth or falsehood of the Dervish's assertion. The small river running at the foot of this building, which is called the *Belleran*, it has been said, flows immediately over the Prophet's Tomb, and, from the transparency of the water, his Coffin was to be seen at the bottom; but the Dervish and the natives whom I questioned, remembered no tradition corroborating such a fact; on the contrary, it has at all times been customary with the people of the country to resort hither on certain days of the month, when they offer up their prayers at the Tomb I have mentioned, in supplication to the Prophet's shade; and by becoming his guests for the night, expect remission from all present grievances, and an ensurance against those to come."

Sir W. O. also delineates a remarkable stone, preserved near an edifice called the "Tomb of Daniel," amidst ruins, covering, according to the report of Capt. MONTEITH, a space of sixteen or eighteen miles. These vestiges indicate a celebrated city; that of which the name is generally written *Shush* in Persian works, and sometimes *Sûs*, after the Arabian manner. Sir W. thinks *Shush* was the *Susa* of the Greek and Roman authors: that imperial city entitled "Shushan the Palace" (metropolis, or castle) in Esther, i. 2. and Daniel viii. 8. the scene of that Prophet's visions. D'HERBELOT and others have confounded *Shush* with *Shushter*; i. e. the ancient and deserted capital of Susiana, with the modern and peopled capital. This stone was at first not highly valued; but, eventually, the people subscribed nearly £1,600. to be allowed to retain it as their talisman.

No. DLXXXVIII.

CONFORMITY OF THE HINDOO AND EGYPTIAN DEITIES.

IT is probable, that the reader has been somewhat startled at the *blue* visage of the Deity depicted in the tomb discovered by Mr. BELZONI: it affords one more proof of Conformity with the Deities of India; such being the complexion of *Chrishna*; of *Siva*, also, the poets sing "his neck's celestial blue." Of the identity, or at least very striking resemblance, between the Hindoo Deities and the Egyptian, we have a confirmation more satisfactory than could possibly be derived from literary arguments, in that religious homage, with which some Brahmans and Hindoo soldiers recognized the Divinities of their own country, among the sculptured figures of an Egyptian temple, in 1801, when several Sepoy regiments, under the command of Gen. Baird, were brought from India to Egypt. Dr. E. D. CLARKE (*Travels*, vol. iii. p. 58.) mentions that the Brahmans on viewing the Temple of Dendera, expressed violent indignation at its neglected state; they regarding this ancient edifice as sacred to their own god *Vishnu*, whose figure they discovered among the sculptures. Mrs. GRAHAM, also, informs us, that those Sepoys "fell down before the gods in the Temple of Tentyra; and claimed them as of their own belief," *Journal of a Residence in India*, p. 53.

Capt. BURR, made the same remark, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii.

No. DLXXXVIX.

GEOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE HISTORIES;

PARTICULARLY JOURNEYS.

. THE Map that belongs to this Article comprizes so great a portion of Countries connected with the History of Scripture events, that it cannot be expected we should apply it to ALL those incidental notices of places, to which it is adapted. But, in order to exemplify the utility of Maps accompanying Scripture, we shall endeavour, by means of this plate, to illustrate some of the principal Journeys, the histories of which are more fully related; and the consequences of which have been most interesting to readers of the Sacred Volume.

The reader will, for the present, admit, that west of the mountains of Himalaya, and not far from *Bamian*, was the birth-place, and original residence, of the patriarch Abraham. Accordingly, it is assumed, 1. That that country was the seat of his great ancestor *SHem*, who likewise (with, or after, him) travelled west-ward, and abode in Judea; so that, when the Lord said to Abraham, "depart," &c. Gen. xii. 1. it might be by the ministry of *Shem*; at that time the high priest of all mankind. 2. Abraham is repeatedly said to come "from the East,"—i. e. from a province known by this name;—a name given by the Persians to this (the most eastern) province of their dominion: 3. That the Fathers of the Hebrew nation are said Josh. xxiv. 2. to have dwelt "on the other side of the flood," i. e. *beyond the river*, where they served other gods:—"I took your father Abraham from *beyond the river*," or, "the other side of the flood." This description of territory, has hitherto been restricted in its import, to *beyond the river Euphrates*; but, that restriction is ill founded, as we learn from Major *RENNELL*, who mentions "a province beyond the river *Jihon*, called *Mawer-ul-nere*: which signifies, *the country beyond the river*." 3. *Balk*, in which town the inhabitants affirm that Abraham was born, stands on the eastern bank of the river *Jihon* or *Oxus*; and major *RENNELL* tells us that "the name *Maher-ul-nere* is applied to the country *beyond the Jihon*." *Memoir, Map of Hindostan*, p. 200. [Comp. *MAWER-EL-NAHER*, in the *Dictionary*, also Nos. DXXXII. &c.]

But, we may come yet nearer to a decision on this matter: for, the Map drawn up by *Olearius*, to the "Ambassador's Travels," delineates beyond the river *Oxus* north, but south of the river *Oraxantes*, [both rivers fall into the Caspian] Sea, a province called *MAWER-E-NAHER*: and though this is beyond *Balk*, yet Major *RENNELL* extends this province so far south as to include that city. Now, *this is the very name used by Joshua*, who says, "I took your father Abraham from *MAWER-E-NAHER* (מעברנהר) and caused him to walk throughout the land of Canaan," &c. This is repeated, with a very slight variation, from the verse preceeding, "Thus saith Jehovah God of Israel: In *MAWER-HE-NAHER* your fathers dwelt anciently, Terah and Abraham," &c. It is, no doubt, the *Maher-ul-nere* of Major *RENNELL*; and completely coincides with the proposition, that Abraham migrated from *Bactriani*, i. e. *Kedem*, or *the East*. Nor is this coincidence weakened by the geographical note inserted Gen. x. 23, 30. Aram had a son named *MESH*, who might give name to "*Mesha*, as thou goest unto *Sephar*, a mount of *Kedem*"—*Bactriana*. The representative of the ancient *Mesha* is, probably, the present city *MESHED*, east of the Caspian, towards *Bactriana*, in the province of *Chorasan*. To this city *HANWAY* was travelling, when his caravan was plundered, vol. i. p. 129. He designed to have made it the emporium of the Caspian trade.

BALK is the ancient *Bactra*, which gave name to the province. As this country is beyond the limits of our Map eastwards, we do not farther pursue this argument; it is suggested merely, as an apology for introducing Abraham at once, in *Hamadun*, the ancient *Ecbatana*, in the way from Kedem to Nineveh. A simple line serves to hint his journey from "the East;" and, instead of tracing him to *Mosul*, the present Nineveh, it is directed to *Eski Mosul*, the ancient Nineveh, still known under the name of *Bel-Ad*:—"Baal the Lord."

From *Bel-Ad* the road leads to Nesibin, and from Nesibin to Roha; but, Abraham designing to settle for a time, or perhaps altogether, took a lower course, to *Haran*, where Terah his father died, Gen. xi. 31.

From *Haran* trace this patriarch's journey to *Hamah*, or *Hamath*; which is very properly described as "the entering in," Josh. xiii. 5. *et al.* for so indeed it was: 1. as being the *regular* course of travel from Chaldea; 2. as being the *first* town on the Syrian side of the river; so that here travellers *entered in* to that province. Accordingly, we find, verse 6, Abraham passed through (or over) the land, to *Sichem* and *Moreh*.

In an *inverse* order, trace the journey of Eliezer, Abraham's servant, to fetch Rebecca, Gen. xxiv. also, that of Jacob, from *Beersheba* to *Haran*, Gen. xxviii. 10. called "the land of the people of the East," chap. xxix. 1. probably, because the family of Terah, &c. migrated from the East, had here established their residence.

Taking *Haran* for the central point, observe with what evidence it arranges the story of Jacob's flight from Laban. Laban set three days' journey between himself and Jacob, chap. xxx. 36. say *east* of *Haran*, toward Nesibin: Jacob residing *west* of *Haran*. When Laban went to shear his sheep, *i. e.* east of Haran, Jacob took the opportunity to urge his journey for Canaan, west-ward, by the regular track, "and he rose up, and passed over the river," the Euphrates, at *el Bir*; "and came to mount Gilead;" the first station, probably, where a large flock of sheep could be pastured for a length of time: this was now under a different government from that where Laban lived, and beyond the Chaldean dominion. Though this opportunity was seized for the execution of his plan, it was, no doubt, projected long before, and prepared for, accordingly.

The directions given the prophet Jonah, to visit Nineveh, apply so obviously to this passage northward from Syria, that any remark on them might be omitted; were it not proper, to point out how directly *contrary* was the course he intended to steer, when he took ship at Joppa (*Jaffa*) on the Mediterranean; nor should we totally overlook the wonderful expedition of the whale that travelled with him in his belly, if he did (as the Rabbins say) discharge him ashore on the Banks of the Tigris, at Nineveh (*Mosul*). To say nothing of the passage round Africa, trace only the natural impediments (too strong for sailing boats) from the Persian Gulf up the river to Bagdad, and by that course to Nineveh:—many hundreds of miles!

The most extensive dominion of the Hebrews was, from the river of Egypt, south, to the river Euphrates, north-east. This "river of Egypt" has occasioned some difficulty: I can hardly think it was the Nile: but rather some stream nearer to Judea—in which country, the most southern town, apparently, was *la Rish* or *el Arissa*, though Solomon might possibly include *Catieh*, or *Catzieh*, in his dominions, Cant. iv. 2. Northward, the Hebrew power extended not only along the western bank of the Euphrates, but, occasionally, included towns on the eastern side, as *Kerkisia*, or *Carchemish*, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. while on the north it included *Hamath*; for we are expressly told 2 Kings xiv. 28. that Jeroboam *recovered* Damascus and Hamath:

whence it appears, that the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xv. 18. was fulfilled to his posterity; who actually did govern this country, "in the length of it, and in the breadth of it," at times (not constantly) from "the entering in of Hamath," and from the river Euphrates to Egypt.

As a reverse to this prosperity of the Hebrews, observe the distance from Jerusalem west, to Babylon east; to which metropolis the chiefs of the Jewish nation were carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxv. Observe also, on this article, the precision of the prophecy, Amos v. 27. "I will carry you captive *beyond* Damascus;" which has been understood by some of a more *distant* captivity than that to which the citizens of Damascus were carried; but we read, 2 Kings xxv. 21. that *Riblah*, (the *Hems* of our map) to which city Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, carried the people of the land, to meet king Nebuchadnezzar, and where that king "smote them, and slew them," was in the land of *Hamath*;" double the distance of Damascus from Jerusalem; so that this threatening was fulfilled even to those who were slain here.

Moreover, it should appear, by their route lying so far north, that the army of Nebuchadnezzar, with the Jews its captives, returned to Nineveh, by the same course as that by which Abraham, the Father of the Hebrews, had entered this country: so that the Israelites suffered the additional mortification of beholding in the character of prisoners, the land of their forefathers, and of their relatives, the descendants of Laban, &c. We see too, that Nineveh, the *Mosul* of our Plate, was a probable station for part of these captives to be left at (as Tobit, &c.) while others, were dispersed in the countries around; and others were taken, either along Mesopotamia, or down the Tigris, to Babylon, &c.—a long distance south.

It is likely, moreover; that some considerable division of captives was sent still farther *north*, from Mosul; for we find Ezekiel, chap. i. among the captives by the river of *Chebar*, in the land of the Chaldeans:—his immense distance from Judea, with which he had no intercourse whatever, and from Babylon, with which he probably had very little, sufficiently accounts for the interval of time (six months) which passed between the arrival at Babylon of the news of the destruction of Jerusalem, and its reaching the residence of this prophet, Ezek. xxxiii. 21. No. cvi. hinted at circumstances which place him in a country answering to the character of Arzeroum; that *might* be; or he might reside between Arzeroum and the Caspian, or, *on* the Caspian, at Derbend. The place must fulfil two conditions: 1. It must be where wood was extremely scarce; 2. very remote from Babylon. This northern situation of the Prophet accounts too for his very particular prophecies against *Gog* and *Magog*, who were settled north, but not very far north, from the place of his dwelling.

The history of the Captivity of the Jews, must be divided into distinct periods; and considered as comprising distinct events. The first is, the degradation of the two tribes and a half, east of the Jordan. The captivating power was the King of Nineveh, Tiglath Pilezer, who, coming from the north, and entering in at Hamath, would first over-run Damascus, then Howran, then the east of the Jordan, down to *Moab*, or *el Raba*; this being a more direct and easy progress than over Mount Lebanon, and along the westward. This event is placed about 740 years before A. D. The conqueror would naturally place his captives in cities, and districts, subject to his dominions; *i. e.* suppose in the northern part of our Map; and in this sense, also, many Jews might be carried captive *farther* from their native land than the citizens of Damascus were, [who might be settled in Mesopotamia.]

Tiglath .

Tiglath Pilezer disposed of the eastern tribes in 1. *Halah*, and 2. *Habor*, and 3. *Hara*, and the district around the river 4. *Gozan*: 1 Chron. v. 26. 2 Kings xvii. 6. Where are these cities? The river 4. *Gozan*, which is expressly said to be in Media, may be the *Ozan*, or *Kisil-Ozan*, (Red-Ozan) which enters the Caspian Sea on the south-west: on a branch of it is marked the town of 2. *Abhar*, or *Abar*, in HANWAY'S Map, (lat. 36.) this is probably the *Habor* of the sacred text. *Hara* may be the town marked 3. *ChoARA*, near Rages, in Major RENNELL'S Map, though the Major himself guesses it may be the district *Tarom*: and *Halah*, or *Chalah*, may be *Kalar*, south of the Caspian. This agrees with the residence of Tobit's friend Gabael, at *Rages*, in Media, the representative of which is the modern *Rey*: that many Jews were settled hereabouts, we learn from the history, from the number of husbands offered to Sarah: and from the numerous friends who congratulated the family, on occasion of her nuptials with Tobias.

The second Captivity of Israel was by Shalmanezzer, *ante* A. D. 721. and I incline to think, that these captives changed places with the sons of Cush, on the western shore of the Caspian: ("the Caspians," possibly, of Major RENNELL'S Map.)—so that the King of Nineveh interposed not only a great extent of country between these people and their native land, but his capital Nineveh, also; whereby he was enabled to counteract their motions, had they attempted revolt. This agrees also with the prophecy, Amos i. 5. "Syria shall go into captivity to *Kir*;"—no doubt, the province adjoining the river *Kyrus* (Cyrus):—and, that this was a *northern* province appears from Isaiah xxii. 6. "Elam (Persia, *i. e.* the south) bare the quiver; *Kir* (*i. e.* the north) uncovered the shield;" they were, therefore, under the same monarch, but at each extreme of his dominions. This exchange of these people is perfectly characteristic of Eastern management.

The southern extent of our Map, eastward, shews the situation of *Shushan Royal* (*Sus*) where we find the prophet Daniel receiving visions by the side of the river *Ulai*. It is likely, that he was in attendance at *Shushan*, the palace, by virtue of his public office; [the kings of Persia resided part of the year at *Ecbatana*, (*Hamadan*) and other part at *Shushan*.] Taking this for the Southern limit of the settlements of the Jewish captives, see to what extent from Arzeroum or Derbend north, to Shushan south, were dispersed the families of that nation which had occupied the little tract of Judea, in the west. [The *third* captivity.] This has its aspect too, on the difficulties started among the Jews about receiving the prophecies of (Ezekiel, and) Daniel, into the canon of Scripture: as 1. they were delivered *out of the Holy Land*: 2. the distance of those who delivered them, from where they could be authentically acknowledged, and authoritatively admitted; which must have been (at this time) in Babylon, where, no doubt, the main body of the Hebrew people were established, as may be inferred from the letter of Jeremiah to them.

Not wholly to omit the return of the captives from their extensive dispersion, we remark, that probably the major part, by far, of the Israelites who revisited their native land, was from Babylon: Ezra, chap. ii. 2. viii. 1. but this caravan did not take the northern route, but crossed the desert south of Tadmor.

We may now direct our attention more immediately to some of the Journeys, and to the Geography, of the New Testament. The most distant traveller among the Apostles, whose route is described to us, was St. Paul: we shall partially accompany his excursions. The first is, the memorable journey of the Jewish Saul, from Jerusalem to Damascus, Acts ix. in which, no doubt, the traveller followed the ordinary road from Jerusalem: and tradition has marked by the name of Kocab

(*Star*) the place where the super-celestial light burst upon him. (We do not reckon his retirement to Tarsus, chap. ix. 30. whence he was fetched by Barnabas, xi. 25.) The second is, Acts xiii. from *Antakia* (Antioch) to Seleucia [meaning no doubt *Seleucia* on the coast near *Antioch*: our Map shews more than one Seleucia.] to *Cyprus*, whence they went to *Salamis*, and through the isle to *Baffo* (Paphos); thence to *Perga* in Pamphylia; to Antioch in Pisidia; to *Konia*, (Iconium,) to *Lystra*, to Derbe. These cities, being situated in the province of Lycaonia, the inhabitants spake the Lycaonian dialect, or “speech of Lycaonia.” From Derbe the Apostles returned to Lystra,—to *Konia*, (Iconium,)—to *Antioch*,—to *Perga*,—to Attalia, (*Antarie*,) and ended at *Antioch*; whence they had set out.

The reader will observe in this history two Antiochs, one in Syria, the other in Pisidia, which, in chap. xiv. verse 21. is not distinguished by any addition.

The next chapter contains the mission of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch in Syria, to Jerusalem. They passed through Phenicia and Samaria; no doubt, as direct as they well could; which the reader will recollect is expressed by the words “passed through.”

At the close of this chapter Barnabas sails to Cyprus:—Paul goes by land (north) from *Antakia* through Syria and Cilicia; he is said to *go through* Syria, though much of Syria was south of Antioch: he came to *Lystra*—passed *throughout* Phrygia, not meaning into *every* town of the province, but *generally*. The same, I suppose, of the limits, confines, or boundaries of Galatia; for, that he did not *go through* the province of Galatia, as he did the province of Phrygia, appears, by the insertion of the word rendered “*region*,” had he gone over both countries equally, and fully, it would have been said “he went throughout Phrygia and Galatia.”

This is the first idea that arises on considering this phraseology: another is, whether the words τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, *Galatiken choran*, may not have somewhat of a diminutive sense here, and signify *lesser* Galatia?—not the whole province; in that case, the word rendered *region*, would signify the *champaign* parts (*field*, literally) of the province. In short, as we have in ancient geography two Cilicias, Cilicia *Trachea*, and Cilicia *CAMPESTRIS*—“the field;” so I suppose we have *Galatia Campestris*, χώραν. These thoughts are introductory to the notice of a difficulty in the following words;—“They were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the Word in ASIA:”—where was *this* ASIA? It is well known, that the word *Asia* signifies 1. the Continent: 2. the Peninsula, in our Map marked ANATOLIA: generally. 3. Proconsular Asia, on the *western* coast of the Peninsula: 4. a small part on the river Cayster, is so called by Homer; to which I think must be added, 5. a district EAST of Phrygia: perhaps the eastern part of that usually marked Galatia. For, observe 1. Paul had held an *eastern* course from Phrygia to Galatia *Campestris*, but, had he designed to visit *western* Asia, this course was absolutely contradictory. 2. He visited *western* Asia (Ephesus, Miletus, &c.) repeatedly;—therefore no reason can be imagined, why the Spirit should forbid him those countries at this time. 3. After he had held a northern course towards Mysia, “he assayed to go (*eastward*, again) to Bithynia;” but this *eastern* direction the Spirit suffered him not to take. It should seem, therefore, that his first intention was, to go *eastward*, (into Asia) which he resumed when in the latitude of Bithynia: but he was prevented in both instances.

The apostle Peter addresses his First Epistle, to the residents “in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, ASIA, and *Bithynia*.” [Comp. Acts ii. 9.] The Map shews that these provinces were *east* of St. Paul’s course: and it seems incredible, that Peter could intend to associate with provinces whose limits adjoined—provinces, in

fact, fairly considered, forming but one region,—a distant province on the extreme west of the peninsula ; wherein was Ephesus, (the Seven Churches, &c.) in no part of which is any interference of Peter mentioned, or ever imagined. Moreover, to visit this Asia, he must have crossed *Phrygia*, &c. yet he inserts no salutation to Christians there:—whereas, if the *Asia* of this passage in the Acts, and the *Asia* of Peter, denote a country adjoining *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, we see the intention of Paul clearly; with the reason why “the Spirit suffered him not” to execute it: *i. e.* Peter was in those provinces, engaged in the same important work, at this time; so that, as Paul made a point of breaking up fresh ground, 2 Cor. x. 16. and as Peter was competent to the service, the labours of Paul were better directed elsewhere. This affords also a glimpse of an answer to the long controverted question, What became of Peter after the council at Jerusalem? Suppose—he first went to Antioch, where Paul withstood his bias in favour of Jewish observances:—leaving that city (before Paul) he preached in the provinces north and north-east of it, to which he afterwards writes. This gives an entirely new *tone* to the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. We are sure, that Peter coincided in opinion with Paul,—that the Mosaic yoke should not be imposed on Gentiles, Acts xv. 10. but, Paul extended his ideas much farther, teaching that *Jews* also might dispense with their national observances, Acts xxi. 21. in other words, that those observances were *indifferent*; accordingly, he sometimes regarded them, sometimes not. On this question, James seems to have been *against* him, Acts xxi. 24. &c. Gal. ii. and apparently Peter too:—in fact, this doctrine (of the *ad libitum* state of Jewish converts) seems to have been what he communicated *in confidence* to the pillars of the church, Gal. ii. 2. However, Paul adhered to his persuasion; for he circumcised Timothy, who was of Jewish descent, Acts xvi. 3. but did not circumcise Titus, who was of Grecian descent: thus adapting his practice relating to things in his own judgment indifferent, to existing circumstances; or, “becoming all things to all men.” Peter seems not to have been quite so free in his notions as Paul; and this, at least may be said on his behalf, that the observance of Jewish national commemoration-services did no more prevent a Jew from believing in Christ for personal salvation, than an Englishman’s commemorating Gunpowder Treason, or the Fire of London: and that, in respect to circumcision, it was long practised by the Christians of the Jewish nation,—by many bishops of Jerusalem, in succession,—by the Nazarene Christians; and it is still retained by some of the Christians in the East. Possibly, Paul’s free sentiments are hinted at by Peter, 2 Epist. chap. iii. 16. among the things “hard to be understood” in his writings. But, it often happens that SECONDARIES, in their zeal for opinions, outrun the intentions of their principal; and this idea, correctly understood, may furnish the true import of certain expressions in the Epistle to the Galatians. This is not the place to enlarge on the subject; yet a thought or two may explain our meaning. “I marvel ye are so soon removed to *another* gospel,” as under the appearances you give it, it seems to be; “yet which is not another” in reality, for Peter and I agree in gospel principles: but, if Peter himself, or an angel from heaven, preached another gospel, let him be accursed:—for do I seek to please men (apostles? Peter?) or God? &c. —I went to see Peter, [to *compare notes* with Peter] and abode with him a fortnight. . . . during my residence false brethren were brought in, to whom on that occasion we gave no place:—but James, PETER, and John, who were pillars, seeing that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, (in which gospel I instructed you Galatians) as the gospel of the circumcision was committed to Peter, which is

not "*another gospel*" but the same, and founded on the same faith, they approved my principles. Nevertheless, when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him, for inducing Gentiles, by his example, to conform to Jewish peculiarities; and Peter so far acquiesced in my reasonings as to leave the Gentiles at their liberty; now, if I build again the things which I then destroyed, (as Peter would do, should he re-establish distinctions which he formerly abandoned) I make myself a transgressor; for, I was either wrong *then* in destroying them, or I am wrong *now* in re-establishing them." Such seem to be the sentiments of the Apostle.

These allusions to Peter, agree well with the notion, that some who affected authority from him, had been incautiously intrusive in Galatia; they boasted that *they* had received their gospel from some great (apostolic) man, which Paul had not (chap. i. 11); they insisted that Paul was no *apostle*, (chap. i. 1.) which indeed he was not, in the sense they intended; *i. e.* not one of the twelve, as Peter was, &c. &c. But, let us note the date of this Epistle; on which our remarks have great influence. After having examined what has been said on this subject, by Lardner, Doddridge, Mill, &c. I incline with Michaelis, to place this as the *very first* of St. Paul's writings; and suppose, that after the council at Jerusalem, Peter visited Antioch, during Paul's residence there, which after a while he quitted, to travel into Pontus, &c. Afterwards, Paul also quitted Antioch, to proceed into Phrygia and Galatia *Campestris*, and prolonged his journey over into Macedonia; while on this journey, he is informed of the opinions propagated by those busy intermeddlers who *exceeded* Peter's instructions; and against those *excesses* he writes to his Galatian converts,—appealing to recent occurrences in proof of the constancy of his own sentiments.

This supposition might be sustained by many other arguments; but, these are sufficient to shew that the *Asia* of this passage, and the *Asia* of Peter, i. 1. was *east* of the course of Paul's journey; which is our *Geographical* object.

Verse 8. *And they passing by Mysia*, rather crossing Mysia, *came down to Troas*—whence they passed over to Macedonia: in this passage our Map quits them;—but, I cannot help observing on the word *passing by*, that it looks as if they went on *one side* of Mysia; which in reality they did not; the same word being used chap. xx. 16. of *sailing by* Ephesus, which, in the sense of going *by*, *i. e.* *through* it, they did not; but stood off from that city.

Our Map resumes this journey of the apostle Paul, at his return from Corinth and Cenchrea, to Ephesus, in *western Asia*; whence he sailed to Cesarea, (Keisarieh,) "and went up, and saluted the church," *i. e.* at Jerusalem, "the Church,"—by eminence; in conclusion, he went down to Antakia, (Antioch,) whence he had begun his journey. "And after he had spent some time there, he departed and went over in an orderly manner the (*plain*, or) *champaign* Galatia, and Phrygia; taking Galatia first, not endeavouring to visit (eastern) Asia now, but going along the *upper coasts*, *i. e.* along Mysia by Troas, Pergamos, Smyrna, &c. &c. he came to Ephesus, and dwelt there two years, (verse 10.) so that all who dwelt in Proconsular, or *western Asia*, heard the Word. From Ephesus he went into Greece, and proceeded northwards, into Macedonia; from Macedonia he came again into *Asia* (the peninsula); from Philippi to Troas; from Troas to Assos, (part of the company by sea, part by land) from Assos by Chios, Samos, Trogyllium, to Miletus; (*sailing by*—*i. e.* not stopping at, Ephesus.) Here he sent for the elders of Ephesus. The small distance between these towns will be noticed by the reader. From Miletus they sailed by Coos, Rhodes, Patara; leaving Cyprus on the left hand, to *Sour* (Tyre); from Sour to Chau Pelerin, (Ptolemais,) and *Keisarieh*; from Keisarieh to Jerusalem; Acts xxi. 17.

The last voyage of St. Paul is to Rome; part of which is shewn in our Map. Acts xxvii. From *Keisarieh* to *Seidé*, to Cyprus, the sea of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Myra in Lycia, Cnidus, Crete.

Our Map concludes before we accompany the Apostle so far; and here, we too, conclude our illustrations of the Voyages recorded in Scripture. The reader will judge from this specimen, of the accuracy with which St. Luke's journal of his gospel-travels was kept; and since we find the utmost regularity wherever we trace him, we may safely consider him as a writer of unexceptionable correctness, in his history of events, wherein we have no such means of examining his narration. This idea is independent of, but not inconsistent with, the principle of inspiration communicated to this sacred historian.

We may however, mark the situations of the Seven Churches of (western) Asia, of which we read in the Revelations: tracing them according to the order of the extract in No. cccxxviii. as they were visited by the writer of that journey. The reader will see by the situation of the Isle of Patmos, how well it is placed for corresponding with these cities.

1. *Smyrna*: in this city is the principal factory of European commerce. 2. *Bergameh*, the ancient Pergamos. 3. *Thyatira*, now *Ak-hissar*, "the White Castle." 4. *Sart*, the ancient Sardis. 5. Philadelphia, now *Alacheher*, "the Fair City." (*Colosse*, is the present *Konos*). 6. *Laodicea* "is now utterly desolated, without any inhabitants, except wolves, jackalls and foxes; it stands about the place marked*." 7. Ephesus, formerly a city of great dignity and consequence.

Thus have we connected many Scripture occurrences, we hope with correctness, certainly not without labour, and here terminates this division of our subject.

No. DXC. ILLUSTRATIONS OF PROPHECY.

WE take this opportunity of suggesting the farther utility of Maps, when *prophecy* relating to the countries they represent is in question, no less than on matters of history, of which they have been the scenes. We hinted in No. cxlvii. on the resemblance in form between the seven-eared wheat of Egypt, and a Map of the Nile; that the seven mouths of that river corresponded to the seven ears of the wheat; as the seven bullocks did to seven ploughing seasons, which came up out of the river, *i. e.* from its annual inundation: and wherein, even the *trefoil* on which these bullocks fed, might have its import, (whether implying a fattening on the natural productions of the land, during three years; or, on *stored* supplies, as *trefoil* is three years in coming to perfection.)

It is well known, that the pious and learned Mr. KING, some years ago, proposed to explain the "land shadowing with wings," of Isaiah xviii. by means of a Map of a country whose Geographical form should resemble the figure of wings. One would suppose, that some commentators had indulged the same fancy, on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the Image whose head was of gold, his arms of silver, his belly and thighs of brass, his legs of iron, and his toes of mingled iron and clay, Dan. ii. 36. &c. for they consider Babylon as the head; Media and Persia as the shoulders; Greece as the body, (which is far *west*); Rome as the legs, (still farther *west*); and the ten toes as the ten kingdoms of the Roman (*western*) empire; including even France; and the *western* islands of Britain. It is true, we have lately seen the Map of England crumpled into the shape of a woman riding on a fish; and that of France, in the form of a ship in distress; (published during the rage of

the revolution in that country.) Such *anamorphoses* might be known to Daniel; but, I take this opportunity of doubting very strongly, whether any part of this Image should be extended beyond the empire of Nebuchadnezzar; for if so, why add the vision of the four Beasts? and why reveal to Nebuchadnezzar, what in no wise concerned him, or his kingdom? It is much more reasonable to conjecture that the first vision (the Image) referred to the *political* person (realm) of Nebuchadnezzar; and should be restricted to that empire of which Babylon was the head: while the second vision, that of the Tree, referred to the *human* person of Nebuchadnezzar, and to events accomplished in himself: whereas, the vision of the four Beasts was a revelation to the prophet, not to the statesman; not to the king's officer or attendant, but to a person commissioned to write for general instruction and general advantage. And farther, the prophet seems to be transported from Shushan, or from his customary residence—to “the great sea,” in the Hebrew acceptance of that term, the Mediterranean, where he was about midway between the eastern beast (Babylon) and the western beast (Rome) so that he might readily be supposed to refer to both, being so situated as to observe them both; independent of the circumstance of his seeming to himself to be hereby stationed in his native country, the Holy Land of Israel, which I think he is not in any other of his visions.

This, if admitted, corrects the representation of Bishop Newton on the Prophecies, (who has but followed the opinions of others) that the toes of the image are the kingdoms into which the (*western*) Roman empire was broken. vol. i. p. 385. I agree, that Babylon is the golden head, [crown? or rather, *casque*, if we suppose this figure to have been in armour; like certain statues of the god *Bel*: which is not improbable.]—the breast and arms of brass (*i. e.* the pieces of armour which covered the belly, and hung down over the thighs; and which the Romans formed into labels) are the empire of Alexander; who made Babylon the seat of it, the little while he lived, and whose successors maintained their power in these countries: but, I would not go out of Asia for the two thighs of brass (as is usually done, taking *Egypt* for one) but would rather take the Grecian monarchy of Babylon under Seleucus for one, and the Syrian monarchy under Antigonos, for the other. Theodorus, and the Parthians under Arsaces, established themselves in the eastern part of the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar; as, after a time, did the Romans in western Asia. To the Parthian empire the Persian succeeded, east of Babylon: and the Turkish, to the Roman, west of Babylon; so that no power rules (or has for many ages ruled) at the same time over *both* these districts of the ancient Babylonish dominion. Moreover, we are assured by every traveller who passes through these countries, that the governing power is felt by the inhabitants as iron which tramples on (themselves) the clay; under pretence of protecting it;—as the armour on the feet (*vide* the PLATE of ARMOUR) being made of iron, does not combine with the foot it covers; or as iron plates may have clay between them, yet these substances do not coalesce. That there exists no more union between the inhabitants of these parts of the Turkish government, and those who govern them, than between iron and clay, is notorious, from the general disposition of the country to revolt, in case the bold attempt of BUONAPARTE to upset the Turkish power had not been stopped by the providential repulse he received from SIR SYDNEY SMITH at Acre.

I conceive, therefore, that the state of the Turkish power in these countries cannot be better (metaphorically) expressed than by the words of the prophet, “*And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay,*

they, the governors, *shall mingle themselves* (by connections, marriages, &c.) *among the seed of* (Anusha) *LOW MEN*, as the inhabitants shall be esteemed; *but they* the governors and governed *shall not cleave one to another*, shall not coalesce, *even as iron is not mixed with clay.*" How exactly this is the case wherever the Arabs are under the yoke of the Turks [the same in Egypt, and the same also in Greece, in reference to the Greeks,] is too notorious to require a word of proof: and could we obtain equal information in respect to Persia, we should discover precisely the same contradictory feelings in that country; as appears from the relation of HAN-WAY, who, unhappily for himself, found the Persian peasants too ready to revolt against their then despot—the famous Nadir Shah.

The reader will understand then, that although a part of the Roman empire may be referred to in this figure, yet only the *eastern* part of that empire; excluding all *western* dominion whatever. This principle is supported, no less than others appear to be, by those ancient interpretations which refer to the Romans (as Jerom, and others) but does not allow that comparison between the *ten* toes of this image, and the *ten* horns of the fourth beast in chap. vii. to which commentators have resorted: but it considers them as subjects independent of each other, and to be explained by independent history, accordingly.

It may just be worth while, here to insert the observation of Gibbon, that Babylonia was reckoned equal to one-third of Asia, in point of revenue, previous to the time of Cyrus; and latterly, the daily tribute paid to the Persian *satrap* was equal to an English bushel of silver. If we ask, what is its present condition? Mr. Kinneir informs us, p. 237. "The mighty cities of *Nineveh*, *Babylon*, *Seleucia*, and *Ctesiphon*, have crumbled into dust: the humble tent of the Arab now occupies the spot formerly adorned with the palaces of kings, and his flocks procure but a scanty pittance of food, amidst the fallen fragments of ancient magnificence. The banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, once so prolific, are now, for the most part, covered with impenetrable brushwood; and the interior of the province, which was traversed, and fertilized with innumerable canals, is destitute of either inhabitants or vegetation." He adds in a note, "Where private property is insecure, and where the cultivator can never reckon on reaping the fruits of his labours, industry can never flourish. The landholder, under the *IRON* despotism of the Turkish government, is at all times liable to have his fields laid waste, and his habitation pillaged by the myrmidons of those in power." What is this, but the inconsistent mixture of iron and clay?

No. DXCI. OF BABYLON.

OUR travels have brought us again into the regions of the East, and it would be unpardonable to withhold a more extended notice of that once great, formidable, and most opulent metropolis, to which we have alluded as the favourite residence of Nebuchadnezzar—Babylon the Great. Of what other city are terms used, equally haughty, equally magnificent?—*the Golden City!* Isaiah xiv. 4.—*the Glory of Kingdoms!*—*the Beauty of the Chaldees' excellency!* xiii. 19.—*the Tender and Delicate!* *the Lady of Kingdoms!*—*a Lady!* *a Queen for ever!* who says, *I am: and none else beside me!* xlvii. These, and other terms altogether peculiar, express her beauty; and as for her power, she is called,—*the Hammer of the whole Earth?* Jer. l. 23, *the Battle Axe!* *the weapons of war!* *proper to break in pieces nations, and to destroy kingdoms,* li. 20. Kingdoms and nations she did destroy:—but, after a while, her turn came; and we

now contemplate in her ruins a speaking instance of the vicissitude of human affairs; a most impressive evidence of the fulfilment of prophecies wherein were foretold the devastations which those ruins now witness.

And this deserves an unusual proportion of attention: for the prophecies respecting Babylon are little other than a tissue of contradictions—of contradictions which no human foresight could predict; or, if it did predict them, could, by any possibility, vindicate, or could solve, on any rational hypothesis. For instance, says Jeremiah, *the Sea is come up over Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of its waves*:—yet the same prophet denounces a punishment altogether contrary: *I will dry up the Sea of Babylon, and will make her springs dry*. In reference to the first threatening, we know that Babylon is more than five hundred miles from the ocean; in reference to the second, we know that there was no Sea at Babylon, and probably no springs. The prophet speaks thus, also, *Behold, I am against thee, O destroying Mountain, which destroyest all the earth, saith the Lord: and I will stretch out my hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the Rocks; and will make thee a burnt mountain*. Jer. li. *Rocks!* where there was not a stone in the country. *A Mountain!* where the whole territory was a morass or a plain. *A burnt mountain!* where the sea was to overwhelm the locality with the multitude of its waves. What can all this mean? How are we to reconcile these oppositions? If we establish either alternative of these prophecies, by what means shall we secure the veracity of the other? But, if either alternative be false, what becomes of the inspiration of the prophet, who has thus committed his pretensions to the mercy of events charged with the justification of direct contradictions.

To do the subject justice would require a dissertation of no common length.—We form no such pretensions. It might be proper, in that case, to divide the enquiry into three periods, 1. that of the famous Tower, which occupied the energies of no inconsiderable portion of mankind: with the selection of the site by Ninrod, of whom we read the beginning, or chief, of his kingdom was Babel.” Gen. x.—2. The accessions of space and ornament, as described by historians; assigned to various ages and sovereigns, to Belus, Ninus, Semiramis, and lastly to Nebuchadnezzar, under whose reign Scripture states various interesting particulars, and extraordinary events. 3. The decline and ruin of this famous city; or rather, as more properly included in our principal subject, the prophetic state, or the predicted sufferings and total destruction, of this unrivalled Queen of Cities. A few words in illustration of passages of Holy Writ, may take the order suggested.

No. DXCII. OF THE TOWER OF BABEL.

I HAVE endeavoured to illustrate the Pyramids of Egypt, before introducing the Tower of Babel, which probably was their original, because they are better known, are in good preservation, and may be appealed to, in illustration of that which no longer exists at Babylon: to which we may add, that very few persons have visited Babylon, whereas Egypt has lately been visited by thousands.

The points of comparison to which our attention may be directed, are these, 1. a River runs before the Pyramids, which agrees with the notion of their being *sacred* structures, since the stream was suitable to purposes of ablution; in like manner, a river ran before the Tower of Babel. 2. The general form of these structures were alike, *i. e.* broad at bottom, rising very high, tapering at top. 3. The internal construction was of less costly materials than the external; being of *sun-baked*

baked bricks, at best; while the external was *furnace-baked bricks* at Babel, but immense stones in Egypt, which insured the durability of the Egyptian edifices. 4. A City extended on each side of the river in both instances. 5. The Royal Palace was separated from the Temple by a considerable width of water. 6. There were apartments, or chapels, in each. 7. There were sacred cloisters or courts around. 8. There was (or was intended to be) at the top a great image: there are indications of such an intention on the top of the open pyramid. This thought is not new: the Jerusalem Targum in asserts it of Babel; and says that the image was to have held a sword in its hand, as a kind of protector against men and demons,—*Faciamus nobis IMAGINEM ADORATIONIS in ejus fastigio, et ponamus Gladium in manu ejus, ut conferat contra acies prælium, prius quam dispergamur de superficie terra.* These obvious agreements sufficiently evince that these structures were alike in form, and in destination, so that we may judge, pretty accurately, on what we do not know of the one, by what we do know of the other. They contribute also, to establish our inference that the same people (though not the same branch of that people) were the builders of both.

Being now enabled, by means of these points of comparison, to comprehend the intention of the builders of the Tower of Babel, we proceed to consider the mode of its construction. We read, Gen. xi. 3. that they proposed to make bricks and to *burn them thoroughly*: that these bricks were employed by them as *stones*; of which it should appear the country was destitute;—"instead of (mortar) *chemar* they had *chamar*," where the reader will observe, that the same word is used under two pronunciations, and this, probably, ought to be thus understood,—“instead of *clay-mortar*,” which is the kind used in countries east of Shinar, for buildings not expected to exceed ordinary duration, these determined builders employed the *bitumen* which rises in the lands adjacent to this Tower, or was brought from sources, higher up the Euphrates:—*bitumen-mortar*, to resist moisture from morasses formed by the river. That this application of it was analogous to the properties of *bitumen*, may appear from the following extracts:

On occasion of an inundation, about the year 1733, the foundations of the walls in Bagdad were covered with a composition, of which *bitumen* made a part. (*Ives*, page 281.)

The cement in the remarkable fortress of *Alkadder*, in the Chaldean Desert, according to M. Carmichael's description of it, appears to be *bitumen*. We know not the date of its construction.

The wall of Media (which shuts up the isthmus between the Euphrates and the Tigris, above Babylon) was built of *burnt bricks* laid in *bitumen* (Xenophon, *Anab. lib. ii.*) and the walls of *Perisabour*, in Babylonia, taken by Julian, were of the same materials: (Amm. Marc. *lib. xxiv.*) So that bitumen was much in use as a cement; but less in succeeding times. None appears in the ruins of Ctesiphon, or in Bagdad.

The quantity of bitumen that must have been employed in building Babylon, is scarcely credible. Most probably it was procured from *Hit* on the Euphrates, where it still abounds. “The master-mason told me, says M. Beauchamp, that he found some in a spot where he was digging, about twenty years ago; which is by no means strange, as it is common enough on the banks of the Euphrates. I have myself seen it on the road from Bagdad to Juba, an Arabian village, seated on that river.”

The men engaged at Babel had two objects in view; 1. to build a city, and 2. a Tower. There could be no impiety in proposing to build a city; yet, it is expressly stated, that in consequence of the Divine interposition, the continuation of the city was relinquished. On the other hand, the Tower was certainly intended as a place for worship, but not of the true God; yet, it is nowhere said in S. S. that this Tower was destroyed, or its works suspended. This is not easily explained: and the circumstance is rendered the more obscure, by the accounts of the overthrow of this structure, which have been preserved in Heathen writers. Eupolemus, quoted by Eusebius, *Præp. lib. ix.* says, "the city Babel was first founded, and afterwards the celebrated Tower; both which were built by some of the people who had escaped the deluge.—The Tower was eventually ruined by the power of the God." Abydenus, in his *Assyrian Annals*, also mentions the Tower; he says it was carried up to heaven; but, that the gods ruined it by storms and whirlwinds, frustrated the purpose for which it was designed, and OVERTHREW it on the heads of those who were engaged in the work: the ruins of it were called Babylon." *Euseb. Chron.* p. 13. The reader will bear this in mind; as it will assist in determining our judgment on the character of ruins still extant.

I do not find in S. S. any subsequent allusion to the Tower of Babel; but, there is in the LXX. a remarkable variation from our Hebrew copies; Isaiah x. 9. Where we read, *is not Calno as Carchemish?* those translators read, "Have I not taken the region which is above Babylon and Chalane, *where the Tower was built?*" That they referred to the ancient attempt of the sons of men, cannot be doubted: and the passage is so understood by the Christian Fathers; as may be seen in Bochart. The latest accounts by our travellers, especially the tract of Mr. RICH, with his plates, had raised a doubt in my mind whether the original Tower of Babel were the same with that known to us by the descriptions of ancient authors as the Tower of Belus, at Babylon. The same doubt, I perceive, had occurred to Father Kircher, *Turris Babel, lib. ii. cap. 3.* but, he produces no authority in support of his conjecture, that a second tower was built by Ninus and Semiramis. Certain it is, that no ancient author mentions two Towers: but, if we might be allowed to admit the supposition, it would obviate almost every difficulty that at present appears insurmountable, in attempting to reconcile ancient accounts with actual appearances.

Under this supposition, I beg leave for the present to close this article, by submitting to the reader an instance of a building very similar in form and proportions to the original Tower; and producing effects on the eye and mind of a British traveller, analogous to that which we may allowably presume was intended by the priests and the builders of Babel. It is Mr. Wathen's account of the great Pagoda at Conjeveram, the Dewal, or Temple of *Vurdaraujah*; extracted from his *Voyage to Madras, &c. Lond.* 1814.

"The Tower, or most elevated part of this building, consisted of fifteen stories, or stages; the floor of the lowest of these was covered with boards somewhat decayed, and was about twenty feet square, having much the appearance of the belfry of a country church in England. A ladder of fifteen rounds conducted us to the next stage, and so on, from story to story, until we reached the top, each stage or floor diminishing gradually in size to the summit. Here our labour was most amply repaid; for never had I witnessed so beautiful and so sublime a prospect. It so far surpassed every idea I had or could have formed of its grandeur and effect, that I was almost entranced in its contemplation. I forgot all the world beside, and felt

as if I could have continued on this elevated spot for ever. To whichever point of the compass I turned, the view was equally wonderful, new, and enchanting. The eye of man, I am persuaded, never could, from any other spot in the universe, survey a scene more grand, beautiful, and interesting. I distinctly saw above forty villages, with their pagodas and temples, embosomed in trees of the most lively verdure, presenting every shade of green according to the distance; each village having its spacious tank glistening like a mirror. I could even discern the tombs adorned with drooping cypresses, with which each is almost surrounded, to a great distance. I could distinguish some of the villages (with which our guide was well acquainted) at the extreme distance of near forty miles. To the North-east was the open country, Madras, and the sea. The mountains beyond Arcot and Vellore were lofty, and plainly perceptible."

No. DXCIII. OF THE TOWER OF BELUS.

UNDER the article BABEL in the *Dictionary*, it is taken as certain, that the inhabitants of a city would not willingly adopt as the name of their metropolis an appellation implying *confusion*. The same feeling would lead them to conceal, as much as might be, from strangers, the history of any building, or of the remains of any building, with which they must of necessity connect an interposition of the gods so unfavourable, in fact, so destructive, as that which their own writers have transmitted in reference to a mass that is well described as a mountain of rubbish. If the gods had reduced this work, however wonderful originally, to a scene of desolation, it is impossible that it should have been in a condition to justify the following description of it, as given by Herodotus, an eye-witness:

The square of the Temple, says Herodotus, was *two stadia* (1000 feet); and the Tower itself *one stadium*; with which Strabo agrees. The former adds, "In the midst, a Tower rises, solid, of the depth and height [width?] of one stadium; upon which resting, as on the bottom of a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch, magnificently adorned; and near it, a table of solid gold, but there is no statue in the place." (*Clio*, 181.) He afterwards (183.) describes another chapel, lower down in the structure, with golden statues, tables and altars: all of which appear to have been forcibly taken away by Xerxes, who also put the priests to death.

Strabo (p. 178.) says, that the *sepulchre* of Belus was a *pyramid* of *one stadium* in height; whose base was a square of like dimensions; and that it was ruined by Xerxes. Arrian agrees in this particular; and both of them say, that Alexander wished to restore it, that is, we may suppose, both the Tower and Temple, but that he found it too great a labour: for it is said, that ten thousand men were not able to remove the rubbish, in the course of two months. Arrian calls it a stupendous and magnificent fabric; and says it was situated in the *heart* of the city. Diodorus, *lib. ii. c. 1.* says, it was entirely gone to ruin in his time; so that nothing certain could be made out, concerning its design; but that it was of an exceeding great height, built of brick, and cemented with bitumen; in which the others generally agree. Diodorus adds, that on the top was a statue of Belus, 40 feet in height; in an upright posture.

"That it was exceeding lofty, must be conceived by the mode of expression of

those who describe it: and if it be admitted that the whole fabric was a stadium in height, as Strabo says, and as appears probable; even this measure, which is about 500 feet, must be allowed to be a vast height, for so bulky a structure raised by the hands of men; for it is about 20 feet higher than the great pyramid of Memphis; and would exceed the loftiest pile in this island (Salisbury steeple) by 100 feet. It is said by Dr. Greaves, that the old steeple of St. Paul's, previous to the fire of 1666, was 520 feet in height; which was, of course, 40 feet higher than the pyramid; 20 higher than the Tower of Belus. But as the base of the great pyramid is about 700 feet square, or nearly once and a half that of the Tower of Belus, the solid contents of the pyramid must have been much greater. The Greeks with Alexander, who saw and described the Tower, had also seen the pyramids: but they make no comparison between either their bulk, or their altitudes. The Tower, from its having a narrower base, would *appear* much more than twenty feet higher than the pyramid.

"Authors differ also, in respect of the manner in which the Tower was completed, at the top. Herodotus says, that it terminated in a spacious dome, in the nature of a chapel or temple; but others say, an observatory. Diodorus says, that the statue of Belus was at the top: Herodotus says, lower down the building. Who shall decide? Xerxes is said to have removed the statues; so that, of course, Herodotus could not have seen them.

"It may be concluded, that the uppermost stories consisted more of masonry, than of earth; but the lower, chiefly of earth, which was retained in its place, by a vast wall of sun-dried bricks, the outer part, or facing of which, was composed of such as had undergone the operation of fire. Strabo says, that the sides of the tower were of *burnt* bricks."

Such was the Tower of Belus; of which the reader is enabled to form a tolerably accurate notion, by what has been already said on the Pyramids of Egypt, the Pagoda of Conjeveram, the article in the *Dictionary*, and Plate TOWER OF BABEL.

"Abulfeda says, (see *Irak*; article BABEL,) that Babel, anciently a celebrated city, which communicated its name to the whole province, (Babylonia,) has now nothing more than a village on its site. There are still to be seen the ruins of structures of the highest antiquity; which induces a belief that a great city stood there. He adds, that in ancient times the kings of *Canaan* resided there. Also, that *Helah* stands on the *land* of *Babel*; as well as *Sura*, which is near to Kafr Ibn Hobeira."

"M. Otter, quoting the Turkish geographer, Ibrahim Effendi, says, that '*Babel* is *close* to *Hellah*: and on the left hand, (*i. e.* on the west) of the road, in going from Hillah to Bagdad.' (Vol. ii. p. 11.)

The Arabs and inhabitants on the spot, not only give the name of Babel to the district round about Hellah; but have also pointed out to many European travellers, (in particular Della Valle, Pere Emanuel, Niebuhr, and Beauchamp) vast ruins and heaps of earth or rubbish, on both sides of the Euphrates, as the remains of the ancient city, spoken of by Abulfeda, and other Eastern writers.

No. DXCIV. OF THE PALACE OF BABYLON.

IT is somewhat remarkable that, notwithstanding the descriptions of Babylon left us by ancient authors, we have no very precise accounts of the Royal Palace there: insomuch that some have ventured to infer the identity of the Temple of

Belus with the Palace. Diodorus, indeed speaks of two Palaces; one at each end of the bridge over the river; both of them very magnificent; but one more superb than the other; and consisting of several halls. They were surrounded by, at least, three walls of great strength and solidity, and laboriously ornamented. These he attributes to Queen Semiramis, whom he places in the earliest ages. But, it is probable, that the most extraordinary structure of the kind was built by king Nebuchadnezzar; for such seems to be the import of his words, Dan. iv. 30. King Nebuchadnezzar walked in the *Palace* of the kingdom of Babylon [rather, in the *Hall*, the *Durbar*, or *Royal Hall*, the hall of audience of his Palace] and the king spake and said, "Is not this great, this Babel, that I have built for the *house* [בֵּית, *to be* the PALACE, בֵּית] of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" If this acceptation of the passage be correct, the pomp and magnificence of this building by this monarch, was the immediate occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's pride, rather than the construction of the city, at large.

No. DXCV. OF THE CITY OF BABYLON.

WHETHER the foregoing conjecture be valid, or otherwise, we are to consider the City of Babylon on the authority of Scripture, as being refreshed by a considerable number of streams; for so says the repining Psalmist, cxxxvii. 2. "By the *rivers* [streams, flowing currents] of Babylon we sat down."—"On the *willows* (plural) *in the midst thereof, we hanged our harps*" (plural). There must, then, have been gardens visited by these streams, easily accessible to the captive Israelites: not the Royal gardens, exclusively, but others less reserved; and the phrase *in the midst thereof, i. e.* of Babylon, seems to denote—not gardens above or below the City, but strictly *in its interior*. We know, also, that there was but one river at Babylon then, as there is but one now, the Euphrates, so that when these captives represent themselves as "sitting by the *rivers* of Babylon," in the plural, they inform us, that this river was divided into several branches, or canals: and these were, doubtless, works of art. Moreover, from Jeremiah's threat of drying up the *Sea* of Babylon, we learn, that there was a considerable *Lake* or reservoir, in the interior of the City; for to such large receptacles of water the appellation *sea* was, and still is, applied in the East. Undoubtedly, the water of this lake, and of these canals, being furnished by the Euphrates, the name of that river might be continued to them, in a general sense: and, if this be admitted, a great proportion of those difficulties which the learned have hitherto found insuperable, are reduced to trifles, if they do not vanish. Nor ought we to forget, that the Egyptian Memphis, which we have supposed to be a copy from Babylon, was, in like manner, surrounded and visited by streams, by canals, &c. all of them drawn from one river, the Nile, and bearing its name.

When Diodorus speaks of a bridge across the Euphrates, *five stadia in length*, he must be mistaken, or we are mistaken, in reading him, since the river is not one quarter of that width: and not only are there no traces of any bridge remaining, but there is a bare possibility that such a structure should have existed. It is however, possible that there might be a bridge of communication over the artificial, or admitted, waters of the City: and with this we must be content at present. Diodorus says, also, that Semiramis chose the lowest place in Babylon, in which to dig a square lake, in depth thirty-five feet, each side of which was three hundred stadia in length. This may be justified from the allusion of Jeremiah to

the *sea* of Babylon; but the dimensions assigned it are enormous and incredible. Traces of a large reservoir, but not so prodigious, still exist. If it be true, as the same writer reports, that Semiramis built, in the middle of the City, the Temple of Jupiter, called Belus by the Babylonians; then it will follow, also, that this was a distinct, and subsequent, building from the most ancient Tower; and by acceptance of this fact, we advance one step nearer to an understanding of the present appearance of the ruins.

From the history in Daniel, chap. iii. of the consecration of Nebuchadnezzar's "Golden Image," we know that Babylon contained a vast plain, capacious enough to accommodate the assembled officers of his empire, with all the pomp and preparations in the power of this mighty monarch, and, beyond all doubt, also a very great proportion of the prodigious population of Babylon.

This is called the plain of *Dura*, דורא; and, deducing its name from the meaning of the root, it imports the *round*, or *circular*, enclosure. As the occasion was the consecration of a statue, it is natural to suppose, that the ceremony would take place as near as might be, and if possible, immediately before, the temple, or sacred station, in which this idol deity was to remain: it would not be dedicated in a distant place, and afterwards conveyed to its appointed residence; but, the homages of its worshippers would be more appropriate on its arrival *at home*, and its inhabitation of its destined residence. This enables us to affix a character to a large circular inclosure, of which the remains are still visible at Babylon: and this enclosure surrounds the principal mounds, which *may be* those of the Temple of Belus, [distinct from the Tower of Babel.] and the Royal Palace: in fact, admitting this very natural supposition, it contributes at the same time an argument, not without its use, in attempting to identify, and distinguish these extensive structures. I do not find that this plain is described by ancient authors, unless it be included in what they report of the accommodations and *enceinte* of the palace.

Diodorus says, that the Temple occupied the centre of the *City*; Herodotus says, the centre of *that division* of the City in which it stood; as the palace in the centre of *its* division. But the description of Diodorus is pointed, with respect to the fact of the palace being near to the bridge, and consequently to the river's bank: and he is borne out by the descriptions of Strabo, and Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to be very near the river: and all agree, that they were within, or adjacent to the square of the *fortified palace*. Strabo, p. 738. He says, that 'the Euphrates flows through the middle of the City; and the pensile gardens are adjacent to the river; from whence they were watered.

It appears probable, that the Temple also was at no great distance from the bank of the river.

No. DXCVI. OF THE WALLS OF BABYLON.

THE reader has already perceived the confusion occasioned by a too general application of the name Babel: it has denoted the Original Tower, the Original City, the Subsequent Tower, the Palace, the Later City, and now we shall find it expressing the Province of Babylonia: in fact, it stands connected in that sense with the Plain of Dura; which is said to be *in the province of Babylon*; and which might be placed at a distance from the city, were it not for considerations already recited. Ancient authors have raised the wonder of their readers by allowing to the Walls of Babylon dimensions and extent which confound the imagination, and rather belong to a

province than to a city. But, that they really were of extraordinary dimensions, should appear from references made to them by the prophet, who threatens them with destruction. Jeremiah, l. 15. says, "her foundations are fallen: her Walls are thrown down;" and again, li. 44. "the very Wall of Babylon shall fall:" and in verse 58. the broad Wall of Babylon shall be utterly broken:"—observe, the *broad* Wall; and in verse 53. we read, "Though Babylon shall mount up to heaven [*i. e.* her defences] and though she should fortify the height of her strength" [*i. e.* her wall.] Thus we find allusions to the height, the breadth, and the strength, of the Walls of Babylon: but, before we proceed to examine these passages more fully we shall avail ourselves in part, at least, of what descriptions are afforded by heathen writers.

"Public belief has been staggered by the enormous dimensions allowed to Babylon by the different authors of ancient times, Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, and Quintus Curtius; because that, even if the most confined of those measures reported by the followers of Alexander, (who viewed it at their fullest leisure), be adopted, and the stadia taken at a moderate standard, they will give an area of 72 square miles.

"We therefore conceive that, with respect to the extent of the *buildings* and population of Babylon, we ought not to receive the above measure as a scale; from the great improbability of *so vast a contiguous space* having ever been built on: but that the Wall might have been continued to the extent given, does not appear so improbable: for we cannot suppose that so many ancient writers could have been misled concerning this point.

"But although we may extend our belief to the vastness of the *enceinte*, it does not follow that we are to believe that 80, or even 72 square miles, contiguous to each other, were covered with buildings.

"The different reports of the extent of the Walls of Babylon, are given as follow:

"By Herodotus, at 120 stadia, each side; or 480 stadia in circumference.

"By Pliny and Solinus, at 60 Roman miles; which, at 8 stadia to a mile, agrees with Herodotus.

"By Strabo, at 385 stadia:

"By Diodorus, from *Ctesias*, 360: but from *Clitarchus*, who accompanied Alexander, 365. And lastly, by Curtius, at 368.

"It appears highly probable that 360, or 365, was the true statement of the circumference.

"That the area inclosed by the Walls of Babylon was only partly built on, is proved by the words of Quintus Curtius, who says, *lib. v. c. 4.* that 'the buildings (in Babylon) are not contiguous to the Walls, but some considerable space was left all round.'

'Nor, (says he) do the houses join: perhaps from motives of safety. The remainder of the space is *cultivated*; that in the event of a siege, the inhabitants might not be compelled to depend on supplies from without.' Thus far Curtius.

"Diodorus describes a vast space taken up by the palaces and public buildings. The inclosure of one of the palaces, (which appears to be what is called by others, the *citadel*,) was a square of 15 stadia, or near a mile and a half; the other of five stadia: here are more than two and a half square miles occupied by the palaces alone. Besides these, there were the temple and tower of Belus, of vast extent; the hanging gardens, &c.

"But after all, it is certain, and we are ready to allow, that the extent of the buildings of Babylon was great, and far beyond the ordinary size of capital cities,

then known in the world: which may indeed be concluded, from the manner in which the ancients in general speak of it.

“The population of this city, during its most flourishing state, exceeded twelve hundred thousand; or perhaps, *a million and a quarter*.

“The *hanging* gardens (as they are called), which had an area of about three and a half acres, had trees of a considerable size growing in them: and it is not improbable that they were of a species, different from those of the natural growth of the alluvial soil of Babylonia. Curtius says, that some of them were eight cubits in the girth; and Strabo, that there was a contrivance to prevent the large roots from destroying the superstructure, by building vast hollow piers, which were filled with earth to receive them. These trees may have been perpetuated in the same spot where they grew, notwithstanding that the terraces may have subsided, by the crumbling of the piers and walls, that supported them.”

It appears that we ought to make a distinction here: that the *province* of Babylonia should be surrounded by a Wall of immense *thickness*, for the purpose of a fortification, is little less than ridiculous: but that an enclosure, or wall, might embrace a large extent of country, is credible. If the reader will turn back to No. DV. p. 19. he will find a passage to our purpose, quoted from Ibn Haukal, who speaks of villages “extending for nearly twelve farsang by twelve farsang, *all about this space is a WALL*; and within it the people dwell winter and summer.”—This may be allowed to justify the extent assigned to the Walls of Babylonia, *as a province*; while those more proximate to the *city* of Babylon, were certainly, constructed with wonderful labour, skill, and solidity, according to the duty demanded of them in protecting a narrower space.

And this seems rather to militate against the sentiment of Dr. BLAYNEY, who would keep to the singular, *wall*, where the term occurs; as Jer. li. 58. “The Walls [plural] of Babylon; the broad [wall, *singular*] shall be utterly broken.” It would be hazardous to insist that the prophet intended a distinction from narrower walls by using the term *broad*; but, those who observe that in chap. l. 15. we have also *walls* in the plural—“her *walls* are thrown down,” as the Dr. himself renders, will hesitate on reducing the term in this place to the singular.

We are now prepared to examine somewhat more closely the predictions quoted from the prophet. With regard to the first, Jer. l. 15. “her *foundations* are fallen,” Dr. BLAYNEY observes, very justly, that *foundations* cannot fall: they are already deep in the ground, they may be razed, or uprooted, but they can go no lower. He therefore renders with the LXX. *επαλξεις*, *her battlements*, or the *turrets* filled with men who fought in defence of the walls: they might be somewhat analagous to the *bastions* of modern fortification; but, most likely, they were raised higher than the wall itself. Another passage deserves remark, as being manifestly intended by the writer to display uncommon emphasis. li. 58. “The *broad* Wall of Babylon shall be *utterly broken*.” These last words are but a feeble resemblance of the original. In Psalm cxxxvii. 7. a term is used that may throw some light on this. “The sons of Edom said of Jerusalem—[by the bye, what business have the *sons of Edom* in an ode complaining of Babylon, and her cruelties?]*—Raze it, raze it, ער ער*, even to the foundation.” The Psalmist contents himself with the simple form of the word, and with the force obtained by repeating it: whereas the prophet doubles and quadruples it, in a manner very difficult to be rendered into English, *ער תערע ער*, *in utterly razing it most utterly raze it—doubly destroy it with double destruction*. And this is denounced

denounced on the *broad* Wall of Babylon: if, therefore, traces should be found of any narrow Wall of this ill-fated city, they may be allowed to possess their interest: but, hitherto no indications of the *broad* Wall have been so much as suspected by the most inquisitive, and probably no such discovery ever will be achieved.

We have now touched, so far as convenient, on the particulars connected with Babylon, except one that has puzzled all commentators, Jer. li. 41. "How is SHESHACH taken! And how is the praise of the whole earth surprized! How is BABYLON become an astonishment among the nations!" On which says Dr. BLAYNEY, "That Babylon is meant by *Sheshach* is certain; but, why it is so called, is yet matter of doubt." We have this term also, chap. xxv. 26. "And the king of *Sheshach* shall drink—after the other kings of the earth." "The *king* of *Sheshach*"—there is, therefore, somewhat of royalty connected with this term. It is, however, distinguished from Babylon: it might be *near* that city; or a suburb of that city; or an edifice in that city; but, Babylon itself, most probably, it does not intend.

We have a man of this name, 1 Chron. viii. 14, 25. where *Sheshak* for *Shekshak* seems to import *excessive desire* (of his parents,) and could we find any place, or palace, or country seat, of the King of Babylon called by this name, it would explain the appellation at once. We know that kings often call their privacies, their retreats, by names expressive of delight, or desire: but this seems rather to have been, on the contrary, a place of popular resort, *e. gr.* a square before a palace, or a portico of a palace, or of public entry, *i. e.* of *crowding forward* of people, might be. A famous Portico of a Mosque thus distinguished, is noticed by Sir JOHN CHARDIN, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 392.

Masoom Vicar to the Great Pontiff, whose sage counsels teach the sun to govern his motion, caused this PORTAL [The word signifies DESIRE, says a note.] to be made by one of his substitutes Aga Mourad, the height and excellency of which surpasses the celestial throne.

This is the entrance into the Palace Royal of the thrice venerable pure Virgin, descended from the house of the Prophet.

Happy and glorious that faithful person who shall prostrate his head on the threshold of this gate, in imitation of the sun and moon. Whatever he shall demand with faith from above, this gate shall be like an arrow that hits the mark, i. e. shall answer his desires.

Certainly Fortune shall never molest the enterprizes of him, who, for the love of God raised this PORTAL [Desire] in the face of the people.

O thou faithful, if thou demandest in what year this PORTAL [Desire] was built, I answer thee, from above the Portal, From DESIRE [the Portal] demand thy desires.

That some gate in Nebuchadnezzar's palace, or some palace inhabited by the monarch, or the family, harem, &c. of the monarch, might bear a name analogous to that of this Portal, is all we need presume: the fact cannot be proved as a fact; but, it is so exactly in the eastern style, that it includes all points of probability: and may be allowed to pass as a conjecture in a case so desperate, and so entirely devoid of evidence.

We shall now direct our attention to the remains of those once magnificent structures which distinguished Babylon as the wonder of the world: of their elegance we cannot judge, as that has ceased to exist; of their magnitude we can form some estimate, though not of their connection or mutual dependance: we shall, nevertheless, find on examination, sufficient particulars attached to these monuments of persevering labour to justify the predictions of the prophets, to clear them from the charge of inconsistency, or prevarication; which is our principal object.

No. DXCVII. DESCRIPTIONS OF MODERN TRAVELLERS.

THE first traveller who communicated an intelligible account of these antiquities was DELLA VALLE, who, in 1616, examined them more minutely and leisurely than some who went before him. His account of the more northerly of these Ruins, which he calls the Tower of Belus, but which has been introduced to the reader as the original Tower of Babel, is instructive, notwithstanding later information. "In the midst of a vast and level plain," says this writer, "about a quarter of a league from the Euphrates, appears a heap of ruined buildings, like a *huge mountain*, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it. Its figure is square, and it rises in form of a tower or pyramid, with four fronts, which answer to the four quarters of the compass, but it seems longer from north to south than from east to west, and is, as far as I could judge by my pacing it, a large quarter of a league. Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which Strabo calls the Tower of Belus. . . . The height of this *mountain of ruins* is not in every part equal, but exceeds the highest palace in Naples; it is a misshapen mass, wherein there is no appearance of regularity; in some places it rises in sharp points, craggy, and inaccessible; in others it is smoother and of easier ascent; there are also traces of torrents from the summit to the base, caused by violent rains. . . . It is built with large and thick bricks, as I carefully observed, having caused excavations to be made in several places for that purpose; but they do not appear to have been burned, but dried in the sun, which is extremely hot in those parts. These sun-baked bricks, in whose substance were mixed bruised *reeds* and *straw*, and which were laid in clay-mortar, compose the great mass of the building, but other bricks were also perceived at certain intervals, especially where the strongest buttresses stood, of the same size, but baked in the kiln, and set in good lime and *bitumen*." Vol. ii. Let. 17.

He paced the circumference, and found it to be 1134 of his ordinary steps; say about 2552, or 2600, feet: consequently, the dimensions of each side should have been about 640, or 650 feet. He observed foundations of buildings around the great mass, at the distance of 50 or 60 paces.

This ruin has subsequently been known under the appellation of "DELLA VALLE'S Ruin;" it is the same as the natives call MAKLOUBE, MUJELIBE', *i.e.* OVERTURNED; or "the Pyramid of *Haroot* and *Maroot*."

M. BEAUCHAMP, Vicar General of Babylon, and Corresponding Member of the French Academy of Sciences, visited these celebrated ruins, several times within the (then) last twenty years [1799]. He says, "The Ruins of Babylon are very visible a league north of Hellah. There is, in particular an elevation which is flat on the top; of an irregular figure; and intersected by ravines. It would never have been suspected for the work of human hands, were it not proved by the layers of bricks found in it. Its height is not more than 60 yards. It is so little elevated, that the least ruin we pass in the road to it, conceals it from the view. To come at the bricks, it is necessary to dig into the earth. They are baked with fire, and cemented with *zephth*, or *bitumen*: between each layer are found *osiers*."

"Above this mount, on the side of the river, are *those immense ruins*, which have served, and still serve, for the building of Hellah, an Arabian city, containing 10 or 12,000 souls. Here are found those large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to the Abbé Barthelemy. This place, and the mount of Babel, are commonly called by the Arabs MAKLOUBE,

that is, *turned topsy-turvy*. I was informed by the master-mason employed to dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and, about eight years ago, a statue as large as life, which he threw among the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber he found the figures of a cow, and of the sun and moon, formed of varnished bricks. Sometimes, idols of clay are found, representing human figures. I found one brick on which was a lion, and on others a half-moon in relief. The bricks are *cemented with bitumen*, except in one place, which is well preserved, where they are united by a very thin stratum of white cement, which appears to me to be made of lime and sand.

"The bricks are every where of the same dimensions, one foot three lines square by three inches thick. *Occasionally*, layers of osiers in *bitumen* are found, as at Babel.

"The master-mason led me along a valley, which he dug out a long while ago, to get at the bricks of a wall, that, from the marks he shewed me, I guess to have been sixty feet thick. It ran perpendicular to the bed of the river, and was probably the Wall of the city. I found in it a subterranean canal, which, instead of being arched over, is covered with pieces of sand-stone, six or seven feet long, by three wide. These Ruins extend several leagues to the north of Hellah, and incontestably mark the situation of ancient Babylon."

The increasing curiosity of the ingenuous, with the arrival in Europe of several inscribed bricks, and other instances of the kind of letters used in these inscriptions, induced the visits of other travellers: the following are extracts from Mr. KINNEIR's *Memoir on Persia*.

"In the latitude of 32 deg. 25 min. N. and, according to my reckoning, fifty-four miles from Bagdad, stands the modern town of Hilleh, on the banks of the Euphrates. It covers a very small portion of the space occupied by the ancient capital of Assyria, the Ruins of which have excited the curiosity and admiration of the few European travellers, whom chance or business, has conducted to this remote quarter of the globe, and have been partially described by Benjamin of Tudela, Beauchamp, and Pietro Della Valle. p. 269.

"The town of Hilleh is said, by the people of the country, to be built on the scite of Babel; and some gigantic Ruins, still to be seen in its vicinity are believed to be the remains of that antient metropolis.

"I visited these ruins in 1808; and my friend Captain Frederick, whose name I have had frequent occasion to mention in this Memoir, spent six days in minutely examining every thing worthy of attention, for many miles around Hilleh. I shall, therefore, without noticing the description given by former travellers, state first what was seen by myself; and afterwards the result of Captain Frederick's inquiries. The principal ruin, and that which is thought to represent the Temple of Belus, is four miles north of Hilleh, and a quarter of a mile from the east bank of the Euphrates. This stupendous monument of antiquity is a huge pyramid, nine hundred paces in circumference. [Captain Frederick measured the east and south faces at the top, and found the former to be one hundred and eighty, and the latter one hundred and ninety paces, at two feet and a half each pace.] and, as nearly as I could guess, about two hundred and twenty feet in height at the most elevated part. It is an exact quadrangle. Three of its faces are still perfect; but that towards the south has lost more of its regularity than the others. This pyramid is built entirely of brick dried in the sun, cemented in some places with bitumen

and regular layers of reeds, and in others with slime and reeds, which appeared to me as fresh as if they had only been used a few days before. [All that Captain Frederick saw were cemented with bitumen. On entering a small cavern, however, about twenty feet in depth, I found that the bricks in the interior of the mass were invariably cemented with slime and layers of reeds at each course.] Quantities of furnace-baked brick were, however, scattered at the foot of the pyramid: and it is more than probable that it was once faced with the latter, which have been removed by the natives for the construction of their houses. The outer edges of the bricks, from being exposed to the weather, have mouldered away: it is, therefore, only on minute examination, that the nature of the materials of which it is composed can be ascertained. When viewed from a distance, the ruin has more the appearance of a small hill than a building. The ascent is in most places so gentle, that a person may ride all over it. Deep ravines have been sunk by the periodical rains; and there are numerous long narrow cavities, or passages, which are now the unmolested retreat of jackals, hyænas, and other noxious animals. The bricks of which this structure is built are larger, and much inferior to any other I have seen: they have no inscriptions on them, and are seldom used by the natives, on account of their softness. The name given by the Arabs to this ruin is *Haroot* and *Maroot*; for they believe that, near the foot of the pyramid, there still exists (although invisible to mankind) a well, in which those two wicked angels were condemned by the Almighty to be suspended by the heels until the end of the world, as a punishment for their vanity and presumption. M. Della Valle mentions several smaller mounds, as being situated in the plain in the immediate vicinity of the pyramid. Captain Frederick and myself looked in vain for these mounds; we could only discern the high banks of a canal, running parallel to the S. W. face of the square, and a mound, about half a mile distant, of which I shall speak hereafter.

“On the opposite [the W.] side of the river, about six miles S.W. of Hilleh, a second eminence, not quite so large as that just mentioned, but of greater elevation, would seem to have escaped the observation of modern travellers; with the exception of Niebuhr, by whom it is slightly mentioned. It is formed of furnace-baked and sun-dried brick, about one foot in diameter, and from three to four inches thick. This pyramid is styled *Nimrod* by the Arabs; and on its summit are the remains of a small square tower, the wall of which is eight feet thick, and, as nearly as I could guess, about fifty in height. It is built of furnace-baked bricks, of a yellowish colour, cemented with slime, but no reeds or bitumen were perceptible. From this tower there is a most extensive view of the windings of the Euphrates, through the level plain of Shinar. Its banks are lined with villages and orchards, and here and there a few scattered hamlets in the desert appeared like spots on the surface of the ocean. On the top and sides of the mound I observed several fragments of different colours, resembling, in appearance, pieces of mis-shapen rock. Captain Frederick examined these curious fragments with much attention, and was at first inclined to think that they were consolidated pieces of fallen masonry; but this idea was soon laid aside, as they were found so hard as to resist iron, in the manner of any other very hard stone, and the junction of the bricks was not to be discerned. It is difficult to form a conjecture concerning these extraordinary fragments, (some of which are six and eight feet in diameter) as there is no stone of such a quality to be procured any where in the neighbouring country, and we could see or hear of no building of which they could form a part. Here, those bricks which

have inscriptions on them, are generally found by the Arabs, who are constantly employed in digging for them, to build the houses at Hilleh. About a hundred and twenty paces from this pyramid is another, not so high, but of greater circumference at the base. Bricks are dug in great quantities from this place; but none, I believe, with inscriptions.

[To return to the E. side.] About one mile and a half from Hilleh, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, Captain Frederick discovered a longitudinal mound, close on the edge of the river; and two miles farther up, in an easterly direction, a second more extensive than the first. He was given to understand that the Arabs were in the habit of procuring vast quantities of burnt bricks from this mound, none of which however, had any inscription. He perceived, on examination, a wall of red bricks, in one part even with the surface of the ground, and open to the depth of thirty feet in the mound, the earth having been moved for the purpose of procuring the bricks. At another place, not far distant, were the remains of an extensive building. Some of its walls were in great preservation, ten feet above the surface of the rubbish; and the foundation, at another part, had not been reached at the depth of forty-five feet. It was six feet eight inches thick, built of a superior kind of yellowish brick, furnace-baked, and cemented, not with bitumen or reeds, but lime mixed with sand. A decayed tree, not far from this spot, was shewn by the country people, as being coeval with the building itself. Its girth, two feet from the ground, measured four feet seven inches, and it might be about twenty feet in height: it was hollow, and apparently very old. [Former travellers have asserted, that they saw a number of very old and uncommon looking trees along the banks of the river: but neither Captain Frederick or myself saw any but this one; and it certainly differed from the other trees which grow in the neighbourhood.] The great pyramid, first mentioned, is only about half, or three quarters of a mile from this mound.

“ Captain Frederick having carefully examined every mound or spot, described by the natives as belonging to Babel, endeavoured to discover if any thing remained of the ancient city WALL. He commenced by riding five miles down the bank of the river, and then by following its windings, sixteen miles north of Hilleh, on the eastern side. The western bank was explored with the same minuteness; but not a trace of any deep excavation, or any rubbish or mounds (excepting those already mentioned) were discovered. Leaving the river, he proceeded from Hilleh to a village named Karakooli, a distance of fifteen miles, in a N. W. direction, without meeting any thing worthy of remark. He next rode in a parallel line, six miles to the west, and as many to the east of the pyramid of *Haroot* and *Maroot*, and returned to Hilleh, disappointed in all his expectations; for within a space of twenty-one miles in length and twelve in breadth, he was unable to discover any thing that could admit of a conclusion, that either a wall or ditch had ever existed within this area. [Captain Frederick informed me, that he dedicated eight and ten hours each day to his inquiries, during his stay at Hilleh.]

“ The size, situation, and construction of the pyramid of *Haroot* and *Maroot* have led Major Rennell and D’Anville to suppose it to be the remains of the Temple of Belus. The latter, as we have already stated, is described as being a square of a stadium in breadth, and of equal dimensions at the base, and built of brick cemented with bitumen. The mass which we now see is an exact quadrangle, which ten feet within the outer edge of the rubbish measured nine hundred paces, or two thousand two hundred and fifty feet, *exceeding the circuit of the base of the Tower of Belus by two hundred and fifty feet*: a trifling excess, when we consider how much

it must have increased by the fallen ruins. Its elevation, at the S. W. angle, is still upwards of two hundred feet; which is very great, considering its antiquity, and the soft materials of which it is composed. Strabo represents the Temple of Belus as having an exterior coat of burnt brick; and, as I have before said, there is every reason to believe, from the accumulation of pieces of furnace-baked bricks at the foot of each face, that this was the case with the great Pyramid to the north of Hilleh. We are, however, left in some doubt respecting the situation of the Temple. Diodorus says that it stood in the centre of the city: but the text is obscure; and it may be inferred, that the palace on the east bank of the Euphrates and [the] Temple were the same. If this be the case, we may be permitted to conjecture, that the Euphrates once pursued a course different from that which it now follows and that it flowed, between the pyramid of *Haroot* and *Maroot* and the mound and the ruins, already mentioned as half a mile farther to the west. The present course of the river would appear to justify this conclusion; for it bends suddenly towards these mounds, and has the appearance of having formerly passed between them. Should this conjecture be admitted, then will the ruins just mentioned be found to answer the description given by the ancients of the materials, size, and situation of the two principal edifices in Babylon. But if not, we shall continue in ignorance concerning the remains of the palace; for the pyramid is far too distant from the river and the other ruins, to incline us to suppose it to have been the royal residence." p. 279.

To Mr. Rich, Resident at Bagdad for the East India Company, we are obliged for a still more particular account of these monuments of antiquity: his tracts have greatly engaged the attention of the public, and have given occasion to much investigation: the following are extracts from his first work. *Lond.* 1815.

"The Ruins of Babylon may in fact be said almost to commence from Mohawil, a very indifferent khan, close to which is a large canal with a bridge over it, the whole country between it and Hellah exhibiting at intervals traces of building, in which are discoverable burnt and unburnt bricks and bitumen. Three mounds in particular attract attention from their magnitude.

"The district called by the natives *El-Aredh Babel*, extends on both sides of the Euphrates.

"The ruins of the eastern quarter of Babylon commence about two miles above Hellah, and consist of two large masses or mounds connected with, and lying N. and S. of each other; and several smaller ones which cross the plain at different intervals. [At] the northern termination of the plain is Pietro Della Valle's Ruin; from the S. E. (to which it evidently once joined, being only obliterated there by two canals) proceeds a narrow ridge or mound of earth, wearing the appearance of having been a boundary wall. This ridge forms a kind of circular enclosure, and joins the S. E. point of the most southerly of the two grand masses." "The whole area inclosed by the boundary on the east and south, and the river on the west, is two miles and six hundred yards from E. to W.—as much from Pietro Della Valle's Ruin to the southern part of the boundary, or two miles and one thousand yards to the most southerly mound of all.

"The first grand mass of Ruins [South] is one thousand one hundred yards in length, and eight hundred in the greatest breadth. . . . The most elevated part may be about fifty or sixty feet above the level of the plain, and it has been dug into for the purpose of procuring bricks.

"On the north is a valley of five hundred and fifty yards in length, the area of which is covered with tussocks of rank grass, [is longest from E. to W.] and crossed

[from S. to N.] by a line of ruins of very little elevation. To this succeeds [going N.] the second grand heap of ruins, the shape of which is nearly a square of seven hundred yards length and breadth. . . . This is the place where Beauchamp made his observations; and it certainly is the most interesting part of the Ruins of Babylon: every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter: the bricks are of the finest description; and notwithstanding this is the grand storehouse of them, and that the greatest supplies have been and are now constantly drawn from it, they appear still to be abundant.

“In all these excavations walls of burnt brick laid in lime mortar of a very good quality are seen; and in addition to the substances generally strewed on the surfaces of all these mounds we here find fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and great quantities of varnished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which is surprisingly fresh. In a hollow near the southern part I found a sepulchral urn of earthen-ware, which had been broken in digging, and near it lay some human bones, which pulverized with the touch.

“To be more particular in my description of this mound:—not more than two hundred yards from its northern extremity is a ravine, hollowed out by those who dig for bricks, in length near a hundred yards, and thirty feet wide by forty or fifty deep. On one side of it a few yards of wall remain standing, the face of which is very clear and perfect, and it appears to have been the front of some building. The opposite side is so confused a mass of rubbish, that it should seem the ravine had been worked through a solid building. Under the foundations of the southern end an opening is made, which discovers a subterranean passage floored and walled with large bricks laid in bitumen, and covered over with pieces of sand stone, a yard thick and several yards long, on which the whole [weight rests] being so great as to have given a considerable degree of obliquity to the side walls of the passage. It is half full of brackish water (probably rain water impregnated with nitre, in filtering through the ruins; which are all very productive of it:) and the workmen say that some way on it is high enough for a horseman to pass upright; as much as I saw of it, it was near seven feet in height, and its course to the south.—This is described by Beauchamp, who most unaccountably imagines it must have been part of the CITY WALL. The superstructure over the passage is cemented with bitumen; other parts of the ravine [are cemented] with mortar, and the bricks have all writing on them. The northern end of the ravine appears to have been crossed by an extremely thick wall of yellowish brick cemented with a brilliant white mortar, which has been broken through in hollowing it out; and a little to the north of it, I discovered what Beauchamp saw imperfectly, and understood from the natives to be an idol. I was told the same, and that it was discovered by an old Arab in digging, but that not knowing what to do with it, he covered it up again. [It is probable that many fragments of antiquity, especially of the larger kind, are lost in this manner. The inhabitants call all stones with inscriptions or figures on them *Idols*.] On sending for the old man, I set a number of men to work, who after a day's hard labour laid open enough of the statue to show that it was a lion of colossal dimensions, standing on a pedestal, of a coarse kind of grey granite and of rude workmanship; in the mouth was a circular aperture into which a man might introduce his fist.

“A little to the west of the ravine is the next remarkable object, called by the natives the Kasr, or PALACE, by which appellation I shall designate the whole mass.

It is a very remarkable ruin, which being uncovered and in part detached from the rubbish, is visible from a considerable distance, but so surprisingly fresh in its appearance, that it was only after a minute inspection that I was satisfied of its being in reality a Babylonian remain. It consists of several walls and piers (which face the cardinal points,) eight feet in thickness, in some places ornamented with niches, and in others strengthened by pilasters and buttresses, built of fine burnt brick, (still perfectly clean and sharp,) laid in lime-cement of such tenacity, that those whose business it is have given up working, on account of the extreme difficulty of extracting them whole. The tops of these walls are broken, and many have been much higher. On the outside they have in some places been cleared nearly to the foundations, but the internal spaces formed by them are yet filled with rubbish; in some parts almost to their summit. One part of the wall has been split into three parts and overthrown as if by an earthquake; some detached walls of the same kind, standing at different distances, show what remains to have been only a small part of the original fabrick; indeed, it appears that the passage in the ravine, together with the wall which crosses its upper end were connected with it. There are some hollows underneath, in which several persons have lost their lives; so that no one will now venture into them, and their entrances have now become choked up with rubbish. Near this ruin is a heap of rubbish, the sides of which are curiously streaked by the alternation of its materials, the chief part of which, it is probable, was unburnt brick, of which I found a small quantity in the neighbourhood, but no reeds were discoverable in the interstices. There are two paths near this ruin, made by the workmen who carry down their bricks to the river side, whence they are transported by boats to Hellah; and a little to N. N. E. of it is the famous tree which the natives call *Athelè*, and maintain to have been flourishing in ancient Babylon, from the destruction of which they say God purposely preserved it, that it might afford Ali a convenient place to tie up his horse after the battle of Hellah! It stands on an a kind of ridge, and nothing more than one side of its trunk remains, (by which it appears to have been of considerable girth); yet the branches at the top are still perfectly verdant, and gently waving in the wind produce a melancholy rustling sound. It is an evergreen, something resembling the *lignum vitæ*, and of a kind, I believe, not common in this part of the country, though I am told there is a tree of the same description at Bassora.

“ All the people of the country assert that it is extremely dangerous to approach this mound after night-fall, on account of the multitude of evil spirits by which it is haunted.

“ A mile to the north of the Kasr [PALACE] and nine hundred and fifty yards from the river bank, is the last ruin of this series, described by Pietro Della Valle. The natives call it *MUKALLIBE* (or according to the vulgar Arab pronunciation of these parts *MUJELIBE*) meaning OVERTURNED. It is of an oblong shape, irregular in its height and the measurement of its sides, which face the cardinal points: the northern side being two hundred yards in length; the southern two hundred and nineteen; the eastern one hundred and eighty-two; and the western one hundred and thirty-six. The elevation of the S. E. or highest angle, one hundred and forty-one feet. Near the summit, W. appears a low wall, built of unburnt bricks mixed up with chopped straw or reeds, and cemented with clay-mortar of great thickness, having between every layer a layer of reeds . . . All are worn into furrows by the weather;—in some places of great depth. The summit is covered with heaps of rubbish;—whole bricks with inscriptions on them are here and there discovered: the

the whole is covered with innumerable fragments of pottery, brick, bitumen, pebbles, vitrified brick or scoria, and even shells, bits of glass, and mother of pearl.

"There are many dens of wild beasts in various parts, in one of which I found the bones of sheep and other animals, and perceived a strong smell like that of a LION. I also found quantities of PORCUPINE quills, and in most cavities are numbers of BATS and OWLS. It is a curious coincidence, that I here first heard the Oriental account of SATYRS. I had always imagined the belief of their existence was confined to the west: but a Choadar, who was with me when I examined this ruin, mentioned by accident, that in this desert an animal is found resembling a man from the head to the waist, but having the thighs and legs of a sheep or goat; he said also, that the Arabs hunt it with dogs, and eat the lower parts, abstaining from the upper, on account of their resemblance to those of the human species. "But the wild beast of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and OWLS shall dwell there, and SATYRS shall dance there." Isaiah xiii. 21.

It was in this MUJELIBE', that a quantity of marble was found, some years ago, and afterwards, a coffin of mulberry wood, containing a human body inclosed in a tight wrapper, and apparently partially covered with bitumen. The report of this induced Mr. R. to set labourers to work, for the purpose of discovery.

"They dug into a shaft or hollow pier, sixty feet square, lined with fine brick laid in bitumen, and filled up with earth; in this they found a brass spike, some earthen vessels, (one of which was very thin, and had the remains of fine white varnish on the outside,) and a beam of date-tree wood. On the third day's work they made their way into the opening, and discovered a narrow passage nearly ten feet high, half filled with rubbish, flat on the top, and exhibiting both burnt and unburnt bricks; the former with inscriptions on them, and the latter, as usual, laid with a layer of reeds between every row, except in one or two courses near the bottom, where they were cemented with bitumen; a curious and unaccountable circumstance. This passage appeared as if it originally had a lining of fine burnt brick cemented with bitumen, to conceal the unburnt brick, of which the body of the building was principally composed. Fronting it is another passage (or rather a continuation of the same, to the eastward, in which direction it probably extends to a considerable distance, perhaps even all along the northern front of the Mujelibè,) choked up with earth, in digging out which I discovered near the top a wooden coffin containing a skeleton in high preservation. Under the head of the coffin was a round pebble; attached to the coffin on the outside a brass bird, and inside an ornament of the same material, which had apparently been suspended to some part of the skeleton. These, could any doubt remain, place the antiquity of the skeleton beyond all dispute. This being extracted, a little farther in the rubbish, the skeleton of a child was found; and it is probable that the whole of the passage, whatever its extent may be, was occupied in a similar manner. No skulls were found, either here or in the sepulchral urns at the bank of the river."

These are all the great masses of Ruins on the Eastern side of the river. The western side affords none, immediately adjacent to the river: but, about six miles S.W. of Hellah is a vast mass, previously known to us only by the cursory report of NIEBUHR, who had not opportunity to examine it. It is called by the Arabs BIRS NEMROUD, by the Jews *Nebuchadnezzar's Prison*. Of this says Mr. RICH,

"I visited the Birs under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the grandeur of its effect. The morning was at first stormy, and threatened a severe fall of rain; but

as we approached the object of our journey, the heavy cloud separating discovered the Birs frowning over the plain, and presenting the appearance of a circular hill crowned by a tower with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. Its being entirely concealed from our view during the first part of our ride, prevented our acquiring the gradual idea, in general so prejudicial to effect, and so particularly lamented by those who visit the Pyramids. Just as we were within the proper distance, it burst at once upon our sight in the midst of rolling masses of thick black clouds, partially obscured by that kind of haze whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity, whilst a few strong catches of stormy light, thrown upon the desert in the back ground, served to give some idea of the immense extent, and dreary solitude, of the wastes in which this venerable ruin stands.

"It is a mound of an oblong figure, the total circumference of which is seven hundred and sixty-two yards. At the eastern side it is not more than fifty or sixty feet high: at the western it rises in a conical figure to one hundred and ninety-eight feet; and on its summit is a solid pile of brick thirty-seven feet high, by twenty-eight in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is irregular. It is built of fine burnt bricks, which have inscriptions on them, laid in lime-mortar of admirable cement.

"The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work of no determinate figure, *tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the fiercest fire, or been blown up with gunpowder*, the layers of bricks being perfectly discernible,—a curious fact, and one for which I am utterly incapable of accounting.

"The whole of this mound is itself a ruin, channelled by the weather, and strewed with the usual fragments and with pieces of black stone, sand-stone and marble. No reeds are discernible in any part. At the foot of the mound a step may be traced, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent by several feet the base: and there is a quadrangular inclosure round the whole, as at the Mujelibè, but much more perfect and of greater dimensions. At a trifling distance from the Birs, and parallel with its eastern face is a mound not inferior to the Khasr in elevation; much longer than it is broad. Round the Birs are traces of ruins to a considerable extent."

No. DXCVIII. ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS.

WE have now to add a few remarks on these descriptions, with a view to the appropriation of these Mounds, before we close the subject.

Speculations have been indulged as well by Mr. RICH, as by Major RENNELL, on the character of each of these Mounds of ruins. Leaving to those truly respectable authorities the task of establishing their theories, we shall content ourselves with following the voice of current, and apparently unbroken, tradition. We say, therefore, that the *Makloube*, the *Mujelibè*, the Pyramid of *Haroot* and *Maroot*, (in other words, DELLA VALLE's Ruin) or by whatever other appellation the signification of OVERTURNED, or TOPSY-TURVY, be preserved,—this ruin marks the original TOWER OF BABEL: and, so far as may be judged by comparison of its present shape with the neighbouring Mounds, IT NEVER WAS FINISHED. It is all but impossible, that the ruins of a building raised to that central elevation which might give it the appearance, or entitle it to the appellation of a Pyramid, should form an outline of surface on its top, no nearly equable as this object presents in Mr. RICH's

delineation of it. That it was raised to unequal heights in different parts, or on its different faces, is every way likely; that it might answer, more or less, the purpose of a cemetery, in after-ages, is credible; and that, it might even receive some additions from its votaries, for such it had, no doubt, may be admitted:—yet, without impeaching the proposition that it never reached that height, or that complete form and condition, which its founders contemplated. Mr. RICH himself remarks, “*that there does not remain in the irregularities on the top, a sufficient quantity of rubbish to account for an elevation equal to that of the Tower*, the whole height being now only one hundred and forty feet” This testimony is decisive.

There is no need to expatiate on the confirmation this affords to Scripture History. Except the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, with the circumstances attending it, is the most ancient fact recorded, or that could be recorded; it was followed by consequences of the most interesting nature to the human race, is attested by profane authority, as well as sacred, and these Ruins, to this day, afford effective evidence, that the writer of the Mosaic narration was equally faithful and well-informed. To enlarge would be to intrude on the reader’s own reflections.

Descending southward, we next arrive at that grand mass of Ruins, called by tradition the KASR, or PALACE. I find no difficulty in deferring to this tradition; or in believing that the single remaining tree, the *Athelè*, may be a descendant of some which formerly composed the ornaments of the famous hanging gardens. This building has, evidently, been constructed with the greatest care; and its peculiar “freshness,” on which Major RENNELL founds an argument against its Babylonish origin, appears to be nothing beyond what might be expected from more careful selection of materials, better manipulation, and workmanship, and, in one word—from Royal liberality and patronage. Uniformity of plan is seldom consulted in the palaces of Eastern Monarchs, nor is the arrangement of their several offices such as European judgment would prefer. Unless, therefore, we could suppose that the palace of Semiramis, or of Nebuchadnezzar, or of any other Babylonish monarch, with the additions of later times, was conceived on principles of more than common correctness, we must allow that in its best condition it was little other than a labyrinth; and consequently its ruins can be nothing but confusion.

Immediately south of the KASR is Mr. RICH’s “*VALLEY of five hundred and fifty yards in length, the area of which is covered with tussocks of rank grass* :”—this is the very place, then, where we should look for the “SEA of Babylon:” that is to say, a natural valley, enlarged by art and labour, and rendered a proper receptacle for a great body of water derived from the Euphrates, and preserving a current coincident with that stream. It is above eight hundred yards in breadth; and, it is “*crossed by a line of ruins of very little elevation*,” which is exactly what the famous BRIDGE would form; for that structure was not a solid building of remarkable height, but, in decaying, would fill up a depth little more than level with the surface of the water, or with that of the present soil. This affords another instance, then, of the correctness of prophetic foresight—“*I will make her Sea dry*,” says Jeremiah, speaking of Babylon: and though this Lake were more than half a mile in breadth by one-third of a mile in length, and thirty-five feet in depth, as Diodorus reports, yet DRY IT IS. No longer the gilded barge floats on its waters, or the voluptuous kiosk invites the owner to reverie and repose: no verdant carpet bedecks the walks along its margin; no overhanging willows meet their reflections in its stream. It is now, merely a VALLEY, *the whole area of which is covered with tussocks of rank grass.*”

Directly the contrary effect is produced from one of the same causes by which this *Sea* has been dried up; which is, the inundations of the Euphrates. So long as the overflowing water was controuled by banks and walls, and found a passage through this Lake, so long would the Lake continue in condition; but, when that passage was closed, whether by the ruins of the buildings, damming up the outlet, or by any other impediment, the water becoming stagnant, would deposit a sediment; and this would gradually accumulate till it filled up the basin. Says Mr. Rich (*Second Memoir*, p. 10.) The strong embankment built by the Babylonian Monarchs was intended to prevent the overflow, not to secure its running in one channel; and ever since the embankment was ruined, the river has expended itself in periodical inundations. This is the case in many parts of its progress; for instance, at Feluja, the inundation from whence covers the whole face of the country as far as the walls of Bagdad;—"with a depth of water sufficient to render it navigable for rafts and flat bottom boats."—"At Hilla, notwithstanding the numerous canals drawn from it, when it rises it overflows many parts of the western desert; and on the east it *insinuates itself into the hollows and more level parts of the ruins, converting them into lakes and morasses.*" The reader, who has seen in the preceding pages, the overflowing Nile called *Sea*, by Nahum, in the instance of Memphis, will, without reluctance, allow the same appellation to the overflowing Euphrates; and truly enough may it be said, that *the SEA has come up over Babylon*; since the more level parts of the ruins are converted into lakes and morasses, during the seasons of the river's swelling; though at intervals these swamps may be tolerably dry.

There seems to be no cause whatever for doubting whether the bridge formed a communication between the PALACE and the TOWER OF BELUS; admitting this, it follows, that the Southern mass of Ruins is the existing remain of that famous Temple. It extends one thousand one hundred yards in length, by eight hundred yards in breadth: it would be, on our hypothesis, surrounded by a stream of the Euphrates, consequently, it occupied an island, like many consecrated localities of antiquity; it possessed, of course, every convenience for personal and priestly ablution: and was situated, as ancient writers describe it, sufficiently in the center of the city, to justify their descriptions.

East of the Palace and the Temple a very large enclosure of a circular form, is still distinguishable: if this, or any part of it, may be the famous *plain of DURA*, then might the Golden Image be inaugurated either in the Temple adjacent, or in the plain itself. Nothing could be more convenient to the priests, who, doubtless, assisted in full *costume* at the ceremony; nor to the monarch, who might easily repair from his palace, to the temple, in all the pomp attendant on Oriental despotism: while the intervening canal would preserve a due distance between the concourse of ordinary worshippers, and the consecrated devotees of the idol.

It is evident from what has been adduced that no other remains of ancient Babylon than those of its public buildings can now be discovered or distinguished: the houses of individuals, which Herodotus describes as being three stories in height have disappeared, with all their accommodations and accompaniments. No doubt, they had gardens, and pleasure grounds, embellished and refreshed by streams of water, and by plantations affording shade and privacy, those indispensable luxuries in the East. These are destroyed; no trace of them exists: and, therefore, we cannot wonder that more accessible retreats, in which those who carried them captive demanded of the forlorn Israelites to sing the Lord's song in this foreign land, should have shared in the general fate. We see by what

means the willows on which they hanged their harps might grow among the water courses ; but the water courses are ruined, and the willows are extinct.

Whether we should seek the exterior WALLS of the *province* of Babylon in the direction taken by Capt. FREDERICK is of small importance ; since we have ventured to conjecture that they were not distinguished by magnitude or solidity : whether those more proximate to the city, and especially whether those which have left long mounds, in ruins, but which evidently enclosed the Temple and the Palace, may be any part of the *broad* Walls, is a question of greater importance, and at present, of difficult solution : Whether these long enclosures have ever been faced with brick, whether they have ever had a ditch before them, and whether their breadth answers to that assigned to the famous Walls of Babylon by ancient writers, we can neither affirm nor deny, till possessed of more accurate information.

Hitherto, though under the necessity of admitting conjecture, our conjectures have obtained some direction, either from ancient authority or from modern description ; but, if we should venture to surmise that the *Birs Nimrood*, called by the Jews of the country, the *Prison of Nebuchadnezzar*, but rather his Palace, were the *Sheshach* of the Prophet, both ancient and modern authorities forsake us. Nevertheless, there are some things spoken in reference to Babylon, which are fulfilled in this ruin, only ; and it signifies so little under what name it was originally known, that no farther notice of that particular need be taken. The *Birs Nimrood* stands in a spot that commands a view of the very distant domes of Meschid Ali, in one direction, says Mr. RICH, while in another, says Mr. KINNEIR, "From this tower there is a most extensive view of the windings of the Euphrates, through the level plain of Shinar ;" he adds "—its banks are lined with villages and orchards"—but, the present state of these banks can give but a very feeble idea of the magnificent *coup d'oeil* when the great metropolis was in its glory. At that time, the interior as well as the banks, was filled as far as the eye could reach with villas and groves, with tanks and villages, equal and more than equal, to what Mr. WATHEN has reported of his prospect from Conjeveram.

The "sublime and beautiful prospect," alluded to, betrayed that traveller into an extatic forgetfulness of all the world beside, into a feeling as if he could "have continued on this spot for ever :"—had he been the creator of this magnificence, as Nebuchadnezzar was creator of that around Babylon, we could not have wondered at his adopting the language of the too greatly transported monarch. This feeling led us in No. cciv. to suggest the possibility that an aberration of mind struck the king of Babylon while walking *on the roof* of his residence : in the present discussion the possibility of that calamity occurring while he was in his *hall of audience*, has been hinted. The *Birs* is equally suitable for either supposition : it was, most probably, the palace of his pride ; nor is it unlikely that it was pointed at by the prophet, when he says, Jer. li. 25. "Behold, I am against thee, O destroying MOUNTAIN, saith the Lord, (a mountain) which destroyeth all the earth : and I will stretch out my hand upon thee, and will roll thee down from the rocks [perhaps, *like rocks,—in the form of rocks.*] and will make thee a BURNED MOUNTAIN. And they shall not take from thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for a foundation ; but thou shalt be desolate for ever." A city, like Babylon, seated on many streams, and deriving its advantage from its lower level, which admitted of wonderful facilities for its waters, would be ill-described as "a mountain : " nor is there any mountain near it, but what has been raised by the hand of man.

It was, no doubt, this consideration that induced Dr. BLAYNEY to explain this language as metaphorical: he says, "Any nation or prince, that rises in power above others, may be called metaphorically, "a mountain;" and the Babylonish nation is accordingly here to be understood by "the destroying mountain." The "rocks," from whence it was to be rolled, were its strong holds. And in the next verse, where it is said, "they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner-stone, or for foundations," we may understand thereby, that they should no longer have kings and governors taken from among themselves, but should be under the dominion of foreigners." Notwithstanding this principle of interpretation is proper in many places, we may ask whether there would be any impropriety in taking this passage literally?—in supposing, that a palace, rising to a vast height, might be called "a mountain" from its bulk; also, "a destroying mountain," if from its council-chamber issued those orders which directed the operations of its armies to the destruction of all the earth? [but, if *corruption*, (by idolatry, suppose) be preferred as the meaning of the word used, the orders equally issued from the palace.] That this palace must have been of a mountainous height when perfect, is evident from the extent of view it still commands, [and Mr. RICH insists that it is the real Tower of Belus.] That it has been "a burnt mountain," appears from the testimony of Mr. KINNEIR, who says, "On the top and sides of the mound I observed several fragments of different colours, resembling in appearance, *pieces of mis-shapen ROCK.*" Capt. FREDERICK examined these curious fragments with much attention—they were found so hard as to resist iron—some of them are six or eight feet in diameter—there is no similar stone in the neighbouring country." Mr. RICH was equally struck by their appearance: he speaks of parts of the summit of the hill as being occupied by *immense fragments of brick-work of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the FIERCEST FIRE; or had been blown up with gunpowder.*" These words may stand as a comment on the predictions of the text;—"a burnt mountain," says the prophet;—"solid vitrified masses, as if by the fiercest fire, as if blown up with gunpowder," says Mr. RICH:—"I will roll thee down in the form (or species) of rocks," says the prophet;—"Fragments [immense fragments, tumbled together" says Mr. R.] of *mis-shapen ROCKS,*" says Mr. KINNEIR;—"No stone shall be taken from thee, says the prophet," i. e. for another edifice: Certainly not; because those mounds only which are by the river's side can be wrought to profit, and their bricks conveyed with facility; whereas the *Birs* is five or six miles distant from Hellah, and land carriage is too laborious. In short, the more closely this passage is examined, the more strongly will its literal sense with its accomplishment, appear. We cannot at present, tell the occasion, or the history, of this conflagration: but, its consequences are striking.

Mr. RICH has, very properly, called the attention of his readers to the accomplishment of that prophecy of Isaiah which predicts the overthrow of Babylon, "as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but WILD BEASTS of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of DOLEFUL CREATURES, and OWLS shall dwell there, and SATYRS shall dance there: and the WILD BEASTS shall cry in their desolate houses, and DRAGONS in their pleasant palaces." The prophet adds in the following chapter, xiv. 23. "I will make it a possession for the *bittern* (says our translation, but, we have ventured to think it the PORCUPINE) and pools of water"—rather, stagnant marshes of reeds. Almost every word of these pro-

phacies may be justified from Mr. RICH himself: he mentions his perception of a strong smell like that of a LION;—his finding bones of sheep, &c. doubtless, of animals carried there and devoured by the WILD BEASTS, many dens of which are in various parts;—he found quantities of PORCUPINE quills;—numbers of BATS and OWLS;—and to close the list of these DOLEFUL CREATURES, here he learned the existence of SATYRS;—here he was cautioned against the violences of EVIL SPIRITS after night-fall;—and, in short, his “tussocks of RANK GRASS” are no other than the “reeds of the stagnant marshes” of the prophet.

There would be something extremely melancholy in the fate of Babylon, its desolation, its disappearance, its eternal annihilation, after so vigorous and so long continued exertion to raise it to pre-eminence, did we not know that its pride was excessive, and its power was cruel. The fierceness of war was the delight of its kings: Nebuchadnezzar himself had been a warrior of no limited ambition; the Chaldeans were bitter, hasty, sanguinary, ferocious; and to read the accounts of their inhumanity prepares us for a reverse, which we await, but do not regret. There is something in the idea of retaliation from which the human mind is not averse—“as she hath done, so do to her;” is the language not of prophecy or of poetry, only, but of “even-handed Justice,” in the common acceptation of mankind. It is not, only because we are better acquainted with the miseries inflicted on Jerusalem and the Sanctuary that we admit these feelings in respect to Babylon: there can be no doubt, but what other nations had equally suffered under her oppression: the people who are emphatically called on to execute the vengeance determined against her, had certainly been galled under her yoke. Cyrus and Xerxes who captured her city and destroyed her temple, were but the avengers of their country. Alexander considered himself in the same light. It is rather from a deficiency of historical accounts than from the facts of the case, that Babylon has been supposed to have been reduced by a gradual decay, only. Already have more symptoms of violence been discovered than were formerly supposed; and it is more than possible, that our intercourse with Eastern writers may bring us acquainted with events which will enable us to account for appearances that now present nothing but uncertainties. Idolatry took its rise at Babylon, was fostered and protected there, and from thence was diffused throughout (at least) the western world: the liberal arts, the more recondite sciences, with every power of the human mind, were rendered subservient to systematic Idolatry—its doom, therefore must correspond with its crimes. It is enough for us, that we know its punishment to be just; and that we are happily enabled to trace in its ruins the unequivocal and even the verbal accomplishment of those predictions which denounced its calamities—the monuments of miseries long deserved, but, not remitted though postponed.

No. DXCIX.

COMPARATIVE DIMENSIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL RUINS OF ANCIENT BABYDON.

| LENGTH and WIDTH. | | HEIGHT, <i>remaining.</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| MUJELIBE', | circumference 2111 feet. | on the S. E. 141 feet. |
| KASR, or PALACE, | square 700 yards. | |
| SEA, or LAKE, | by the plan, length 800 yards; breadth 550 yards, by measurement. | |
| BRIDGE, (supposed)..... | length 600 yards; breadth nearly 100 yards, ruins. | |
| TEMPLE OF BELUS, (Herodotus) .. | square 500 feet. | |
| TEMPLE OF BELUS, (supposed) } | length 1100 yards. } | 50 or 60 feet. |
| with the buildings near it, ruins, } | breadth 800 yards. } | |
| BIRS NIMROOD, | circumference 2286 feet. .. | E. 50 or 60 ft. W. 198. Tower, 235 ft. |

Extent of the whole enclosure, above two miles and a half, N. and S.—the same E. and W.

No. DC. THE PROBABLE EXTENT OF SCRIPTURE GEOGRAPHY.

THOUGH it may not appear at first sight to be of any importance to the explanation of Holy Writ, whether we can ascertain the extent of the Geographical knowledge possessed by the sacred writers, yet, on reflection, it will be found entitled to attention. For, although we are sure that the Sacred Spirit which inspired these writers, was acquainted with the most remote districts of the earth, yet we cannot appropriate certain references in the Sacred Books to distant countries, unless there be something to guide our judgment, and unless we can distinguish the country intended. If, for instance, there be any prophecy relating to Britain, how can we apply that prophecy, without reasonable grounds for concluding that Britain was known under the name which it bears in the prophecy? We might otherwise attach to Britain a prediction intended for China; or *vice versa*.

Nor should we overlook the satisfaction arising from perceiving that the inspired writers were superior Geographers to the most learned among the heathen, whose works are come down to us. Their knowledge was certainly more extensive, and probably more correct, than that of Herodotus, whose information is the earliest, and most interesting which occurs among the Greeks: and since so many, and so remote regions of the globe are included in one book, the Bible, and that not professedly a work of science, it is fair to presume, that the knowledge of the learned among the Hebrews greatly exceeded what *incidentally* appears in such a work.

It is not till what may be called the *Persian* part of the Hebrew history, that we read of India; unless the voyages of Solomon to Ophir be considered as directed that way. Yet long before the history of Persian events, the Sacred Spirit of prophecy had hinted at regions still more remote, and indeed at the extremities of the globe: referring probably to China, in the east, and perhaps to Britain, in the west.

That allusion to countries the most distant which occurs in the Bible, is possibly, in the prophetic benediction of Noah to his eldest son Japheth, “*God shall enlarge the enlarger*” (Japheth). Now, as from the earliest ages, the eldest son was by his birth-right entitled to a double portion of his father’s property, it leads us to conceive of such a distribution in this instance. It will follow, that, as Japheth had Europe, with the north of Asia, which may be said to join America, he was *enlarged* by the accession of a continent little inferior in magnitude to his previous possessions. Certainly, no other son of Noah could so conveniently occupy this territory: which consideration, though it affords no decisive argument, is nevertheless, not without its value, all things considered: and this obscure prediction contains perhaps the only hint at America, which the Bible affords.

The tenth chapter of Genesis has been thought to be an excerpt from a larger work: the writer was, certainly, acquainted with more than he has communicated; for he has restricted his information to the western side of the original Caucasus. He knew, no doubt, that the eastern districts were inhabited, though he gives us no hint by what families; he does not report any limit or termination in any direction, but merely relates the establishment of certain tribes in certain situations, such as his readers were most likely to be acquainted with.

Under Moses and Joshua, and during the administration of the Judges, we have but few references to very distant regions. Moses indeed appoints *cinnamon* as an ingredient in the sacred unction; and he appears to mention two kinds. Taking the best of these for that produced in Ceylon, it implies an intercourse for commercial purposes with that island. Was this by sea, from Egyptian ports, or was it by
land

land through India, or Persia? Probability rather inclines to a navigation from Egypt; because the article is mentioned during the abode of Israel in the desert, consequently, at a time when circumstances do not seem to point eastward. Nevertheless, this amounts to probability only;—no doubt, the road was as open to mercantile caravans as it was to the pseudo-prophet Balaam.

Joshua reminds the Israelites of the place where their fathers dwelt, in *Ober e Nahr*, beyond the river Gihoon, and his reference preserves the memory of that country. But, no doubt, it was also known to their priests, and would be communicated by tradition, not only among the Hebrew writers, but among all the thinking part of a nation so tenacious of ancient principles and opinions.

When the power of David was most extensive, his dominion included beyond the desert, north-east of Judea; and the riches which he amassed for building the temple, were derived from traffic, maintained by the caravans that travelled between Assyria and Egypt. These not only paid duties for passing through David's dominions, but the rich commodities they brought might be re-exported from Canaan by means of Tyre, along the shores of the Mediterranean with prodigious profit. These caravans, it will be remembered, would not only maintain the intercourse between the East and Judea, but would communicate intelligence of most of those countries from whence they received their goods. As they passed along the edge of the desert, by the same route as the caravan now takes from Damascus to Mecca, only that power which possessed a dominion beyond the proper limits of the land of Canaan, could enforce the payment of those customs which in all ages have been levied on merchants and merchandize.

These considerations are not without influence on the question of that Ophir, to which Solomon directed the voyage of his fleets. That prince possessed a communication with India, by land, but it was circuitous, tedious, expensive, and uncertain; since it could be interrupted by any petty government which obstructed the passage of caravans through its dominions. The quantities also of some articles which were in request, the articles he had to export, wherewith to purchase them, and the habits of life of his agents, his correspondents, and the natives of the countries with which he dealt, should all be taken into consideration; and they lead us rather toward India, than in any other direction. In fact, at this day, the prodigious traffic carried on at Mecca by means of the pilgrims, is little different from the interchange of similar commodities in the days of Solomon; and should some enterprising Shiech fit out vessels from Suez or Tor for India direct, instead of meeting the Indian vessels at Mocha, or Djidda, &c. he would do no more than Solomon did, or than was done in Egypt, probably, as early as the days of Moses, and certainly, as late as the days of the Ptolemies; who allotted the ports of Berenice and Cosseir, for that purpose, whence the goods were carried on camels to the Nile, and down that river to the northern provinces of Egypt.

We may now examine some of those peculiarities which attended the voyages of Solomon's navy. The first is, that the vessels were navigated by Tyrians, because Solomon had no seamen who were capable of distant navigations. The boat-men of the lake of Cinneroth, the fishermen of the coast of the Mediterranean, where the best ports were inhabited by Philistines, (foreigners) could not be equal to the conducting of great ships in long voyages and in unknown seas.

The second thing observable is, that these fleets were three years in performing this voyage: that is, they were part of the first year, the whole of the second, and part of a third year. It is natural to conclude that they regulated their course by

the periodical winds. These blow from the north, down the Red Sea, in the months of October, &c. Niebuhr quitted Suez in a vessel from Djidda, Oct. 5, and arrived at Djidda, Oct. 29; so that twenty-four days were consumed in this voyage; although they had a wind constantly favourable. As Djidda is not half way down the Red Sea from Suez, we may conceive that a voyage to any part of India, at the same rate of progress, would occupy a great length of time. But beside the time occupied in the passage to, and from Ophir, that which elapsed, while the factors trafficked by selling their own cargo, and purchasing the returns, must be included: for we cannot suppose that they went without a cargo, or merely to dig for gold in mines free to strangers. Unquestionably, their means of procuring gold was by exchange, probably of much the same kinds of commodities as had been usually conveyed by the eastern caravans from the territories of Judea, of Tyre, and of Egypt.

Among the sons of Jocktan not far from Mount Sepher in Kedem, are placed Ophir and Havilah; and the sacred penman says "the gold of that land is good." Gen. ii. 12. This is expressed, as being well known; it could not therefore have been a country, with which the Israelites had no intercourse, or which they knew, by report only.

Solomon procured his gold from Ophir, but he had also gold of *Parvaim*, 2 Chron. iii. 5. and this is usually thought to be the same with the gold of Ophir, because it is employed in the same purposes about the temple for which David had provided gold of Ophir. The word *PARVAIM* is plural: and agrees with the *PARVATOI* mountains of Ptolemy: the plural termination in the respective languages producing the only difference in the word. This fixes the station of both Havilah and Ophir, east of Kedem, largely taken: for here the *Parvatoi* mountains are placed by Ptolemy, and in this country Major WILFORD informs us "gold is found near the surface of the earth—in the sands—by digging to a considerable depth."

It would lead us too far to enquire after all the countries which furnished gold to Solomon: but, at least, three places are mentioned: 1. *Ophir*, 2. *Parvaim*, 3. *Phaz*, or *Uphaz*. If *Phaz* were watered by the river *Phison*, then all these three places might be in the same country, if not in the same district.

I believe there is no doubt that India is mentioned, Esther i. 1. "Ahasuerus reigned from India to Ethiopia"—or Cush. In this name, however, the *N* is omitted; and we read *חידו*, *Hiddu*: but this is not without example in the Hebrew [so for *lampad* (a lamp) we read *lapad*, &c.] This appellation, inserted in a history of Persian events, and evidently by a man well informed on Persian politics, deserves attention: because, it appears to hint at *Hindustan*, rather than at the present India: in fact, the country of *Hind*, rather than that of *Sind*, from which our name India is derived. This *Hind* probably was the original settlement of the Bramins, and Hindus, north of India: for it does not appear that any king of Persia held provinces in the present India, though he might invade and overrun it, as Nadir Shah did.

If the Vulgate translation might be depended on, we have *India*, where the Hebrew reads *Ophir*, Job xxviii. 16. "It cannot be valued with the *Chethem* of Ophir:" but no argument can be founded on this passage; though it has a specious probability in its favour, the *Chethem* of this place intending an ornament pierced in fillagree work; at which kind of manufacture the Indians were always extremely expert.

We cannot quit this subject, without remarking, that it is altogether extraordinary that a voyage so well known to the Tyrians, and to the Egyptians, should be forgot, and in no great length of time, although its object was so profitable; it was, however, repeatedly intermitted, and resumed, according to the political circumstances of the nations on the coasts of the Red Sea.

It is very difficult to trace the geographical knowledge of the sacred writers farther to the east; but admitting their acquaintance with the districts around the head of the Ganges by land, or with the island of Sumatra, by sea, there is much reason to infer their information on the empire of China. The connection of the Chinese has always been strong with Tibet, and they acknowledge that country as the original seat of their religion: whoever, then, knew of Tibet, probably knew of China, too. Caravans also pass from China northward, and westward; these might communicate information concerning that country which furnished their commodities. And moreover, if the Ophir fleets of Solomon did not find Chinese vessels in the ports they frequented, yet they might meet with Indian traders who could describe that country and people; and this they would naturally repeat on their return home. The character of Solomon for wisdom, with his diligence in enquiry, would certainly influence his officers; and every novelty would receive attention, and reward from both prince and people. Not to enlarge on this, it is certain that the books of the Chinese describe their country under the appellation of *Sin*, which our earlier writers sometimes spell *Tsin*. This has been its name two thousand years or more, as it still continues to be; by this name it was first known in Europe, and we read of *Sin*, *Sinica*, and *Sinenses* in our early voyagers and travellers to China. There is therefore nothing unnatural in the conjecture, that the prophet Isaiah alludes to this country, in a most illustrious prophecy, which well deserves attention, chap. xlix. 12. "Behold these shall come from afar: and behold these from the north; and these from the sea, (*i. e.* the west,) and these from the land of the *Sinim*." I presume that the verbal opposition of this passage requires that as the land of *Sinim* is geographically opposed to the west, in the preceding versicle, it must lie very far east. And this agrees perfectly with the situation of China, *Tsin*, or *Sin*, at the eastern extremity of Asia. Indeed, throughout the whole of this chapter, the prophet is speaking of, or to, countries extremely remote:—to the isles—to the Gentiles—to the *end of the earth*.—May this latter phrase mean, the *extremity of the continent* of Asia? and if we cannot extend the prophet's words too far, why not include countries of which he might have heard, by report, though he had no direct intercourse with them? The form of this word implies more than one country called *Sin*: and perhaps Tibet, or Siam, Japan, or Cochin China, was formerly considered, as being of the same nation, though a distinct branch. Something very like this is our custom at present.

When I ask why the phrase "end of the earth" may not denote the *eastern* extremity of Asia, it may be recollected that our Lord has used it, Luke xi. 31. to denote the *southern* extremity of the Arabian continent; but I rely on the principle that in this passage of Isaiah the opposition intended requires an *eastern* extremity: as the opposition to the north may be thought to require a southern extremity; can it mean the southern extremity of Africa? We know that the Egyptians afterwards doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and came home round Africa, into the Mediterranean:—Might Solomon know of that passage? or did the prophet acquire his information from later adventurers? If we may believe our newspapers, the remains of a Phenecian vessel, built of cedar, has lately been found buried in the earth not far from the Cape: the fact, if true, leads to important Geographical inferences.

It is evident that the knowledge of the south possessed by the prophets, extended deeply into Africa. So far as the connection of Egypt with Ethiopia, so far as the intercourse of Abyssinia with Judea, after the days of Solomon, so far as vessels from, or to, Egion-gaber might furnish intelligence of Southern Africa, these channels of information would be encouraged and improved. The prophet Isaiah appears to have had a very competent knowledge of Ethiopia, its manners, and productions. The prophet Ezekiel appears to have had an accurate knowledge of northern countries. Being settled during the captivity, for a time, if not altogether, on the northern border of the Assyrian empire, he seems to have heard described, whether by natives, or by travellers, those countries which now form the middle provinces of the Russian empire. I should think his knowledge hardly extended farther north than Moscow: nor have we any reason to conclude that he had himself visited these regions.

It only remains, that we turn our attention to the Geography of Scripture westward. This is rendered somewhat difficult, by the ambiguity attending the word *islands*, which appears to be used in Scripture in three senses, 1. as denoting a plantation, or settlement, or colony. 2. The islands of the Archipelago, were most familiar to the Hebrews, as islands; but, these could not be described as *very far off*; which leads to the conjecture that, 3. this phrase intends a much more distant groupe of islands;—sometimes not excluding the British. For instance, says Isaiah, chap. lxvi. 19. “I will set a sign—to the islands *afar off that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory*; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles.” As the prophet had already mentioned Greece (Javan) and Tarshish, he seems now to extend his views to countries much beyond them. Possibly he might include Spain; but it is extremely probable, that the British isles were his *Ultima Thulé*: the most western habitations he knew of: and if his Tarshish were Tartessus in Spain, (Cadiz) then Spain could not be these still farther distant islands; which are described as *not having heard* of Jehovah. Other passages might be adduced to the same effect: as perhaps, Isaiah xliii. 5, 6. lix. 18. 19. and Jer. xxxi. 10. but, intending this only as a conjecture, it awaits the opinion of the judicious. Compare a following Number.

No. DCI.

OF THE EXTENT OF CHRISTIANITY AT ITS PROMULGATION.

TO be able to communicate a clear and distinct idea of that Extent to which the Gospel of Christ was promulgated in the early ages of the church would afford great pleasure; and it is of some consequence, in justification of several predictions which seem to announce its general propagation: but our authorities are so incompetent,—or the facts they report are so uncertain, that not much which may be depended on, can be considered as having come down to us. We have seen that the Old Testament may be understood as affording references to the extremes of the ancient continent, as well eastward as westward: and if we might rely on occasional hints of ecclesiastical writers, the spread of the Gospel was commensurate with the indications of the ancient prophets.

In attempting this subject, we cannot avoid remarking how effectually Divine Providence had prepared the way for circulating the “glad tidings of great joy,” by the achievements of that victorious madman, Alexander the Great, in the East, and by the extended dominion of the Roman empire, in the West.

By the first of these circumstances the Greek language was carried almost to the center of India; and the Greek power was established, and long maintained itself, in those provinces which depended on Babylon, or Seleucia, as the seat of their govern-

ment. This is the more noticeable, because, in these very provinces the captive Jews were stationed by their conquerors, Nebuchadnezzar, and others; and their posterity maintained the expectation of a Messiah from their own nation, descended from a king of their own blood, of whose character and qualities they had information from the Sacred Books, which they carefully preserved as their companions wherever they went, and from the religious institutions on which they attended, though under many disadvantages. Addresses to these Jews, whether by discourse or by writing, would be intelligible to them, either in the Syriac, in the Chaldee, or in the Greek tongue; while the Greek tongue would be the medium of communication to the descendants of Alexander's companions in arms, which were very numerous in these parts.

Beside the perusal of the Sacred Books, and maintenance of their national rites, by these Jews, we know that their pilgrims visited Judea; and the natural curiosity of the human mind would keep alive a spirit of enquiry after the holy places, and the sacred customs of their nation as practised in the Holy Land. We must add, that every pious Jew would willingly pay the half-shekel contribution to the sanctuary, which was forwarded by every opportunity; and if any inclined to withhold it, they would be, by shame or by force, compelled to that duty. Moreover, pilgrims who had visited Jerusalem would be distinguished among their brethren; and, much like the *Hadgis* among the Mahmoetans at present, would tenaciously retain the tokens of that distinction. This fact of pilgrimage is sufficiently proved in the narration, Acts ii. 9. where we find visitors—"Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Mesopotamians,"—but the next description of persons "dwellers in Judea," is certainly liable to correction. Judea, properly speaking, was not intended, because the whole enumeration consists of *foreign* countries, among which Judea could not possibly be ranked. On the question whether instead of *Judea*, we should read *India*, or *Lydia*, opinions are divided. It may be strongly objected, that *Lydia* is greatly misplaced in being separated from *Phrygia* and *Pamphylia* to which it was neighbour; while it was remote from Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, with which it is ranged.—It is acknowledged, that the same objection applies in some degree, though not so strongly, to the reading of *India* between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia: we know of no India between those provinces, as usually understood. If, indeed, we might take Mesopotamia for the original country of that name, as the proto-martyr Stephen appears to have done, as hinted formerly, then we may without hesitation read *India* in this text; and this enumeration by St. Luke, thus understood, would be a correct list of countries to which the Gospel was early sent;—of which we have credible, though not abundant evidence. It would be rash to affirm, that this is actually the case, yet the reader will not reject the suggestion, till he has well considered what may be stated in support of it.

We should also observe the different phrase employed by the sacred writer in this passage: he mentions Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, as if they were natives of those countries, by their direct appellations; but he describes those of Mesopotamia, India, &c. as *dwellers*, using the same word as verse 5. "Now there were at Jerusalem *dwellers*, Jews, devout men, *out of every nation under heaven*." It is clear that these were only *temporary residents* at Jerusalem; and it may be supposed that the same word in verse 9. intended only *temporary residents* in Mesopotamia. This distinction contributes to support what has been proposed, since it cannot for a moment be admitted that in the Greek Mesopotamia (between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris) the Jews were in any degree unsettled; on the contrary, here they were firmly

fixed and established; whereas in the Eastern Mesopotamia, and in India, they might be considered as residents only, as they certainly were in Rome, in Cyrene, Libya, and elsewhere.

As the Sacred Spirit has directed Luke to place the Eastern parts of the world first in his list, we shall first offer a few words in reference to the promulgation of the Gospel among them.

I confess, I incline to regard the Apostle Matthew as the most early authorised preacher of the Gospel to the East of Judea. Admitting that he wrote his Gospel in Syriac, it seems to be a happy preparative for his future visit to these countries. Or, if we infer that he wrote it for the use of Jews in Palestine whose native language was Syriac, that would not prevent the circulation of it to more distant countries. It may be taken as certain that Matthew wrote his Gospel before he departed eastward: but authorities are so different on this point, yet each is so respectable, that, far from wishing to oppose any one of them, I shall endeavour to include and reconcile them all.

1. Theophylact and Euthymius, who lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, describe St. Matthew's Gospel as written *eight years* after the ascension of Christ. Such of the ms. copies of this Gospel as have a date affixed to them, have *this* date. An Arabic life of Matthew has the same date. Cosmas of Alexandria, who lived in the sixth century, says it was written at the time of the dispersion occasioned by the death of Stephen.

2. Nicephorus, who lived in the fourteenth century, says it was written *fifteen years* after the Ascension.

3. Irenæus, who lived in the second century, says it was written while St. Paul and St. Peter were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding (or consolidating the foundation of) that church, about A. D. 65.

Now, it is more than possible that all these variations arise from taking the word *written* in a sense too confined. The composition of this Gospel is not in its nature like that of an epistle, written on the spur of an occasion: it might be composed at intervals, according to the convenience or judgment of the author: nay more, the author might see occasion to add to the first copy, and might at the close of his labours leave such a work much enlarged, or differently arranged, from what it was at first. There are unquestionable evidences of these second-edition variations in some of the sacred writings, yet criticism has hitherto disregarded them. Suppose then,

1. That the death of Stephen happened about seven or eight years after the Ascension: that the propriety of giving a written document to those believers who were "scattered abroad" on this occasion appeared so evident to the apostle Matthew, that he favoured them with memoirs of the life, death, and doctrine of Jesus, written in Syriac, their native tongue, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*. This would be the first *publication* of his Gospel.

According to this notion, it was not only written in Judea, as affirmed by the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius, by the Paschal Chronicle, and by Jerom, but also in Jerusalem, as mentioned in the subscription of St. Matthew's Gospel in some Greek manuscripts. The Apostles had not yet quitted the Jewish metropolis.

2. I see no reason against acknowledging a second general distribution of his Gospel, by St. Matthew, on occasion of the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. held about fifteen years after the Ascension: and, probably, by this time it was enlarged by its author, with the introductory chapters, and the whole, arranged in its present

form, was translated into Greek, for the benefit of those distant countries to whose representatives it was to be communicated, and by them to their constituents. This meets the opinion of Nicephorus, who, though much too late to be efficient authority, yet seems to have gathered information on many minor particulars of evangelical history with great avidity.

After this, as Peter quitted Jerusalem for Antioch, so we may presume, Matthew might quit Judea, and preach, as antiquity assures us he did, in Syria and Mesopotamia. Whether he preceded Peter in these countries, depends on the question where Peter went from Antioch; if to Pontus, Cappadocia, and Galatia, northward, as supposed, then Matthew was before him in the eastern parts.

3. As the Syriac language prevailed in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries, [or, at least, the Syro-Chaldaic, which is but another dialect of the same language,] most likely Matthew's original Syriac Gospel was extensively circulated, before he quitted those parts to travel farther East in Persia, Parthia, Carmania, and Ethiopia: this might be about the time that Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome; which is the date assigned by Irenæus: and as in the extreme east of the Persian empire some converts used the Greek language, others the Syriac, he might furnish these parties respectively with copies in that tongue which was best understood by them.

Thus the positive assertion of Irenæus, may be reconciled with every degree of probability, to the opinions of later writers, whom it would be rash to charge with departure from the truth of facts. Nor should we without absolute necessity, suppose an unauthorised affirmation by eminent, or ancient, Christian writers: Whatever hypothesis preserves the credit of them all, is undoubtedly preferable to any that maintains a contradiction of either.

To resume our immediate subject—It is certain, that the apostle Peter had visited the provinces addressed in his First Epistle,—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia:—these lay north of Antioch, at which city he left the apostles Paul and Barnabas. Antioch was half way from Jerusalem to these provinces, and no more convenient opportunity for this visit of St. Peter to them can be pointed out, nor any employment for this apostle so probable, as such a journey. We therefore place his excursion thither about A. D. 50. From Cappadocia and Pontus, perhaps, St. Peter descended Mesopotamia.

The Gospel is supposed by many writers, to have been introduced into Mesopotamia directly after the ascension of our Lord, by the mission of a disciple of Christ to King Abgarus at Edessa; but, the history, as it stands, is clogged with difficulties, even when some concessions are made in its favour; and these difficulties are augmented by fixing on so early a date. There is indeed a confusion in the dates ascribed to it: some placing it in the forty-third year of the Christian era,—but the Christian era was not then in being—nor was it adopted as a period to be dated from, till long afterwards; nor is the conjecture satisfactory, that Eusebius, (from whom we receive the story) might accommodate the date to this Epochæ. Others therefore think, that the date 43 should be 343, and that the era should be—not the Christian, but the Seleucian. Some Syriac writers place this mission thirty years after Christ's ascension; but this long interval of time, annuls some particulars of the narration. Our present investigation does not require an examination of these difficulties; but, having seen the Gospel carried far eastward, we may enquire how much farther it penetrated in that direction. The Syrian writers inform us, that Bartholomew the Apostle (whom they assert to be the same as Nathaniel, the friend

of Philip, and to be named Bar-Tolmai, from his father Tolmai, or Ptolemy) visited Mesopotamia, where he contributed to the establishment of the Gospel: they say also, that the Apostle Thomas passed through Mesopotamia, and spread the Gospel in its vicinity; in which service he was assisted by the Apostle Jude, the brother of James. Whether these fellow Evangelists acted in conjunction, whether the times of their labours were concurrent, is not easily ascertained, nor is it of moment here. Yet we attach some importance to the proposition that the Apostle Jude laboured far eastward, because, it contributes to explain the similarity of his Epistle with some parts of the Second of Peter; which seems strongly to confirm the idea that both were addressing much the same people. In fact, the style of imagery, elevation, and metaphor, which they adopt, is altogether Oriental; a phraseology to which the western world reconciles itself with difficulty, and rarely sanctions in regular and correct composition.

Jude certainly had preached previously, in various parts of Syria; at Antaradus, Laodicea, Palmyra, Callinicum, now Racca, and Circeum now Kerkisieh: then, as we have said, he visited Thomas in Mesopotamia, whence they excursed into Media and Parthia; after which Jude returned to Mesopotamia and Syria, but Thomas, who appears to have devoted his life to the service of the Gospel in the East, remained in Parthia; or continued pressing on still farther eastward, till he reached India, where he first propagated the doctrine of the Cross. But here it is proper to enquire what, and where, was this country denominated India?—and this we shall attempt to determine, by considering the application of the name in the Bible, rather than among Heathen writers.

The first, and, indeed, the only mention (as usually understood) of India, in Scripture, is Esther i. 1. where we read, that Ahasuerus ruled from India eastward, to Cush westward. Bactria was, usually, the most eastern province of the Persian empire; but, that under some fortunate sovereigns the Persian dominion included the bank of the Indus, may readily be granted: beyond this its possessions rarely, if ever, extended. Semiramis, indeed, crossed the Indus at Attock (the prohibited river) but was defeated. Alexander also crossed the Indus, and advanced some distance beyond it, but a perpetual succession of obstacles, mountain after mountain, and river after river, disheartened his troops, and enforced his return. We conclude, therefore, that Ahasuerus did not rule over India, meaning Hindoostan, but his empire might include a province beyond Bactria, on the bank of the Indus, and deriving its name from that river. Nor should we forget that the original India of the Hindoos, or the primary settlement of the Brahmins, was not the modern India: into this country they came, as they acknowledge, through the pass of Hurdwar; nevertheless, the name India, if derived from them, might distinguish the regions where they had been established, north and west of their present situation; and such a province might at times form part of the Persian territories. This would restrict the appellation India to a province west of the Indus, while it favours the supposition that the spread of the Gospel was co-extensive with the power of the Persian empire.

This hypothesis is consistent with those opinions which have hitherto been reckoned discordant, namely, that St. Matthew is by some reported to have extended his labours to India, while others confine them to Assyria: for the reader will recollect that we have placed the *original* Assyria, if not absolutely in the same country as the *original* India, yet in its vicinity.

These parts were inhabited by Jews, who, though in captivity, occasionally furnished

furnished zealous adherents to their country, and to their Kaaba, who willingly suffered no little fatigue, to manifest their attachment to the law of Moses, and their endeavours to fulfil all righteousness. These, having heard the Gospel at Jerusalem, at the great national feasts, would be partly prepared to receive the Apostles at their own residence; while the Apostles would naturally choose to visit countries of which they had some previous knowledge, and where they might flatter themselves in favour of their nation, that the good seed might fall on good ground. They would also, no doubt, offer the Gospel in the first instance to Jews, wherever they went; and (not excluding the Gentiles,) probably, would expect their chief harvest of converts among those whom they still regarded as their countrymen.

It is likely, that Matthew, Peter, Thomas, and Jude, though equally inspired with Paul, less openly opposed Judaism than he did: they considered themselves as Apostles of the circumcision, and paying some deference to institutions indifferent in regard to the Gospel, they might less excite opposition than the Apostle of the Gentiles, who magnified his office, not without incessant hazard to his person, principally from his own countrymen. We may, I think, conclude also, that however some of these distant residents might defy difficulties when their religion was concerned, yet, that the main body of the dispersion would feel a diminished regard to places which they never could behold, and to services which they never could partake. So that by combination of this abated zeal with apostolic moderation, the propagators of the Gospel eastward might experience fewer perplexities, less severe sufferings, perhaps too, less animosities and contentions, on the whole, than their fellow labourers in the west; notwithstanding that some of them ended their lives by martyrdom.

If it be asked, whether the course of the Gospel absolutely terminated at the Indus, the question is difficult to answer. There is an obscure report that China itself received the Gospel very early, [*vide* THOMAS, in the *Dictionary*] but the authority on which it rests is slender, and the true country understood by that appellation is uncertain. Though perfectly willing to admit the possibility of the fact; yet it must be allowed that the same passage of Isaiah which has been quoted as mentioning the land of *Sinim*, or *Tsin*, i. e. China, might be the chief stay of such report. More might be said in favour of that opinion which supposes the Gospel to have reached the peninsula of India, the coast of Malabar particularly, where we trace an ancient establishment of Christianity under the title of "Christians of St. Thomas." But, after considering all circumstances, I incline to place this Thomas as a missionary, later than the Apostle of that name; and to terminate the personal labours of the Apostles with the boundary of the Persian empire. To this boundary they had the company of their nation, the protection of the same government as protected that nation, the same language, manners, observances religious and civil, with the innumerable facilities derivable from that "more sure word of prophecy," which furnished a proper introduction on all occasions, private or public. If farther progress were really made eastward, so early, we may attribute it to converts deputed for that purpose, rather than to the personal exertions of the Apostles.

No. DCII.

FURTHER ENQUIRIES, WHETHER INDIA WERE KNOWN TO THE HEBREWS?

IT has been customary among nations, in all ages, to bestow on certain commodities imported from foreign parts the name of the country whence they were originally

brought, by way of commemorative distinction ; hence among ourselves, we called a part of the dress worn by our boys while in petticoats the *Jam*, from the Indian *Jamah*, or muslin robe, of the Hindoos ; and a loose kind of surtout we called a *Banyan*, or *Banian*, from its imitation of the garment worn by the *Banians* of India. Our terms *Muslin*, *Calico*, &c. are also Indian, and might be quoted in support of the proposition. It is self-evident, that without intercourse with India, mediately or immediately, or had we continued in perfect ignorance of that country, we could never have adopted these modes of dress, or have naturalized the names by which they were distinguished. I presume, by the same mode of reasoning, to infer allusions to India in certain passages of the Old Testament, which have not been so understood. The reader will recollect our notice of two brothers, *Hind* and *Sind*, as heads of nations in India ; also, that in the only passage of Scripture where mention of *Hind* occurs, the *n* is omitted in writing the name, and it is spelled *Hiddu*, not *Hindu* ; yet every version and interpreter without scruple pronounces it *Hindu*. In like manner, Scripture mentions repeatedly the *Sidin* as a kind of garment ; but though this, too, is written in the Hebrew without the *n*, yet every version and commentator pronounces it *Sindin*. This conformity strongly leads to the inference that this name is derived from *Sind*, the country watered by the river *Sindus*, by us called *Indus* ; which should be carefully distinguished from Hindoostan. The *Sindin* was an external garment ; It was worn by both sexes ; and being originally brought from India, might retain the name of its country long after imitations of it were manufactured in the west of Asia.

I would not be certain, that our *shawl* is not the *Sindin*. The true *shawl* came originally (and still comes) from the country of Cashmire, which is on the upper part of the Indus ; and many of them cost from 50*l.* to 60*l.* each.—This article is imitated in our own manufactories, and very great attention has been paid both to its texture and its embellishment ; yet it still retains the Indian name. Now *shawls* are worn by both sexes in Syria and Arabia, as external garments, and are decorated at a great expense.

In Judges xiv. 12, 13. Samson promises thirty *Sindinim*—shawls ; *i. e.* handsome exterior coverings. The virtuous woman, Prov. xxxi. 24, makes *Sindi*, shawls, which she sells to the merchant, when ornamented. *Sindi*—shawls, are enumerated among the articles of female dress, Isaiah iii. 23, and perhaps no part of dress, equally common to the sexes, can be mentioned as more likely to be the garment intended. It is remarkable that the Evangelist Mark, chap. xiv. 57, says, the young man who followed Jesus had “ a *Sindon* cast around his *naked* body : ”—a shawl of the ordinary size, might easily be cast around him, yet his body still be *naked* ; which could not be said of any night-gown, or surtout, by which this *Sindon* has been usually explained. My argument is, that the recurrence of this name in Scripture proves a derivation from India, with more or less knowledge of that country. It is probable that the Tyrians traded largely in Cashmire shawls ; and that these are alluded to by Martial, when he says “ a man in a Syrian *Sindon* may laugh at wind and rain : ” perhaps they are the warmest and lightest garments in the world :

*Ridebis ventos, hoc munere tectus, et imbres,
Nec sic in Syriâ Sindone tectus eris.*

LIB. iv. Epig. xix.

No. DCIII.

FARTHER ENQUIRIES, WHETHER CHINA MIGHT BE KNOWN TO THE HEBREWS?

UNDER the article *MAGOG*, in the *Dictionary*, the reader will observe that the Orientals by *Tsin* and *Matsin*, understand the Chinese of the north and those of the south. It appears, therefore, probable, that the Jews intended the same people by the *dual* form (or *plural*) of their *Sinim*. As we have no history of China, that can be depended on for showing the extent of this kingdom westward, at different periods, it is not easy to say how far into China the knowledge of the Jews might extend; but, if their communication at any time included the countries east of Tibet and the Burhampooter, there is nothing to hinder them from acquiring information of the Chinese empire. It is probable, however, that it could be only general, and perhaps by report: indeed, if that empire were at that time as strict in the admission of foreigners as it is at present, such a superficial knowledge must have contented distant nations; as we ourselves, notwithstanding the considerable traffic of Britain with that country, had no more knowledge of the interior of China, till the time of Lord Macartney's embassy, than we had of the wilds of Tartary, and the various hordes of that scattered and wandering race of men.

No. DCIV. OF A COLONY OF JEWS IN CHINA.

WHATEVER may be thought of the notion, that in the days of the prophets (*e.gr.* Isaiah) China was known to the Hebrews, there appears to be credible evidence that later migrations of the Jews eastward extended very far into Asia. Their dispersions, in consequence of repeated captivities, seem to have affected them with a kind of indifference as to their habitation; becoming also, familiar with a roving life by means of the Scythian nations, with whom they were conversant, actuated by discontent or disaffection, and possibly urged by persecution, in some of its forms, not a few of the Jewish families sought peaceable settlements in the most distant regions. These, were, of course, soon forgotten by the connections they had left; and what information reaches us concerning them may be looked on as a discovery; of which our present subject is an instance.

The very early period at which the Jews had arrived and settled, in China, is a remarkable circumstance in the history of that people. In the year 73 of the Christian æra, of course, very shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, [A. D. 70,] according to some writers of strict veracity, seventy Jewish families, taking their route from Persia, through Chorasán and Samarcand, settled in China. That inquisitive writer, Paulus, nearly 40 years ago (in a letter to Eichhorn) compared this alledged date of the arrival of the Jews in China with a chronological account, discovered among the Jews at Cochin, respecting some of their brethren who had settled in the Mogul territory 187 years before the birth of Christ. By the comparison of these accounts with each other, he has proved the probable authenticity of both. The merits of the Jesuits in modern times in their endeavours to propagate Christianity in that vast empire, are well known. That industrious and indefatigable sect deserve our thanks for their communications respecting the Jews there, the most remarkable of which comprizes an account of the Sacred Writings preserved in the Synagogue of *Kai-fong-fu*, the metropolis of the province of Honan. The first remarks on this subject are by Murr, in the 7th part of his *Journal of Arts and*

Literature, under the title of *Notitiæ quædam P. Ignati Koegleri de Bibliis Judæorum in Imperio Sinensi*. The original was published by him with additions in 1805, and it has since been translated into German, and published at Halle, with remarks by the editor, elucidations by de Sacy, and O. G. Tychsen, and a letter of P. Gozani.

This account of the Sacred Writings in possession of the Chinese Jews, may be abridged into the following statement.

They preserve their Hebrew documents in their public Synagogue at *Kai-fong-fu*, which was built in the year 1163. In the most holy place are seen thirteen rolls of parchment containing the *Thorah* (the law) placed on tables, like tabernacles; each is provided with a covering; twelve are placed in honour of the twelve tribes, and one in honour of Moses. The latter is the only one now remaining of the old copies. The others were consumed in a great conflagration which happened about 200 years ago. All the books of the Synagogue perished in that disaster, except this one copy, which was saved, though greatly damaged. The twelve mentioned above are copies, afterwards transcribed from that which was saved. The other Hebrew books are preserved in side closets, which are always kept locked. The Jews have some other Hebrew books; but most of these are much damaged, and some of them are totally illegible. The *Thorah* has but 52 *Paraschoth* (divisions, or sections) the 52d and 53d being reckoned but one. The biblical books are divided into four classes, 1. The Pentateuch. 2. The Supplement, *viz.* Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Psalms. 3. The Book of Ceremonies, or the Ritual Book; the Prophets, and the Books of Chronicles. 4. The historical Books, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the two Books of the Maccabees, also *in Hebrew*. The Proverbs, Job, Solomon's Song, and Ecclesiastes, they have not: however, they may, perhaps, says Koegler, have more books than they acknowledge, or more than they themselves know of, as they are exceedingly ignorant, and do not seem to evince the least inclination for literature or science; neither will they suffer any person to take any books away from their places, and it is impossible to run them over singly in the Synagogue; as they lie there in the greatest confusion.

The pronunciation of the Hebrew language by these Jews, is very different from that of the European Jews:—For example, תורה they pronounce *Thoulaha* or *Thoulaze*; בראשית *Pieleshcitze*; שמות *Schmotze*; ויקרא *Vajekelo*; במדבר *Piemizepaul*; תעלה *Teveliim*; &c.

Copies of these Hebrew Scriptures, extant in China, not omitting the First and Second Books of the Maccabees *in Hebrew*, might prove of considerable consequence to sacred literature; their addition might gratify us with phrases hitherto found but once in what we already possess, (and therefore difficult) elucidated by position or by connection; or words, which now, to speak Hebraically, “have neither friend nor brother,” might receive their true sense, from their cognates, in these historical documents. If the Greek translations that we already possess are faithful, these novelties will offer but little difficulty; if they present additional facts, that will be so much gain to general history: and to a period of history which we are previously acquainted with, and on which we can judge, by means of the Greek writers.

Our readers will observe for themselves, the alledged deficiencies of the books, preserved by these Jews, with the damaged state of the most valuable, but as great obscurity reigns over the whole account, that particular may justly be doubted. Not every applicant was likely to be favoured with a confidential com-

munication of *all* the books held sacred by this community. Not every one is master of the Hebrew language sufficiently to command the attention of the *Custos* of such mss. Not every one is sufficient judge of the probable age of a ms. to venture an opinion on that circumstance; and a person, adequately qualified, would perhaps find great difficulty in obtaining from the jealous government of China, permission to visit and examine *Kai-fong-fu*, at leisure. We have, however, discharged our duty in reminding the learned world of these remains of antiquity, of biblical antiquity, and must leave to Providence the direction to those means which may be instrumental in rendering these long buried documents of use to our Holy Religion, and to Sacred Literature. *Literary Panorama*, vol. v. p. 533.

How far the settlement of these Jews in China, with their possession of the Sacred Books, might invite Christian missionaries, or contribute to the favourable reception of Christianity, in that country, can only be matter of conjecture; this however, may be said with certainty, that, wherever the Jews went, they would resist Idolatry so far as they were able; and to the same extent they would prepare the way for introduction of the doctrines of the Cross, and for acknowledgment of the Messiah; whose character, and expected advent, they would constantly inculcate and report.

No. DCV. PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL IN THE WEST.

WE return now to Jerusalem as to the center whence the doctrine of the Gospel diverged in all directions. In the journeys of St. Peter we have seen it reach northward to Antioch, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia; these provinces formed the shore of the Euxine or Black Sea. The travels of St. Paul were partly parallel to these, but south and west of them. A mere enumeration of the places he passed through in his several journeys, as recorded, may suffice to shew what parts were visited by his means with Evangelical blessings. His first expedition for the purpose of communicating light to those who sat in darkness is, that with Barnabas, Acts xiii. usually placed A. D. 44. the fourth year of the Roman emperor Claudius; and supposed to extend into A. D. 47. The places enumerated have been already noticed.

After the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. about A. D. 49 or 50. Peter went to Antioch, where he met with Paul and Barnabas: not long after which Paul's second journey commences, and extends to A. D. 54. (in company with Silas.)

St. Paul's third journey, from Antioch in Syria, A. D. 54. to A. D. 57. or 58. the fourth year of Nero, Acts xxviii. 23.

At Jerusalem St. Paul is apprehended, and sent away guarded, A. D. 58. or 59. His voyage to Rome, A. D. 60. ends, with his history, about A. D. 63.

We have the direct testimony of the Acts of the Apostles for these several journeys; the following can only be inferred from incidental expressions in different parts of St. Paul's Epistles.

ITALY.—No doubt, when St. Paul was liberated from his first imprisonment at Rome, he would visit different parts of the country around that metropolis.

SPAIN.—St. Paul mentions, Rom. xv. 24, 25. his intention of visiting this country. Clemens Romanus, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, observes, that St. Paul preached in the *west, to its utmost bounds*, which no doubt includes Spain. Theodoret adds, that he visited *the islands of the sea*; these appear to correspond with the *islands afar off*, already noticed in Isaiah, lxvi. 19. The same writer mentions *Gaul* and *Britain* among the *Disciples of the Tent-maker*. There seems

therefore to be no period more convenient in the short remainder of St. Paul's life, than soon after his liberation, for an excursion from Italy to Spain, probably by sea; from Spain to Britain, also by sea; from Britain through Gaul to Italy, by land, for the most part. Whether he ever returned into the East is uncertain: from Philemon 22. he appears to have expected it.

Some writers have supposed a fifth journey, which they thus arrange: Italy, Spain, Crete, Jerusalem, Antioch in Syria; then, after some residence there, Colosse, Philippi, Nicopolis in Epirus, Corinth, Troas, Miletum in Crete, Rome.

Adequate proof of this last route is wanting: but, as he might easily from Gaul or Italy pass over into Greece, it is possible he might revisit Philippi, Troas, Colosse, Corinth, and Nicopolis, before he returned to Rome; where he was seized, and with Peter suffered martyrdom. The order of these places is of no consequence to us, who are now only concerned to ascertain their situations: and we shall not farther regard them.

No. DCVI.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN.

WE cannot better conclude this series of GEOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENTS, than by investigating the arguments in favour of the early Introduction of the Christian Religion among the ancient Britons: for, although antiquity, in ordinary cases, is but a weak plea for either power or purity, since we know that corruptions sprung up early in the Church; yet, in the present case it is most probable that the nearer we approach to the times of the Apostles, and the more directly we derive from them, or their immediate agents, the principles of faith and manners, with the greater satisfaction may we rely on their correctness and authority. It is indeed, impossible to suppose, that while Christianity was alloyed with notions retained by those who quitted various sects to embrace it,—while the Judaizing Christians deferred much to their ancient Judaism, and the Gentile philosophers, though converted, continued to be tinctured with their long-studied philosophy,—it is impossible to suppose that the Druidical converts should so completely relinquish their national Druidism that they should never more be influenced by it, either personally or in community. This however, may be said in favour of Britain, that its distance from the principal scenes of Ecclesiastical ambition, secured it in no inconsiderable degree from the disastrous consequences of that fatal fascination; nor did the various persecutions suffered by the Churches on the Continent rage with equal violence in this island; which often continued in peace while flames and fury involved the Christians of other parts.

It is well known that the partizans of the Catholic church among us attribute to St. Peter, or to his representatives, the propagation of the Gospel in Britain; and true it is, that if signs and wonders, if legendary tales and monkish traditions, in superabundance, might be allowed the authority they heretofore demanded, to doubt of that fact were no venial transgression. Happily, that time is gone by, never to return; and we now expect evidence more credible in its nature than alledged appearances of whole hosts of angels, or visions and vouchers miraculous and supernatural, can afford.

Another Apostle for whom claim has been made to this honour is, John, the Evangelist; and, if the Cathedral Chair of Ephesus had endeavoured to rival that of Rome, as universal Director of the faithful, it is far from unlikely that more

might have been said, and with great plausibility, in its favour, than modern days imagine. For we cannot suppose that when Bishop Colman with the other British Bishops, in the Synod held at Whitby, A. D. 664. as reported by Bede, should say, that they received from the beloved Apostle, John, their manner of keeping Easter, with other particulars, that they spoke entirely at random. They appealed to their Ancestors, to Anatolius and Columba; and it is evident, from the current and conciseness of their arguments, that they strengthened their cause with much that Bede has omitted. Now, whence should they have derived this Syrian practice, if not—to say the least—from Syria—from Jerusalem authority?

The pretensions of Joseph of Arimathea were anciently urged with no little assurance. It is said, that so early as A. D. 31. this Joseph, by most wonderful Providence, arrived in Britain, with ten or twelve associates, and was by the king allowed to settle at the famous Glastonbury; where he built a small church, *by direction of the angel Gabriel*, which he enclosed with a church-yard, *and dedicated to the Virgin Mary*: it was in length sixty feet; in breadth twenty-six feet; and was constructed of wooden rails, with wattles interwoven among them, according to the ancient British mode of building. There, this *Syrian*, who doubtless spoke *Syriac*, with his companions, performed his sacred services *in Latin*; and here he was ried, with a Latin epitaph:

Ad Britones veni postquam Christum sepelevi; docui, requievi.

The too early date assigned to this settlement confutes the story; nevertheless, it is due to truth to admit the possibility of a very early notice of the Gospel, arriving in Britain. Not only had the visitations of Cæsar on the coast, with the subsequent conquests of the Romans, opened a considerable intercourse with Rome, but the trade in tin, which had been established for ages, brought merchant vessels annually from the Levant; and colonies of Jews had established themselves in the western counties of the island, where the names of certain towns still retain tokens of their Hebrew origin. We have no need to recur to the opinion of Whitaker, who says, “Melcarthus or Midacritus brought the first Phenecian vessel to our coast, about *five centuries* before Christ, which, he adds, was as soon as Britain and Ireland first began to be colonized:”—nor to that of Richard of Cirencester, who says, “the Phenecians came here *one thousand years* before Christ; when the whole island was inhabited and cultivated:”—nor to that of Strabo, who says, “that Phenecian ships passed the straits (of Gibraltar), and entered on the ocean, about *twelve hundred years* before A. D. It is enough for us, that this commerce was considerable; this we infer from certain allusions in the Druidical remains, for translations of which we are obliged to Mr. DAVIES in his “*Mythology of the British Druids*,” &c. Among these we read “when *Dien* is propitiated with an offering of wheat, and the suavity of bees, and incense and myrrh, and aloes, *from beyond the seas*”—Now how should these ingredients, which are evidently Oriental, be obtained, if not by commerce, and that, no doubt, carried on in Phenecian vessels. We find the Bard Taliesin in the conclusion of his *Angar Cyvyndawd*, saying,

Traethator fyngofeg, Yn Efrai, yn Efrog.

“My lore has been declared in Hebrew, in Hebraic;” which implies, at least, an intercourse and communication with Syria. A still more striking passage is that in which the reverend translator has himself found traces of the Phenecian language, though in Welsh orthography. It occurs in “an ancient poem entitled *Gward*

Llydd y Mawr, the Praise of Lludd the Great, who is represented as the elder brother of Cassivellaunus, who fought with Julius Cæsar.—“On the day of the Sun, there truly assemble five ships and five hundred men embarked in them, who make supplication, saying,

O Brithi Brith oi Nu oes nu edi
Brithi brith anhai Sych edi edi eu roi.

“O, son of the compacted wood, the shock overtakes me : we all attend upon *Adonai*, on the area of *Pumpai*.”—“They implore the oracle with loud and continued cry, against the overwhelming” [deep.] The uncertainty in reducing these words to Hebrew characters, will remind the reader of the Phenecian scene in Plautus : but we know, that *Adonai* is a Hebrew word ; and Mr. BRYANT says that *P'ompi* means *the oracle*. But, it is most to our purpose to observe, from this passage, that only a few years before A. D. the trade to Britain employed no fewer than five large vessels—as large as our East Indiamen,—each navigated by a hundred men. Consequently, these, or such as these, might have brought over British-Jewish pilgrims who had visited Jerusalem, and had heard of the Gospel ; not to say, that the correspondents of the Jewish settlers in Britain, might have informed their countrymen here of events in Judea which so nearly concerned their nation, at a moment when the expectation of Messiah’s appearance was universal. By the same means might early converts visit Britain, and with them the Christian faith.

No. DCVII.

ENQUIRY CONTINUED : WAS CHRISTIANITY INTRODUCED BY ST. PAUL ?

IT was proper to glance at such evidence as by possibility might diminish the guilt of those who originally beguiled the monks, by imposing on them traditions, or rumours, or reveries, for facts. The ecclesiastics might not always intend to deceive ; though we cannot acquit them of a credulity little less than irrational, when deception was contemplated as favourable to their interest. We turn now to better supported hypothesis. The article is for the most part, reprinted from the *Literary Panorama*, vol. ii. p. 137, &c. The substance of it is the composition of the late Rev. W. RICHARDS, of Lynn : for the additions the present writer is responsible.

At what time the Christian Religion was first introduced into Britain, is a question on which our ecclesiastical historians have been divided. Most of them, however, seem to agree in fixing that event before the expiration of the first century ; and the testimonies of several of the ancients have been produced in support of this opinion.—Both Tertullian and Origen speak of Christianity as having made its way into Britain ; nor do they represent it as a recent event, so that it may be presumed to have taken place long before their time. The former says, “there are places among the Britons which were inaccessible to the Romans, but yet are subdued by Christ.” [*Adv. Judæos, cap. 7.*].—The latter says, “the power of God our Saviour is even with them in Britain, who are divided from our world.” [*in Luc. cap. i. Hom. 6.*].—It was usual with the ancients, long before Origen’s time, to speak of Britain as *divided from the world*. Even King Agrippa, in his speech to the Jews at Jerusalem, about the beginning of the revolt, uses a similar language. See Josephus.]—Eusebius is more explicit : speaking of the pious labours of the Apostles, he declares, that some of them “had passed over the ocean, and preached ἐπὶ τὰς καλυμμένας Βριτανικὰς νήσους,
“to

to those which are called the *Britannic islands*." From his connection with the Imperial court, and his intimacy with the emperor himself, who was a native of Britain, he may well be supposed to have possessed the best information; and, as much of his reasoning depends on the truth of the above allegation, it is natural to presume that he was well assured of the fact.—THEODORET also, another ancient and respectable ecclesiastical historian, expressly names the *Britons* among the nations whom the apostles—the fishermen, publicans, and tent-makers, as he calls them) "had persuaded to embrace the religion of him who was crucified." [*Tom. iv. Serm. 9.*]

To the foregoing testimonies may be added that of Gildas, the earliest of our British historians. According to him, *Epist. c. i.* the Gospel began to be published here about the time of the memorable revolt and overthrow of the Britons under Boadicea, (A. D. 60. or 61.), and was followed by a long interval of peace. Speaking of this revolt, with its disastrous termination and consequences, Gildas adds, "In the mean time, Christ, the true sun, afforded his rays, that is, the knowledge of his precepts, to this island, benumbed with extreme cold, having been at a great distance from the sun, not the sun in the firmament, but the Eternal Sun in heaven." On what authority Gildas places this event at that time, he does not say. From domestic or British records he appears to have derived no assistance; and he was of opinion that no documents of that kind remained then in the country. And if there ever had been any such, he thought they had either been burnt by the enemy, or were carried into foreign parts by our exiled or emigrated countrymen: so that to his great regret, he had not been able to discover any. He must therefore have relied on the authority of some foreign records; or he might follow the tradition of the country. However that was, his statement appears to be, on the whole, correct, and is remarkably supported by the *Triades*. [*The Triades of the Isle of Britain* are some of the most curious and valuable fragments preserved in the Welsh language. They relate to persons and events from the earliest times to the beginning of the seventh century.—See Preface to Llywarch Iŷen's Poems.] These are ancient British documents of undoubted credit (compare also the *Bonedd y Saint*, another very ancient record), though but little known till lately, except to a few who had access to the remaining depositories of ancient Cambrian records. From these *Triades* we learn, that the famous Caractacus, who, after a war of nine years in defence of the liberties of his country, was basely betrayed and delivered up to the Romans by *Aregwedd Foeddig* (the Cartismandua of Roman authors), was, together with his father *Brán*, and the whole family, carried captive to Rome, about A. D. 52. or 53. where they were detained seven years, or more. At this time the Gospel was preached at Rome; and *Brán*, with others of the family, became converts to Christianity. After about seven years, they had permission to return, and were the means of introducing the knowledge of Christ among their countrymen; on which account *Brán* was long distinguished as *one of the three Blessed Sovereigns*: and his family as *one of the holy lineages of Britain*. At the return of these earliest British converts, it might be expected that some of the Christians with whom they had associated at Rome, would be prevailed on to accompany them to their native country. Several of the disciples of Christ, whose names are recorded in the New Testament, were probably at Rome when the Britons quitted that city; but it does not appear that any of them did at this time visit Britain. We find, however, that certain Christians from Rome did actually accompany the liberated captives. The names of three have been preserved. One was called *Ilid*, and is said to have been

an Israelite; the other two were *Cyndav*, and *Arwystli Hên*, both of them probably Gentiles. What their Roman names were it is now impossible to say. They are supposed to have been all preachers, and are said to have been instrumental (the former especially) in turning great numbers of the Britons from the error of their ways, and persuading them to believe in Christ. Their names are the more remarkable as they were, if not the first, yet doubtless among the very first Christian preachers that ever set foot in this island.—*Brán* introduced them, and the Gospel here.

As *Brán* and *Caradoc* (otherwise *Brennus* and *Caractacus*) were *Silurian* princes, [*i. e.* Welsh] we may safely conclude that Christianity made its way into Wales as early as into any part of this kingdom. When *Brán* returned to his native land, some of his family, it is thought, staid behind and settled at Rome. Of these *Claudia*, mentioned with *Pudens* and *Linus*, 2. Tim. iv. 21. is deemed to have been one, and supposed to be the same with *Claudia*, the wife of *Pudens*, mentioned by *Martial* the poet, who speaks of her as a British lady of extraordinary virtue, wit, and beauty. [*Epig. lib. iv. 13. lib. xi. 54.*] It has been objected, that *Martial*, living in the reign of *Trajan*, cannot be supposed to speak of *Paul's Claudia*, who flourished in the reigns of *Claudius* and *Nero*. But though he lived in *Trajan's* reign, he lived also and resided at Rome in the reign of *Vespasian*, if not in that of *Nero*, and the epigram [he mentions her in two epigrams, one before, the other after her marriage] in which he mentions *Claudia*, might be written in his younger years, when she was in her prime. Some have thought her to be the daughter of *Caractacus*: it is likely that she was of his kindred. Her Roman name, *Claudia*, is no objection, as one of *Caractacus's* sons is known to have borne the name of *Octavius*, [which is also a Roman name; and, no doubt, was independent of his British name; such double names were common; but, these are moreover complimentary to the Imperial family.] And besides these Royal captives, *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius*, *Claudius's* lieutenant, and the first Roman governor here, has also been thought a Briton and a Christian, consequently one of the earliest British Christians. Of her *Tacitus* says, "*Pomponia Græcina, insignis fœmina, Plautio (qui ovans se de Britannis retulit) nupta, ac Superstitionis externæ rea, mariti judicio permissa. Isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famâque conjugis cognovit: et insontem nuntiavit. Pomponia Græcina*, an illustrious lady, married to *Plautius*, who was honoured with an ovation (or lesser triumph), for his victories in Britain, was accused of having embraced a strange foreign superstition; and her trial for that crime was committed to her husband. He, according to ancient law and custom, convened her whole family and relations; and having in their presence, tried her for her life and fame, pronounced her innocent of any thing immoral. *Pomponia* lived [to a great age] many years after this trial, but always led a gloomy melancholy kind of life." *Annal. lib. xiii. c. 32.*—On this it has been remarked, that *Tacitus*, no doubt, deemed the lives of the primitive Christians *gloomy* and *melancholy*; and had he been called on to describe them, he would, in all probability, have represented their religion as *a vile foreign superstition*, and the sobriety and severity of their lives (abstaining from pagan rites and excesses) as a continual solitude, and intolerable austerity. "It was the way," says *Bishop Stillingfleet*, "of the men of that time, such as *Suetonius* and *Pliny*, as well as *Tacitus*, to speak of Christianity as a barbarous and wicked superstition (as appears by their writings), being forbidden by their laws, which they made the only rule of their religion."—*Orig. Britannicæ*, p. 44. This trial of *Pomponia* happened, it seems, while *Nero* and *Calpurnius Piso* were consuls: [A.D. 57.]

after the apostle Paul's coming to Rome the first time; and therefore she may, not unreasonably, be supposed one of his converts. It appears that there were other persons of distinction among the apostle's friends then at Rome; for instance, *those of Cæsar's household*, among whom might be some of the British captives.

It does not appear by the *Triades*, that the whole of Caractacus's family embraced Christianity at Rome, or even that he himself did so: but a son and a daughter of his are mentioned, as well as his father, as very eminent Christians. The name of the son was *Cylin*, [can this be be *Linus*?—*Cy-LLIN*: *LIN-us*, see *LINUS*, in the *Dictionary*,] and that of the daughter was *Eigen*; both classed among the British Saints. That son is said to be the grandfather of *Lleurug*, commonly called King *Lucius*, who greatly exerted himself at a later period, to promote Christianity in Britain, or at least in *Situria* [Wales,] the country of his ancestors, and where he himself also reigned by the favour or permission of the Romans. Even the famous King Arthur appears to be a descendant of this illustrious family.—*Eigen*, the above-mentioned daughter of Caractacus, is said to have been married to a British chieftain, who was lord of *Caer Sarllog*, the present Old Sarum. It seems doubtful whether Caractacus himself ever returned to his native country. The rest of the family that staid behind might be chiefly females; and *Claudia* who has been said to be one of his daughters, has been mentioned by some as the wife of *Pudens*, a Roman senator, and the mother of *Linus*; whom the apostle Paul mentions together.

It has been alleged by those who appear to have paid the most attention to, and to be best acquainted with, this part of the British history, that the Druids very generally, or at least great numbers of them, embraced Christianity on its first promulgation in this island; and, in consequence, that the Christianity of the Britons, in time, took a tincture of Druidism. This will not appear at all strange or extraordinary, when we consider how much the religion of the Jewish Christians was tintured with *Judaism*, and that of the Platonic converts with *Platonism*: the case was probably similar with converts from most, if not from all other sects. The apostles, while they lived, laboured to guard against this; but when they were gone, the difficulty of counteracting it, would doubtless become much greater. To this source may perhaps be traced most of the religious differences, errors, and squabbles among the Christians of the first ages, if not also of later times."

.....

The following paragraph is from Bishop BURGESS's *Seven Epochs of the Ancient British Church*, p. 7.

"That St. Paul did go to Britain, we may collect from the testimony of Clemens Romanus, Theodoret and Jerome, who relate, that after his imprisonment he preached the Gospel in the *western parts*; that he brought Salvation to the *islands that lie in the ocean*, [Niceph. *Hist. l. i. c. 1.*] and that in preaching the Gospel he went to the *utmost bounds of the West*. What was meant by *the west*, and the *islands that lie in the ocean*, we may judge from Plutarch, [Life of Cæsar;] Eusebius, and Nicephorus [Eusebius, *Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 25. 41. lib. ii. c. 28.*] who call the British ocean the *western*; and again from Nicephorus, who says, that one of the Apostles went to the extreme countries of the ocean, and to the British isles [*Hist. l. i. c. 2.*] but especially from the words of Catullus, who calls Britain the *utmost island* of the west; and from Theodoret, who describes the Britons as inhabiting the *utmost parts* of the west. [Theod. vol. iii. *Hist. Relig. p. 881.*] When Clement, therefore, says

that St. Paul went to *the utmost bounds of the West*; we do not conjecture, but are sure that he meant Britain, not only because Britain was so designated, but because St. Paul could not have gone to the utmost bounds of the west without going to Britain. It is almost unnecessary, therefore, to appeal to the express testimony of Venantius Fortunatus and Sophronius, for the Apostle's journey to Britain. Venantius Fort. l. iii. *de Vita S. Martini*. Sophronius *de Natali Apost.* quoted by Godwin *de Prasul.* who says, *Sophronius Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus disertis verbis asserit Britanniam nostram eum invisisse.* (p. 8. ed. 1616.)"

There is a force in the expressions of Clemens Romanus, 1 *Epist. Cor. cap. 5.* that is seldom justly appreciated, inasmuch as he repeats his assertion: his words are "Paul received the reward of his patience—*He preached both in the East and in the West*;—and having taught the whole world Righteousness, and for that end travelled to the **UTMOST BOUNDS OF THE WEST**,...he suffered Martyrdom." Had not the writer been well assured of his facts, he would have been contented with his first assertion,—“ he preached in the West;” whereas, he greatly strengthens this assertion by repetition and addition, “ He travelled *ἐπὶ τὸ τέμα τῆς δυσεως*, to the **UTMOST BOUNDS OF THE WEST**,” a mode of expression rising greatly in energy above the former; and evidently intended to mark out to the reader a determinate, specific, and well-known proposition as the object of the phrase. The later writers may be dispensed with, after this unequivocal testimony; the more powerful because incidental.

In my humble judgment the resemblance between the British name *Arwystli*, and the Greek *Aristobulus*, Rom. xvi. 10. deserves more consideration than it has hitherto received. It is certain that the formation of this name [from the Greek] is according to the analogy of the ancient British language: it is certain also, that the Apostle does not salute Aristobulus *himself*, personally, and directly: but those related to him. It is not absolutely clear that Aristobulus was a Christian, any more than Narcissus, mentioned in the same manner, in the following verse, who is by some thought to have been the emperor's freed man, and dead some time before the date of this epistle. We may, however, observe a difference, if we attend closely to the purport of the phrase used: the Apostle salutes so many (restrictively) of those attached to Narcissus as *were in the Lord*, therefore, some were NOT in the Lord: but he uses no such restriction concerning Aristobulus's family, but salutes them *generally*: therefore, they were *all* in the Lord: and the probability may pass for nothing less than certainty, that where all the family was Christian, the head of the family was so, especially and primarily.

The expression employed by the Apostle implies farther, that Aristobulus was not at Rome, when this epistle was composed, or when it was expected to reach that capital: and if, as is customary, we date this epistle A. D. 58. or 59. it reduces within narrow limits the question whether *Aristobulus* accompanied Brân to Britain. If Brân were sent to Rome A. D. 52. and kept there seven years, we are brought to A. D. 59. for the time of his release. It was very late in 58. or early in 59. when St. Paul sent off his Epistle to the Romans:—it appears by the breaks in the last chapter, that he laid it aside, and resumed it, several times, and that he retained it to the moment of his [or its] departure from Corinth, where it was written. If then, St. Paul had, at this time, intelligence of the intention of Aristobulus to quit Rome for Britain, or of his having actually done so, *very lately*, his mode of expression is accounted for, correctly and completely,

It would be truly interesting could we state this matter circumstantially, to find, that Aristobulus quitted Rome, in A. D. 58. leaving part of his family behind him; that part of the family of Caractacus, remaining at Rome, were joined by St. Paul on his first arrival in that city, A. D. 60. and that they are mentioned by him when writing to Timothy, during his second residence in Rome, and at (nearly) the close of his life, in A. D. 65. Nothing forbids this arrangement.—Farther,

It appears by the *Dictionary*, article II. ARISTOBULUS, that the Greeks say, this preacher “*was sent into England, where he laboured very much, made many converts, and at last died.*” As it is impossible that the Greeks should have known any thing about the British Triades; and on the other hand, that the Triades should have known any thing about the Greeks, these witnessess appear to be not only very distant, but perfectly distinct and independent: their combined testimony, therefore, is the more corroborative, and the more striking. And it may now be asserted, with the utmost appearance of truth, that whoever were employed in introducing Christianity into Britain, Aristobulus was one of the earliest missionaries, and under the Royal protection of the Silurian princes.

We are enabled also by this statement to explain and to verify the words of Tertullian, which some have considered as a mere flourish of rhetoric, *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita*. Places in Britain, which were inaccessible to the Roman arms, might nevertheless be subdued to Christ, in Wales, where, amid the recesses and retreats furnished by the mountains, there were, no doubt, many who had fled, after the capture of Caractacus, and who there continued to resist the Romans. In fact, Ostorius, who had taken Caractacus captive, sunk under the fatigue of the succeeding war; Manlius Valens, with a legion of Romans, was attacked and defeated by the Britons, and the war continued with various success. Nero even entertained thoughts of withdrawing his army from Britain, says Suetonius. In A. D. 62. Petronius Turpillianus succeeded to the government of Britain; who, says Tacitus, “gave the name of *peace* to his own inactivity, and, having composed former disturbances, attempted nothing farther.” Is it impossible that this inactivity during three years, should be the result of the return of the principal Royal Britons to their homes?—Britain fell to the lot of Vespasian in A. D. 71. and to Agricola in A. D. 78. By this time, we may safely say with the Greeks, that *Aristobulus had made many converts in Britain*.

We may also now attach a stronger sense to the expression of Theodoret, who reckons Gaul and *Britain* among *the disciples of the tent-maker*. For, say the Greeks, Aristobulus “was brother to Barnabas,—was ordained by Barnabas, or by *Paul, whom he followed in his travels:*” so that the Britons, converted by Aristobulus, might with propriety, be called the *disciples of St. Paul*, even if that Apostle never set foot in our island. But, it will be acknowledged, at the same time, that if St. Paul did follow Aristobulus, and confirm his converts in Britain, the comfort of his visit was greatly increased, and the necessity of his prolonged residence was greatly diminished, by the previous success of his disciple. Might he come during the peaceful government of Petronius Turpillianus?

But we may adopt a chronology still more convenient: for it appears that Ostorius arrived as governor in Britain A. D. 50. and immediately opened a *winter* campaign against the Britons. Allowing a proportionate time for the events of war, as urged by this active general, Caractacus might be sent prisoner to Rome in A. D. 51. instead of A. D. 52. which would give the following dates:

| | |
|---|----------|
| | A. D. |
| Aulus Plautius governor in Britain..... | 43 |
| Brân and Caradoc at Rome..... | 51 |
| Brân liberated after 7 years captivity..... | 58 |
| St. Paul writes to the Romans, at the end of 58. or early in 59. Aristobulus gone from Rome to Britain with Brân, at the date of St. Paul's letter. | |
| St. Paul visits Britain..... | 63 |
| The Apostle mentions sundry British Christians, residing at Rome, when writ- ing to Timothy. [Had Timothy a <i>personal</i> acquaintance with them? It should appear so, from the tenor and mode of the salutation.]..... | 65 or 66 |

No. DCVIII. ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS.

THE reader has now seen the certainties and the uncertainties attending the history of the Introduction of Christianity into Britain. Among the certainties we may safely place the derivation of the Gospel from the Apostle Paul, or his disciples:—among the uncertainties, we may place the exact date, and the exact person. There yet, however, remain a few remarks, the introduction of which will need no apology to British readers.

St. Paul writes to Timothy, A. D. 65. or 66.—“There salute thee Eubulus, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.” Why are these individuals distinguished from *all the brethren*?—and evidently, with a marked superiority. Why is Claudia, a female, introduced so distinctly, when *all the brethren* are crowded together in a mass? This must have been occasioned,—either, by Timothy's more intimate knowledge of these persons, than of the brethren at large, which might easily be, since he had been in bonds at Rome; and was liberated A. D. 62.—or, they were eminent by station in the church, of which, however, we read nothing, at this time:—or, they were of superior rank in life; or, of some family, or connection, rendered conspicuous by events, or by descent, or by some other cause.

They seem to form but one group; and their salutation, by the language used, is sent in common: one might almost fancy that they were in St. Paul's company, when he was closing his letter. Were they also *prisoners* with him? or under the *surveillance* of the military police, as he was? To judge by their names they were not Hebrews by nation: Eubulus is clearly a Greek appellation: Pudens and Claudia are Latin names: Linus seems to be somewhat awkwardly referred to the Greek *λινος*, *nets*.

Without farther preface, we proceed to a modest conjecture on the application of what has been deduced from the verses of Martial. That poet has two epigrams in praise of a British lady of the name of CLAUDIA: the reader will not be displeased to find them here:

CLAUDIA cœruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latine pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Di bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito
Quod sperat generos, quodque puella nurus,
Sic placeat superis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

Lib. ii. ep. 54.

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti,
 Macte esto tædis, O Hymenæe, tuis.
 Tam bene raro suo miscentur cinnama nardo,
 Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis.
 Nec melius teneris junguntur vitibus ulmi,
 Nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat.
 Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto.
 Tamque pari semper sit Venus æqua jugo.
 Diligat ipsa senem quondam: sed ut illa marito,
 Tunc quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus. *Lib. iv. ep. 13.*

These have been thus translated by a modern hand:

From sky-blue Britons, while we Claudia trace;
 How do we own her soul of Latian race!
 Of nations diverse, Nature joy'd to blend
 A form; that Rome and Athens might contend.
 Ye pow'rs! how blest must the possessor be!
 What progeny espous'd the girl may see!
 Kind Heaven give him one consort to enjoy;
 And may three sons her constant thanks employ.

To Pudens see the beauteous Claudia vail:
 Hail, charming torches, thrice blest Hymen, hail!
 So the rare cinnamon with spikenard blends:
 So Massic blood Thesean combs distends.
 Not more the elmlings on the vinelets dote;
 On shores the myrtle, or on streams the lote.
 Fair Concord, o'er their constant couch preside;
 The dove-like yoke delighted Venus guide.
 Him, spite of years, may she still lovely deem:
 May she to him in youth perennial seem.

The reader who closely inspects the Latin will probably be of opinion that Claudia, though descended (*edita*) from Britons who had stained their skins blue with the woad of their country, yet was not herself so ornamented.—Why has she the bosom of the Latian people? asks the poet; whence it should seem that the Latian country (or Italy) had some share in her:—the Italian mothers, he proceeds to say, might believe her to be Roman, as the Athenian might think her their own; this reference to the opinion of mothers, agrees well with her being called *puella*, a girl, as yet a child: and it may be thought also to include her fluency of speaking the languages of Italy and Greece. So Juvenal says of the Roman girls,

—————*Omnia Græce;*
 —————*donec tamen ista puellis. Sat. vi.*

Moreover, the compliment of wishing her, in after-life, the privileges attached at Rome to the parent of three children, the *jus trium liberorum*, confirms the notion of her being in some sense Roman; as these privileges were, at this time, rarely, or not without special favour, conferred on others than natives. Unless, therefore, I am mistaken, this commendation of Claudia was composed when she was quite young, and apparently implies her birth in the imperial city. Let us see whether it may agree with a daughter of Caractacus.

We know that the British prince was carried to Rome, with all his family, and that he met with a favourable hearing, and in fact, applause from the Emperor Claudius:—is it too much to suppose that after his arrival at Rome he had a

daughter born to him, which out of compliment to Claudius, he called Claudia? Placing her birth in A. D. 51. or 52. she would be about fourteen years of age in A. D. 65. or 66. the date of St. Paul's Epistle; and, if there be any truth in the tradition that St. Peter—much rather St. Paul—had lodged with this family, [see the article PUDENS, in the *Dictionary*.] we see sufficient reason for the special remembrance to Timothy, of such members of it as were now at Rome. And this synchronizes with Martial's compliment: for supposing he wrote any time after A. D. 60. or while Claudia was under thirteen or fourteen years of age, he might, nevertheless, live thirty or forty years afterwards, to the time of Trajan, A. D. 97. and we know not when he died.

It should appear that St. Paul's Claudia was not married at the time of his sending her salutation; for, in that case, he would most likely have placed her with her husband, as he always does Aquila and Priscilla; but, supposing her marriage with Pudens when she was about twenty years old, A. D. 71. or 72. it would afford occasion to Martial's second Epigram; and we know that he was in Rome at the time, and long after. In that poem he calls Claudia *peregrina*, of foreign descent: he compliments the union as that of the most valuable spice, cinnamon, to that of the most exquisite fragrance, spikenard; as that of the tender vine to the stronger elm; not more does the lotos love water, or the myrtle the shore; May Venus ever confer her binding yoke on such well-paired couples!—Hitherto all is compliment; yet in the wishes of the latter verses may be discerned a kind of *double entendre*, insinuating that Pudens was rather *juventulus* [from 25. to 35.] than *adolescens* [under 25.] May she love the *senem*,—(this term certainly was not elicited in the poet's mind, by the *youth* of her consort;) and so may her husband love her; then, happen what may, he will not see her an old woman.—*i. e.* possibly, in every stage of life she will continue [much?] the younger. This agrees with the order of the Apostle's words, which appear to follow the relative seniority of the parties; Eubulus the eldest, then Pudens, then Linus, born in Britain, we presume, for the present, lastly, Claudia, born in Rome, and consequently the youngest of this truly noble and dignified family. As Martial was poor though distinguished by honours, he probably was well acquainted with the bounty of these princely patrons.

If these considerations be consistent with probability, with chronology, and with themselves, we must dismiss the notion of Claudia being the *mother* of Linus: but she might be his *sister*. And the character of that eminent Christian,—properly the first bishop of Rome—will now come to be considered.

It is notorious that Christian believers were divided from the very first into Jew and Gentile; and that in spite of all the efforts made by the Apostles, the distinction continued, so long, at least, as the Jewish nation remained a public body. It is no less notorious that, notwithstanding all the arguments of St. Paul, the Corinthian Church was a prey to party spirit, long after his time, as appears from the Epistle of Clement intended to check that disposition. We may say the same of the Roman Christians; where some—the native Jews, no doubt,—assumed a superiority over their (Gentile) brethren, which these could ill brook; and with which the condition of the Jews, at Rome, appeared to be absolutely inconsistent. Evidence of this might easily be adduced from the contemptuous remarks of heathen writers. This diversity, with the consideration of convenience, in so large a city, contributed to the formation of more than one worshipping society; and, might we be allowed to conclude that one of these societies was composed principally of Jewish believers, and another of Gentiles, it would contribute much to the explanation of difficulties which

which now render the early history of the Church at Rome, extremely obscure and embarrassing.

The Catalogues of the Bishops of Rome place LINUS after Peter:—with this agree Irenæus, Eusebius, and Jerom; then follows Anancletus, and then Clement: while Optatus, Rufinus, Augustine, and other Latin writers, place Clement immediately after Linus, and Anancletus after Clement. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (placed by Lardner, in the 4th. century) assert that Linus was appointed by St. Paul, and Clement by Saint Peter. This supports our notion of more than one society of Christian believers, in the Imperial city, at the same time; and it may be thought likely that the compiler of this work was not without competent information on this subject: he *should not* be deceived on what concerns the see of Rome. Epiphanius conjectures that Clement declined the exercise of the episcopal office during the life of Linus, who superintended the Church from A. D. 65. to A. D. 77. twelve years. The reader will judge between this conjecture and that of two concurrent communities and officers, appertaining to different nations.

But, all agree that Linus certainly was bishop of Rome:—if he were a Briton,—if his family were Christian, and—if Brán, his grandfather, were the sovereign of the Silures, under whose protection Aristobulus, a disciple of St. Paul, brought Christianity into Britain, then the intimate connection between Britain and Rome, which we know existed, was nothing more than natural; and when we read, that several of the British princes, after the time of Julius Cæsar, and especially after the expedition of Claudius, and the favour shewn to Caractacus and his family, were educated at Rome, (either in whole, or in part) the difficulties which some have found in the intercourse between the countries entirely disappear. The British writers inform us, that Coel, son of Meurig, received his education in Rome, and had “been familiarized to the Roman customs and manners.” This coincides exactly with what Tacitus relates of the policy of Agricola; and was, indeed, one of the principal advantages derived from the custom of sending chiefs, or sons of chiefs, as hostages to the seat of empire. Lles (or *Lucius*) son of Coel, succeeded his father, and was of the same disposition. He continued in amity with the Roman government; and paid his stipulated tribute, although, say the British historians, he was sufficiently powerful to have withheld it.

To king *Lucius* the *Introduction* of Christianity has been attributed; the error was venial in those who had not access to the documents which have guided our opinion; and it is the less to be wondered at, because this king certainly did endeavour the *settlement* of Christianity in his dominions, on principles of greater permanency than it had hitherto enjoyed. For we are not to suppose that Druidism gave way instantly,—that the example, the power, or the influence of the king, was able to establish it generally, or to persuade his chiefs, or his subjects, at large, to exchange their ancient institutions and practices for this new system. It is nevertheless, credible that, in the course of about seventy years the profession of Christianity had made a great progress, and that it was prevailing among the nation, insomuch that *Lucius* might *design* to replace the Druidical priesthood by Christian instructors; he might even *begin* to assign Druidical lands to the support of Christian teachers, or Druidical temples and *sacra* to Christian worship. He might partially execute what he did not live entirely to accomplish; whence we easily explain the assertions of later ages, which ascribe to his actions what was properly due to his intentions only.

The connection between Rome and Britain was so close, at this time, that we find nothing marvellous in the story reported by Nennius of this king's sending to Rome for Christian teachers, whether as a reinforcement to those of his native Britons, or wishing to obtain and compare the maxims of different ecclesiastics, before he determined on that definitive arrangement in behalf of Christianity, which there is every reason to believe he contemplated. He died at Gloucester A. D. 136. This is the most candid acceptance of the tale of the *conversion* of king *Lucius* by priests sent from Rome. It is, perhaps, not so much a direct monkish imposition, as a perverted misapplication of an historical fact.

Lucius was not king of the entire island; though the complimentary title "*Sovereign of Britain*," was continued in the family of Caractacus: his authority beyond his peculiar limits was merely that of reputation and influence. Christianity however, continued to spread: it was occasionally subject to persecution, and occasionally it triumphed, as in the person of Helena, and of her son Constantine, who became the first Christian emperor. It is thought, that there were British clergy in the assembly at Nice; and it is certain that in a previous synod held at Arles, in France, the British Church was represented by three British bishops, a Presbyter, and a Deacon. We may judge on the extent of the general conversion, from the situation of the sees of the bishops who signed: they were

EBORIUS, Episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi Provincia Britannia.

RESTITUTUS, Episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, Provincia supra scripta.

ADELFIUS, Episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium.

EXINDE Sacerdos Presbyter.

ARMINIUS, Diaconus.

.....

*. It seems proper to notice here an inadvertence into which Mr. RICHARDS has fallen in speaking of the trial of *Pomponia Gracina*, (who might be a British lady)—if that trial took place A. D. 57. she could not be a convert of St. Paul, (personally) whose first visit to Rome was A. D. 60.

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Thus we have seen that to the extent of the prophecies of the Old Testament, either the records of the New Testament expressly affirm, or very credible testimony leads us to believe, that the Gospel quickly communicated its salutary influence: and so far the investigation of Biblical Geography demonstrates the authority of the Bible itself, by the fulfilment of its prophecies, and the general establishment of its truth. If it be asked, whether the parts thus favoured have not lost their first faith? we confess that the charge implied in the question, is too true: nevertheless, they seem in general to have retained some tincture at least of the principles they had imbibed; and, though greatly debased by error, or discouraged by oppression, yet the faith of Jesus Christ, even in countries remote from its origin, is professed, is retained, in spite of a thousand disadvantages, and notwithstanding a thousand oppositions, secular or religious, national or local. May the happy time soon come, when no doubt shall remain whether the most distant nations have or have not been favoured with the Gospel; but evident and notorious fact shall justify an appeal in proof of that felicity: and the whole earth shall acknowledge that "the Lord is One, and his name One, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same."

FRAGMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

BIOGRAPHICAL INCIDENTS AND EVENTS,

IN THE HISTORIES OF

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

SELECTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

.....

NO. DCIX. EVIDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY FROM NON-CHRISTIANS.

DR. CHALMERS, in his tract "on the Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation," (which first appeared as an article in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia) seems to be at some loss for testimonies to the miracles and character of Jesus Christ, as borne by those who were not converts to his doctrine. He describes the Infidel as demanding farther Evidence from witnesses not implicated in the transactions. "In his conception," says he, "the Jews and the Christians stand opposed to each other. In the belief of the latter, he sees nothing but a party or an interested testimony; and in the unbelief of the former, he sees a whole people persevering in their ancient faith, and resisting the new faith, on the ground of its insufficient Evidences. He forgets all the while, that the testimony of a great many of these Christians is, in fact, the testimony of Jews... He is aware of what they are at present, Christians, and defenders of Christianity; but he has lost sight of their original situation, and is totally unmindful of this circumstance, that in their transition from Judaism to Christianity they have given him the very Evidence he is in quest of."

"The silence of Heathen and Jewish writers of that period, about the miracles of Christianity, has been much insisted on by the enemies of our religion; and has even excited something like a painful suspicion in the breasts of those who are attached to its cause. But let us try the effect of that Testimony which our antagonists demand. Tacitus has actually attested the existence of Jesus Christ; the reality of such a personage; his public execution under the administration of Pontius Pilate; the temporary check which this gave to the progress of his religion; its revival a short time after his death; its progress over the land of Judea, and to Rome itself, the metropolis of the empire;—all this we have in a Roman historian; and, in opposition to all established reasoning on these subjects, it is by some more firmly confided in upon his Testimony, than upon the numerous and concurring testimonies of nearer and contemporary writers. A direct Testimony to the miracles of the New Testament from the mouth of a Heathen is not to be expected. We cannot satisfy this demand of the infidel: "_____

When he composed these passages the worthy writer could not be aware that Providence has placed within our power a much closer approximation towards an answer to the demands of the Infidel, than those on which he has argued. Tacitus, a heathen by descent, by custom, by law, is certainly good authority for what he asserts in reference to a sect the progress of which bade fair to overturn both law and custom, and to annul the prejudices and the privileges inherited by descent. But Tacitus reposed on the established order of things in his country; he was not active in behalf of a rival sect; he was quiescent; he suffered nothing; nor was he a party to any transaction recorded in the Gospel history; nor resident in the country where the principal facts occurred; nor had he built his hopes and expectations on a different, a contemporary, and (at one time) a truly flattering, and even a miraculous basis. Tacitus had not been thus persuaded, elevated, encouraged—and eventually disappointed. Such, however, was really the case of the disciples of John the Baptist: they pleaded a Divine interposition in favour of their Master; they pleaded the priority of his office—the sanctity of his character—the popularity of his doctrine—the veneration in which he was held by the people, at large, independent of those who became his disciples;—yet all these, with every other most promising appearance they saw annihilated at a stroke, and had the additional mortification of witnessing the progress of a rival institution, taking the place of their own, and completely triumphing where their's had absolutely and hopelessly failed.

What exception can lie against the Testimony of such witnesses? When we express our surprize that the Jews have not transmitted accounts of the wonders performed in their country, by a person so notorious as Jesus was, when we impute their silence to their national and characteristic obstinacy, we overlook the consideration of the competition between their law, their temple, their priesthood, and Christ. While any hopes remained of reinstating their law, and rebuilding their temple, the most determined silence was their most effectual policy; for they well knew, that could their wishes be realized, and could the predictions of their antagonist on this point be defeated, the Evidence of Christianity would be proportionately weakened; and this direct and evident reduction of a part would have all the effect of an absolute and conclusive confutation. Nor was it till after despair had taken the place of hope that they made up their minds to the collecting the fragments of their laws and customs for the purpose of recording them;—and now, it was too late to think of directing the current of the public mind in any other direction than that which it had already taken. They were scattered, too on the face of the earth: not so, the Samaritans, whom they hated; not so the disciples of John, who still frequented the venerated banks of the Jordan; for centuries after the Jewish nation was dispersed, of which they once formed a part,—but, which they no longer recognized, and by which they were either forgotten, or as opportunity offered, were persecuted.

Under these circumstances, and considering how few persons can be acquainted with the works which have furnished our authorities, we may hope to stand excused for making a somewhat copious use of Professor NORBERG'S Version of the Syriac Volumes which the reader has seen described under the Article JOHN (*Disciples of*) in the *Dictionary*. These people *are not* Christians; they *never were* Christians; so far, therefore whatever Testimonies they furnish are free from the imputation of “landing us in the testimony of Christians!” as Dr. CHALMERS'S expression is. Perhaps, the reader when he considers some parts of their evidence will wonder by what process of argument or reasoning they can avoid the demonstration which

themselves furnish of the Divine Origin of Christianity; perhaps he may be somewhat embarrassed to account for their existence during the lapse of so many ages. They have seen the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, the dispersion of the Jewish people, the sufferings of that devoted nation, the universal contempt that has attended them.—That they have not drawn the correct inference from those evident tokens of Divine displeasure, may possibly be owing to their simple apprehension of the superiority of their own persuasion. They have been fully satisfied that in adopting the practices of their fathers they were RIGHT; and have little troubled themselves to enquire farther. The case is too common to justify amazement. We ought to add, that better instruction is beyond their power. The Mahometans under whom they exist, cannot give it them. Well-informed Christian evangelists do not visit them. Yet we have Sir W. OUSELEY's testimony that, "it is well known, that the Catholic missionaries have converted many of the Christians of Saint John, at *Basrah*." Walpole, vol. ii. p. 413.

This appears to be very likely: the reader will however, do well to correct an error into which Sir WILLIAM has fallen, who has confounded the *Sabians*, or ancient worshippers of the host of heaven, with these *Sabeans*, or "as they are often entitled Christians of St. John." The origin of their name, as reported by themselves, will come first in the order of our extracts.

No. DCX. SABLEANS FROM SABO, A NAME OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

IT is remarkable, that the Evangelist Matthew—from whom we might have expected some information on the conception and birth of John the Baptist—says not a word on the subject; but introduces him abruptly—"In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea"—while the Evangelist Luke, relates the history at length. Matthew knew well that his (Syriac) readers possessed already as much as he could tell them: while Luke was persuaded, that the same inquisitive turn of mind, which led him to examine "all things from the very first," would be gratified by an opportunity of perusing whatever particulars could be collected, concerning a person so extraordinary as John, yet of whom the (Gentile) reader could previously know so little. He says, "There was in the days of Herod the king of Judea, a certain priest named Zachariah, of the course of Abiah, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth:—and they had no child, because Elizabeth was barren; and they were both well stricken in years."—"The name given to John the Baptist [by the disciples of John] is *Abo Sabo Zakrio*, from *Abo*, father; *Sabo* to grow old together; and *Zakrio*, from the Hebrew, זכר, it is kept in memory, [whence *Zechariah*, memorial of the Lord.] The reason they assign for calling him *Sabo*, is, because his father in his old age had this son by his wife *Aneschbat* [Elizabeth] she being also in her old age." [In fact, they scruple not to say, that she was upwards of *one hundred* years of age.] The reader will perceive that, compared with this statement the modest phrase of the Gospel writer is truly commendable. They inform us, farther, that "John was educated at Jerusalem;" which, indeed, he ought to have been, considering the rank and office of his father: on this our Gospels say nothing; and it has, therefore, been thought from the austerity of his manners, that he had been brought up among the Essenes. This conjecture must now be abandoned; unless it be said, that after receiving in his father's house [comp. in the article JOHN in the *Dictionary*, what is said by Paulinus] and at the temple, the

instructions necessary for the priesthood, he had (as Josephus informs us concerning himself) associated with that sect of the Jews which seemed most congenial with his natural disposition. This was nothing uncommon at the time.

St. Matthew describes this "same John as having his raiment of camels' hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his food was locusts and wild honey." He is also described as "neither eating nor drinking—" *i. e.* at the regular and customary times of the day, as then practised among his nation. In expressions still stronger than these is couched the account that he gives of himself;—I continue "fasting when my appetite desires to eat, and thirsting when my body desires to drink. I collect (for food) the simple plants (of the desert.) That I may give rest to my eyes, I look around me, (*i. e.* I deny myself sleep.) My soul is heavy." This severity exceeds what we have hitherto supposed of John; ascetic as we have always thought him.

These expressions may also be taken to imply that John ate nothing that had life, as we know was the practice of some; it will follow, that the ingenious thought of supposing that *insect* locusts formed part of his food, is erroneous, however strongly supported; and the reading of the Ebionites, in their copies of the Gospel of Matthew, or at least their interpretation, though imputed to them as a crime, *ἑγκρίδας* [cakes] for *ἀκριδας*, [locusts] was correct: by "wild honey, that had the taste of manna, as a cake dipped in oil;"—they probably, referred to the manna of the valley of Ghor, which borders the Dead Sea, E. as Mr. Burckhardt informs us, [compare No. DLXI.] Perhaps Epiphanius has misunderstood (and mis-translated) them, and they intended two things—wild honey, *i. e.* the manna, *and* cakes.

It is remarkable, that in the Syriac books hitherto translated, the history of the opposition between Herod and John does not appear. Some other tracts may contain additional illustrations of the cause of Herod's enmity, and of Herodias's violence. It is proper, therefore, merely to remark, here, that the disciples of John annually commemorate his decapitation, and make a public ceremony of execrating the memory of the tyrant who slew him:—"Our most excellent leader was on this day slain by command of Herod, and his cruelty!—well he deserves to be consumed (by fire.) O God, hear us!"

No. DCXI. FORMATION OF THE SABEANS AS A SECT, OR BODY.

THE permanence of the sect of *Sabeans*, or disciples of John the Baptist, throws great light on many parts of the Gospel history. That they existed as a Body, during the life of John, is clear from the Evangelists; also, that they were very numerous; that they continued associated after their master's death, might be inferred from various considerations; which are now confirmed beyond what formerly would have been deemed correct application of the laws of inference. It is likely that, had this sect been totally extinct, Josephus would have omitted the character he gives their master, *Antiq.* xviii. 5.—"Herod slew John called the Baptist—who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God; and so to come to baptism: for that the washing *baptisin*] would be acceptable to him, so that they made use of it, not in order to the remission of some sins, but for the purification of the body: supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified before-hand by righteousness." Epiphanius Scholasticus [about A. D. 510.] in his Latin version of this passage, has a remarkable addition, "and to unite together in one body

by Baptism"—*et per Baptismum in unum coire*,—which seems to imply that this writer had some authority for concluding that John himself formed them into a Sect. He adds, also, that John taught that "Baptism should be looked upon as a seal of all the virtues together; and, after a sort, a faithful guardian to them:" *Omniumque pariter virtutum velut signaculum et custodia quædam fidelis habeatur.*

When, therefore, we read, Acts xviii. 25. of Apollos, as knowing only the baptism of John," we are not obliged to consider him as an *old* disciple of the Baptist; he might be not only a young man, but a young convert; and might, therefore accept more gratefully the instructions of Aquila and Priscilla. The same may be said concerning the twelve men, chap. xix. 3. who had been baptized with John's baptism, only; some of them might be elder, and some younger. But, the most considerable evidences of the continuance and prevalence of this Sect, are the Introductions to the Epistle, and the Gospel of John, the favoured disciple of Jesus, which will engage our attention in their place.

No. DCXII. ORIGIN OF JOHN'S BAPTISM.

JOHN was distinguished as THE BAPTIST;—under this character, all the points of his history are the most striking.

If it be true, that "he spent the first years of his life in his father's house, where he learned the law;" and that he was educated at Jerusalem, as his disciples affirm; it becomes a self-evident conclusion, that he was fully informed on the Baptismal ritual of the Mosaic Institutions. He well understood, for instance, the mode of purification from defilement by the dead; he knew that the patient was commanded to wash himself [or herself] thoroughly; and afterwards to receive an affusion of the water into which were mixed the ashes of the red heifer, the cause and origin of all the cleansing virtue of the sacred fluid:—this action was the proper Baptism.

Notwithstanding this, and though firmly persuaded of the Divine appointment of that ordinance, yet he pleads a commission to baptize with water, only. The emblematical but efficacious ashes, he omits. Well, therefore, might the priests find a difficulty in acknowledging a practice so contrary to the ritual of Moses to be "from heaven." Yet John, like Moses, preserved a distinction between the self-ablution of the recipient, and the official affusion of the administrator. The first was performed in a river, or stream: the second took place afterwards on its banks. "As the shepherd his flock, so do I put men into the Jordan," says John, "and taking up my crook, I pronounce over them the name of THE LIFE."—Thus he had baptized thousands, and tens of thousands,—but, among those who came to his Baptism, one distinguished Personage claims an undivided attention.

No. DCXIII. BAPTISM OF JESUS BY JOHN.

UNDOUBTEDLY, there was an assemblage of splendors attendant on the Baptism of Jesus Christ, which marked that event with peculiar and wonderful effulgence and dignity. Our own Gospels say, that—when Jesus applied for Baptism, John, at first, declined the office;—that straightway when Jesus was come up out of the water, consequently, while he was in the act of being baptized, and praying, the heavens were opened, and the Holy Ghost descended, hovering

like a dove, and remained on him; also, that a voice from heaven declared his advent, and pronounced his dignity. This descent of the Holy Ghost was, probably, the glorious *Shekinah*, or splendor peculiar to Deity. "*He* saw it," says Matthew, leaving somewhat uncertain by the use of the pronoun, who this *he* was. The Ebionites read in their copies—"the Holy Spirit of God in the form of a dove, descended and came towards him; and a voice from Heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved son, in thee have I been well pleased; This day have I begotten thee: *and immediately a great light shone round about the place.* John having seen it, saith unto him, Who art thou, Lord? . . . and falling down before him, he said, I pray thee Lord, baptize thou me." This *great light* was so notorious as well as conspicuous that some did not scruple to say, in their copies of the Gospels, that the river Jordan and its banks all around seemed to be on fire. But, these are trifles, compared with what the Baptists report: they affirm that "when the Jordan saw the Messenger of Life approaching with John, and the great splendor which accompanied him, the water retired and left the shore dry." Nor was this all; "for the very fishes of the stream, and the birds on both its banks, burst out into song, saying, '*Blessed be thou, Messenger of Life! and blessed be the place from which thou art come! and so also, praise for ever to the distinguished place at which thou art arrived!*'" When John heard the voice of the fishes expressing their affection, and the songs of the birds from both banks of the stream, on the approach of the Messenger of Life with him to the river, he said to him—THOU ART THE MAN IN WHOSE NAME I BAPTIZE WITH THE BAPTISM OF LIFE!"

The reader will, probably, wonder by what force of fascination the people in whose books such a passage is found—(and it occurs more than once, in these homilies)—should retain their enmity to Christianity. What, then, will he say, when made acquainted with their testimony to other miracles attending the power of Jesus Christ. Not to enlarge, I merely copy NORBERG's Index, (omitting the pages referred to,) under the word JESCHU MESCHIO, *i. e.* Jesus the Christ.—"He was in himself lord of the earth from which Adam was expelled, although in most lowly appearance, and clad in the nature of man—he walked on the water—he ascended to heaven by a ladder—he obscured the sun—he gave life to the dead—he manifested himself in fire—he claimed divine honours—who also, that he might be inaugurated to his worshippers, he perverted the Baptism of John—under the advent of the genius Anusch, when Pilate was governor, he was executed—so also, his body was slain—his soul became the occasion of superstition." Elsewhere, vol. i. p. 56. occurs this passage, "he was clothed with fire, also he shewed prodigies in fire. His name was *Amunil* (Emanuel.) He called himself Jesus the Giver of Life."

Here we have a tolerable epitome of the history of Christ—and in the pages to which it is the Index, "A direct testimony to the miracles of the New Testament from the mouth of a heathen."—The very thing Dr. CHALMERS could not venture to expect. True it is, these people intermix perversions with their evidence; yet enough remains to shew, that they derived these incidents from authorities satisfactory to themselves: no leader of their party, no chief intending singularity, could possibly invent,—or could possibly adopt—these particulars, unless impelled by irresistible conviction of their truth. They evidently are not modern: neither are they derived from Western (Greek) authorities.

We are to consider these Galileans as resident chiefly East of the Jordan; as little, or nothing, versed in the Greek language. Most of these particulars are
found

found in the Gospel of Matthew, yet some are not; as, the ascension of Christ, which Matthew omits; and if by their reference to *a ladder*, they alluded to such a passage as John i. 31. that also they must have obtained from elsewhere than from Matthew. The manifestation of himself in fire, probably refers to the transfiguration of Jesus, Matt. xvii. 2.—his name *Amunil*, to Matt. i. 23.—his perversion of the Baptism of John, to Matt. xxviii. 19. I am not aware that in the Gospel of Matthew Jesus calls himself, “the Giver of Life;” but in the sixth chapter of John the phrase occurs repeatedly. Nevertheless, it is not likely that the Syrians could be familiar with the Gospel of John (in its present form) a work published so far off as Ephesus, and written in a foreign language. And this may be said, in passing, in behalf of various sects of Syriac Christians, also, that they did not so properly *reject* the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John, as they were *strangers to them*, because they were not Syriac compositions. However, the probability is, that there were many memoirs, or partial, or imperfect histories, of Jesus, extant in the early days of the Gospel, composed from no unworthy motives; and in more extensive circulation than we at this distance of time, and favoured as we are, with a complete history in the four Gospels, know how to allow.

No. DCXIV.

ON THE TERM “GENERATION” AS USED BY ST. MATTHEW.

THAT it is not without reason the learned have ascribed a Syriac origin to the Gospel of Matthew, has been fully proved by writers of great reputation; it certainly receives countenance from the similarity of the facts acknowledged in the Syrian books with those of the Evangelist; but there remains an argument that closely approaches a demonstration. In Nos. cciii. cccxxx. the reader has seen a conjecture that the term *Generation* is used by this writer, not to denote a natural descent, from father to son, but to express a period of time. This certainly, does not resemble a mode of computation that would be adopted by an original author, writing in Greek; though we have something like it, in the first book of the *Iliad*, where speaking of the age of Nestor, the poet says,

Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν ΓΕΝΕΑΙ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Εφθιάθ',

Two generations now had pass'd away
Wise by his rules, and happy by his sway. *Pope.*

And Theocritus, *Idyll* xii. has the phrase γενταὶς διηκοσίησιν, “two hundred Generations,” which, taking the *Generation* at thirty years would make six thousand years. But these are rare instances; and merely shew that this manner of estimating time, placing also a certain estimate for an uncertain, was not unknown to the Greeks. [Comp. also Lycophron's *Cassandra*, verse 1437.]

Among the Syrians it appears to have been customary: at least it occurs in several places in these writings, as NORBERG, vol. i. p. 51, 53. also p. 95. where we read, “After the lapse of *twenty-five Generations*, the world was visited by water, and the sons of men by the progress of this water were exiled from the body . . . except NUH, the man, and NURAITO, his wife, also SCHUM, JAMIN, and JAFET, sons of that NUH; who were delivered from death by water, and by whom the world was restored. From *Schurbai* and *Scharhabil* to the Generation of NUH were *fifteen Generations* . . . But from NUH and the ark, until *Ibrahim*, who had

the prophetic Spirit, and until *Mescho* [Melchizedec?] and until the city of Jerusalem was built, were *six Generations*." They say also, "From ADAM to *Ram* and *Rud* were *thirty Generations*; from these to *Schurbai* and *Scharhabil* were *twenty-five Generations*." They allow a thousand years from the foundation of Jerusalem to the time of Solomon the king, son of David, the most illustrious Sovereign of that city." Since, then, it is evident that the Chronology of the Syriac Sacred History, was reckoned by *Generations*, as a computation of time, there can be no doubt but what in giving a genealogical epitome of that history, the Evangelist conformed his text to documents extant in the language in which he wrote. It follows, that all the embarrassments and labours of the learned occasioned by the omission of three names in the Genealogical Table, have been equally fruitless and unnecessary. And it follows also, with evidence little short of demonstration, that the Genealogy formed part of Matthew's original; and consequently, is an integral part of his Gospel.

No. DCXV. ON THE SYRIAC TERM TRANSLATED "BAPTISM."

WE have said that "John was distinguished as THE BAPTIST; and it is certain that he used the Syriac language: it is no less certain that Jesus also spake in Syriac, and in that language he gave his commands. It has often appeared to me wonderful, that gentlemen who attach peculiar importance to a certain term not infrequent in the Gospel History, should be content to investigate a translation of the original term, when reference to the original itself would settle its import completely. When John said "*I baptize*"—he did not speak Greek, but Syriac; when our Lord commissioned his Apostles, Matt. xxviii. 19. "Go—*baptize* all nations"—he certainly used the Syriac term in the Syriac sense; and what that sense is, the books of these Baptists determine with ample evidence. To avoid mistake I give entire NORBERG's explanation of the word, as it stands in his Index.

ܒܬܝܒܐ, *intinxit, baptizavit*. Et pc. Pass. *It. colorem traxit*, vol. i. p. 34. 9. baptize-mini; baptizare animas vestras, iii. 66. 13. Dicam vobis de vestibus albis, ex quibus hi versicolores colorem suum traxerunt. ܬܝܒܐ, *tinctura, lavacrum. digiti*. Chaldee, צבענים, *versicolor*.—*Duodecim versicolore—sfictæ imagines, pictæque imagines*."

צבל. to stain with colours, to baptize, and especially, in various places, it means to draw a colour [over a white surface.] vol. i. p. 34. line 9. be baptized; to baptize your persons, iii. p. 66. line 13. I speak to you of your white garments, over which a variety of colours have been drawn, *i. e. baptized*. צבלן, coloured fluids; baths [in which coloured fluids are contained?] fingers. It answers to the Chaldee צבענים, changing colours [or, stripes]—Twelve changing colours [or, stripes of twelve different colours]—a statue painted of the colours of life,—a picture painted the natural colours of the figure."

The import of the Chaldee term referred to may easily be understood from Jer. xii. 9. "my heritage is to me as a *speckled* bird," but, if this denote the *striped* hyæna, as Bochart contends, or a *mottled* serpent, as others suppose, the import of the term is equally preserved. And again, from Judg. v. 30.—"to Sisera a prey of *divers colours* of needle work, of *divers colours* of needle work on both sides."—What is truly remarkable in these passages is, that the variegations of the colours have nothing to do with the intervention of moisture, or wetting, in any form whatever.

If then, a picture painted the natural colours of life, is said in the Syriac to be *baptized*—if by such painting a statue is *baptized*—if the same garment be *baptized*

of twelve different colours—if man observes to woman “The white garment that you wore formerly was handsome enough, why is it now *baptized*, with a running pattern of flowers?” [this is the sense of the passage referred to by NORBERG,]—if the Syriac term radically and primarily means to draw a colour over a surface; to stain it;—How say some, that *baptism* is nothing but *dipping*? Can a garment be *dipped* so as to produce *stripes* on it?—*stripes* of TWELVE different colours in the same piece? Can a running pattern of flowers be obtained by *dipping*? Can a picture, a statue, be coloured with the natural colours of life, in their proper places, by *dipping*? The thing is impossible. And this illustration admits of no appeal: we are now at the fountain head: we are bound to acknowledge that our Lord, as well as John the Baptist, employed this Syriac term in the Syriac sense of it; in that of its daily application, in which his Apostles who spoke this language, would understand it. In fact, in this sense it is used in the N. T. for when the Apostle writing to Hebrews (ix. 13.) mentions diverse *baptisms*—as, “the sprinkling of the blood of bulls and goats”—*that was staining*; “the sprinkling of the ashes of the heifer”—*that was staining*; and as such, no doubt, it would appear when it fell on linen, or other white garments. Was not this its intention, as a ritual token, visible to all?

No. DCXVI. DOCTRINES OF THE BAPTISTS.

THE mode of Baptism practised by John does not so clearly appear in any instance as in the repetition and commemoration of it, maintained by his disciples, which is correctly given *verbatim*, under the article JOHN'S DISCIPLES, in the *Dictionary*. He says, however, that he administered the rite, *prima luce*, at early dawn; and this they strictly observe. Says Kœmpfer, *Amœnit. Exot.* p. 448. . . . *filios suos cum filiabus ad sacellam prima luce diei Solis baptismi gratia transferendos non curant Diem feriantur (Nasarei) Solis, dicatam baptizandis infantibus.* They censure in their public discourses, those “who do not assemble at the synagogue, nor discharge the duties of humanity, nor shew forth the memory and permanence of the doctrine, nor come under the mutual obligation to each other, nor contribute to the support of the synagogue, nor at early dawn on the day of the sun, baptize their sons and their daughters, and confer on them the sign of Life. . . We charge every man, woman, sucking boy and girl, who disregard the name of the Messenger of Life, who do not assume the character of Life, nor baptize themselves in the Jordan in his name, with being as far from righteousness as from the study of that which is good.” NORBERG, vol. ii. p. 215.

“To you all, who hear the word of God, this I say:—in your station and condition, your going out and coming in, your eating and drinking, your repose and lying down, in all your labours, commemorate and celebrate the name of the KING OF LIGHT MOST HIGH, and come to the Jordan to be baptized. Baptize yourselves with the living Baptism, which you may obtain from the creatures of light; and with which all the peaceful and faithful have been baptized: blessed be his breathing gale, and whether eating or drinking, celebrate his spring-head, by which your sins and transgressions are remitted. Whoever is marked with the character of LIFE, whoever commemorates the name of the KING OF LIGHT, whoever stands strongly and powerfully in the Doctrine of Baptism, and performs good and honourable works, nothing shall detain him in his way. Eat not the blood of animals; that which is dead (of itself); that which is pregnant; that which is killed by accident, or that which is torn by wild beasts;—but, that which has been slain regularly by

steel, that which is cleansed, washed, prepared, and properly cooked, ye may eat," vol. i. p. 35. These precepts distinctly bespeak their Hebrew origin: and these they strongly enforce on their hearers. It was but natural that such observances should be favourably accepted, and in fact, should be popular among the Jews;—they contribute to diminish our surprize at the contention occasioned between Christian Jews and Gentiles by the subject of meats allowed or prohibited, of which we find traces in the Epistles, long after the decision of the council at Jerusalem.

No. DCXVII. DOCTRINES OF CHRISTIANITY COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE BAPTISTS.

IT is time that we proceed to shew the counteraction between the Doctrines of this sect and those of Christianity. The following words are put into the mouth of John the Baptist, "In the name of the great **LIFE**, the first and the last of the world, the glorious *Light*, more glorious than all works. I, the *Apostle of Light*, am come, and have glorified thee, thou **KING OF LIGHT**, and enlighten the hearts of darkness with my word.—I am the **APOSTLE OF LIGHT**, whom the Lord sent into the world, the *true Apostle, in whom there is no deceit*. Whoever receiveth the name of the *Light*, will be filled with *Light*.—Praised be thou, O Lord, with sincere hearts, thou Lord of all the world, thou exalted **KING OF LIGHT**, God of Truth, pure Splendor, Forgiver, and merciful God.—His *Light* shineth over all the inhabitants of the world, who stand before him, and worship, and acknowledge him; who shine through his brightness, and through the great *Light*, which dwelleth over them, and stand in the clouds of this *Light*, and praise the Sovereign Lord.—He is the exalted **KING OF LIGHT**, from whom five great rays proceed; the first is the **LIGHT**; the second is the sweet **BREATH**; the third is the sweet **VOICE**; the fourth is the **WORD** of the Mouth; the fifth is **BEAUTY**. These opened their mouths, praised him, and said, Thy Glory is from the Word, from the Word of Athor; he has set apart the Apostles, who stand before thee, and say, He is a **Key of LIGHT**. In his kingdom no one is higher than he, no one is equal to him, there is no one who can bear to behold his crown, which falleth not from the head of the King, who is from the beginning, and whose kingdom lasteth to eternity."

The counteraction of the Doctrines of the Gospel against these sentiments will appear from considering the solemn affirmation of the Apostle John, in his first Epistle—"That which was from the beginning—which we have heard—which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the **WORD OF LIFE**—(For the **LIFE** was manifested, . . . and we shew unto you that **ETERNAL LIFE** which was with the Father.)—**GOD IS LIGHT**, and in him is no *darkness* at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in *darkness*, we lie, and do not the truth. But if we walk in the **LIGHT** as he is in the **LIGHT**," &c. Here the disciples of John are not named; but their tenets are opposed, and a Doctrine is maintained which is utterly incompatible with them.

In the introduction to his Gospel this writer is still more explicit, to the same effect.—"In the beginning was the **WORD**—in him was **LIFE**, and the **LIFE** was the **LIGHT** of men. And the **LIGHT** shineth in *darkness*, and the *darkness* comprehendeth it not.—There was a man sent from God, whose name was **JOHN** (the Baptist) the same came for a witness, to bear witness to the **LIGHT**, that all men through him might believe. **HE WAS NOT THAT LIGHT**; but was sent to bear witness of that

LIGHT, which was THE TRUE LIGHT, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. This WORD was made flesh, and dwelt among us—and we beheld his glory,” &c. “John bare witness of him,” &c.

It is evident, that these opinions are at direct variance: nor is it unlikely, that the Gospel writer intends to describe as *darkness* that which the Disciples of John called *light*. Hence he says, 1 Epist. i. 7. “I write no new commandment to you, but the old commandment which ye have received from the beginning.—Yet, a renovated commandment, I write to you, inasmuch as the *shadows* [darknesses] are passing away, and the TRUE LIGHT already shineth.—He who walketh in *darkness* knoweth not whither he goeth.—There are many *Antichrists*—they went out from us, but they were not (truly) of us.—He is *Antichrist* who denieth the Father and the Son.—Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world—this is that (spirit) of Antichrist—which even now already is in the world,” &c. It might be too much to affirm that these passages refer to the *Sabeans*, only; but the *Sabeans* certainly answer to the description of the sects condemned. However, we may safely say, that in the introduction to his Gospel the writer had these sectaries distinctly in view; since he expressly names John their master; since he found that to be necessary so many years after John’s decease; and since he takes the very terms his disciples used, and applies them to a Person of whose superiority and precedence he puts ample acknowledgment in the mouth of their master:—whose disciple he also, himself appears to have been. [And it seems probable that he means to assert, that he also saw the descent of the *Shekinah* on Jesus.]

No. DCXVIII. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTER OF JESUS BY JOSEPHUS, WITH THAT GIVEN HIM BY THE SABEANS.

I HOPE I may stand excused for observing how greatly the contents of the Sabeian books in reference to Jesus, contribute to authenticate the passage in Josephus, descriptive of Christ, which many judicious persons have been disposed to expunge as a forgery. It is to this effect: “At that time lived JESUS, a wise man, if he may be called a man; for he performed many wonderful works. He was a teacher of such as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles. This was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they who before had conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of Christians, so called from him, subsists to this time.”

If the reader compares this character with the abstract of passages referring to JESCHU MESCHIO, in NORBERG’S Index, already given, he will find in it circumstances of equal strength with those remarked by Josephus, whose words “THIS WAS THE CHRIST,” have been supposed to be too explicit for any but a Christian to use: yet these Syrians give the title *Messiah* to Jesus, without the smallest hesitation, and in various places. Says Josephus, “a wise man, if he may be called a man.”—“Lord of the Earth, though clad in the nature [or likeness, *specieque hominis induta*, Norberg.] of a man, say the Syrians. “He performed many wonderful works,” says Josephus; the Syrians say the same. The mention of the resurrection is, however, most explicit in Josephus; and here the Syrians forsake him. Never-

theless, under all circumstances attending the history of Josephus—whom some have thought an Ebionite Christian—it may deserve consideration whether he were not, as many thousands of his nation were, [at least, for a time, during his retirement in the wilderness] among the disciples of John the Baptist? Could this be proved, his peculiarities would be explained at once. And if it be said, that no upright man could allow Jesus to be the Christ, yet continue an unbeliever, we appeal to these Syrians as a standing evidence to the contrary. They acknowledge his Character, they admit his miracles, they confess his honourable reception by their master, yet they continue persuaded that John was the true Apostle of Light, and that Salvation is through him. [Comp. Acts ii. iv. 12, &c.] The same was the case no doubt, was thousands of the Jewish nation: they were struck by the evidences attending the new doctrine, yet could not bring themselves to forsake their old customs. They half admitted and half doubted of the truth: They hesitated, and procrastinated: till, at last, Providence by the destruction of the Jewish polity and temple, brought all uncertainties to an issue; and afforded evidence of a Divine decision from which there lay no appeal.

We have no satisfactory history of the extent of the Doctrines of John's Disciples, in the early days of the Gospel; but, it is possible, at least, that the zeal of some would induce them to propagate these opinions throughout the neighbouring countries, wherein they would, no doubt, be regarded as marking a *Jewish* sect, and whoever embraced them would be thought converts to *Judaism*. There certainly were other sects also, in activity at the same time, which mostly took their rise in Judea and Galilee, and these, too, would be referred to the *Jews*. The argument drawn from the supposed sudden spread of Judaism, as reported by Josephus,—to which historical evidence is with difficulty, if at all, reconcileable,—is much enfeebled by these considerations; not to say, that the unbelieving Jews, who adhered to their national establishment, might exert themselves in obtaining converts, especially after the success attendant on the labours of the Christians, of which they had been witnesses as well as opponents. That the Pharisees were not deficient in zeal for proselytism, appears clearly from the words of our Lord, Matthew xxiii. 15. "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte"—*by baptism*, says the Ethiopic version;—the expression agrees well with the mode of admission among the disciples of John, and equally with what the Rabbins report of the mode of admission among their ancestors.

No. DCXIX. CONJECTURES ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

ADMITTING the hypothesis of doctrinal opposition between the disciples of John and the disciples of Jesus, as stated in the foregoing pages, it will follow, beyond question, that the Evangelist John distinguished himself as a determined champion for the truth. It becomes, therefore, worth our while to enquire under what circumstances this took place.

That John was of Bethsaida in Galilee, is admitted; but, that latterly he had a house in Jerusalem, is deduced from circumstantial evidence, and casual expressions. His being "known to the High Priest," probably, originated rather at Jerusalem, than in Galilee; the same inference follows from his being acquainted with the domestics of the high priest, and especially with "her who kept the door" of the high priest's house; who, most likely, was, as such persons usually are, stationary with their charge, which in this instance was in Jerusalem. We may add,

that when Jesus committed his mother to the care of John, “that Disciple took her to his own”—*house, or family establishment*; as the phrase τὰ ἴδια, though elliptical, properly implies. We find him, also, in this city, apparently as his home, at the resurrection—at the visit of Paul to see Peter, at the council of Jerusalem, and on other occasions: he certainly was of the number of “the Apostles who did not quit Jerusalem.”—[and, after he did quit Jerusalem we find him at Ephesus.]

The inference we wish to draw, is, that this “pillar of the church” was well acquainted with the state of things among his countrymen, in Galilee, in Judea, at Jerusalem; and among his nation at large, by means of that perpetual resort of pilgrims from all quarters to the metropolitan temple, especially on the great national feasts, of which the Jews made a point of honour, as well as an act of devotion. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that this distinguished Apostle should ever travel so far eastward as to preach *to the Parthians*; and it is all but impossible, that he should address to persons, or to a province, which he had never visited, an Epistle, that bears on the very first verses of it a direct allusion to the disciples of John the Baptist, who were, comparatively, his near neighbours, being mostly resident in Judea or Galilee.—But, how then, should this Epistle ever have been inscribed “*to the Parthians*”? or, what could occasion the error?

In attempting an answer to this question, it should be observed, that this inscription is found, chiefly if not solely, in Latin copies; the Greek πρὸς Παρθοῦς, does not occur. Whiston conjectured that some ancient Greek superscription might describe it as written πρὸς Παρθένους, “to the Virgins,” which being falsely copied—in short, πρὸς Παρθοῦς, might mislead the Latins, who formed from it their *ad Parthos*. One conjecture is as good as another: and it seems much more probable that the original inscription was πρὸς ΠΑΡΟΙΚΟΥΣ, “*to the Pilgrims*,” intending the strangers who visited Jerusalem, who were known under this term; as we learn from Luke xxiv. 18. Eph. ii. 19. Whether by accident this stood in some copy ΠΑΡΟΙΚΟΥΣ (which the reader will observe, differs from the former word only by a dot in the Θ;) or, whether it was misread by the Latins PARTHICUS, is not easy to say. But, we know that this appellation was familiar to Latin ears: hence we have on a medal of Augustus (Occo, p. 66.) *Signis PARTHICIS receptis. S. P. Q. R.* On a medal of Trajan, *Rex PARTHICUS restitutus*; on another, *Triumphus PARTHICUS*; and what approaches very near to our conjecture, another inscribed in Greek, Ελευθερίας ΠΑΡΘΙΚΗΣ, implying *Liberty given to the Parthians. i. e. by Trajan*. This supposition meets all that can be desired, to account for the error of those who conceived John’s Epistle to be addressed “to the Parthians;” but the consequences of admitting it are not inconsiderable.

No. DCXX. ON THE DATE OF JOHN’S FIRST EPISTLE.

THAT the resort of pilgrims to Jerusalem, in the latter days of the temple-worship, was considerable, there can be no doubt; and that the thinking part of them would take a lively interest in events of which Jerusalem had recently been the scene, the reader has seen adopted as a credible supposition in No. DLXXXIX. Nothing seems more likely, than a desire on the part of the Apostles to profit by this natural disposition of the human mind, for the purpose of conveying Christian instruction to their countrymen of the dispersion. Hence James [the bishop of Jerusalem?] directs his Epistle “*to the Twelve Tribes scattered abroad*.”—but, how should it reach those to whom it is addressed?—if not by their friends who, from

all parts of the world, visited Jerusalem. While John, if our conjecture be correct, addressed immediately these visitants themselves, and afforded them matter for reflection, as well while abroad, as after they had arrived at home with their families.

But, if this Epistle were addressed to the Pilgrims, then it must have been written at a very early date; certainly while this pilgrimage was in vogue, while the temple was standing, and its rites were maintained in splendour; in short, while every thing was *fresh*, not merely in the mind of the writer, but in the minds of the inquisitive. We may expect to find in it terms, or phrases of that time, marking (by allusion at least) institutions then in exercise; also, a modesty of expression, carefully avoiding offence to the zeal of the day; perhaps somewhat affecting privacy; with a succinct and simple enunciation of particulars, proposed with candour, but completely distinct from any thing approaching to a laboured investigation. Nor is this all; for, supposing the writer to live fifty or sixty years afterwards, and at that time (or at any time in the interval, as copies were in request.) to revise such a work for the purpose of perpetuating it, he would naturally make such slight additions to it, or modifications in it, as, without altering its structure or general contents, would seem to him advisable. I am not unaware that this idea of a Second Edition of any inspired writer has given offence, where, certainly no offence was intended to be given. "Why talk of *corrections*, when inspiration had already expressed, and *fixed spiritual things by spiritual words*, and, therefore, the most proper words that could be suggested?" But a moment's reflection would convince us, that our Lord himself, whose inspiration it were blasphemy to doubt, found it necessary, occasionally, to repeat and vary his phrase, as, Mark x. 23. Luke xviii. 24. Jesus said, "How hardly shall they who have riches enter the kingdom of God!"—which he afterwards explains—how hard is it for them who *trust in riches* to enter into the kingdom of God! What is this, but a Second Edition of the same sentiment, not varied not changed in the least, from its first intention, but illustrated by explanation and precision more applicable to the hearers. If then, our Lord found it advisable to repeat with elucidatory periphrasis what he had said, on the instant, can we refuse to his beloved Disciple the liberty of adding a few words, or a few verses, to a work, composed fifty years perhaps, before, when he was revising it for the benefit of a class of persons totally distinct and different from those to whom it was originally addressed? [which class, in fact, no longer existed.]

Nor let me be too severely censured as "fanciful," if I think I discern in this performance marks of a kind of *private* publication;—of being originally written in small pages, and forming a volume neither thicker nor larger than might be conveniently carried in the girdle: whence, I doubt not, many an enquirer took it out, from time to time, as privacy allowed, and considered its contents with profound meditation and wonder. With this air of desire to avoid offence by adopting a modest phraseology, agrees the remarkable (and universally acknowledged) repetition and frequency of the pronoun "He," and "Him," instead of naming the party it represents, "We know that when HE (Christ) shall appear.—" Therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew HIM (Christ) not.—" Every man who hath this hope purifieth himself, even as HE (Christ) is pure.—" Ye know that HE (Christ) was manifested to take away our sins; and in HIM (Christ) is no sin.— Whosoever abideth in HIM (Christ) sinneth not—whosoever sinneth, hath not seen HIM, neither known HIM." All these referential pronouns, intending Christ, yet Christ himself not named, we find in the compass of a few verses of the third chapter, only.

Nothing

Nothing could be more natural, among those Hebrews who came from distant countries to Jerusalem, than a desire to obtain information respecting the doctrines of the new sect, that had so lately started up in their nation, and had caused such dissensions and differences among the people: in obtaining this, a vast majority of them would study privacy. They would be unwilling to offend the ruling powers, and the long prevailing Levitical establishment, to incur persecution, excommunication, &c. without cause; and this cause they could neither assign, nor estimate, till they had become acquainted (more or less) with the facts of the case, and had considered the principles propagated by the leaders of this "way," together with the authority on which they acted. Viewed in this light, the First Epistle of John presents (perhaps) the very earliest document composed in behalf of Christianity; and it becomes more than ever interesting, as an instance of doctrine addressed to enquirers, who from all quarters for various purposes, but chiefly for devotion—for purification, and for pardon—collected at Jerusalem. The sentiments avowed in this tract, which they found in circulation among the Christians, attributed to one of their principal leaders,—these sentiments they would carry home with them—each to his respective country—which, considering the very general dispersion of the Jews, amounts to nothing short of **UNIVERSAL DISTRIBUTION.**

As the discussion referred to took place in a public assembly of Divines, there can be no impropriety, it is hoped, in alluding to it: it was occasioned by the appearance of the following Letters in one of our most respectable periodical Journals, for November and December, 1807. under the signature of **FIDELIS.**

No. DCXXI.

*To the Editor of the Literary Panorama.***INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE ON PRINCIPLES
NOT HITHERTO ADOPTED.**..... **LETTER I.**

"IT is well known that many verbal Variations are found in the present ms. copies of our Sacred Books: and much diligence and learning have been employed (very laudably) in ascertaining those Variations. It is known also, that conjecture has been extremely busy in forming suppositions as to their origin and causes: but although imaginations of almost all kinds have been indulged on this subject, nobody, so far as I know, has proposed the notion of a *Second Edition* of an inspired writer's works having been published *by himself*. Yet, if we reflect on the question without prejudice, we shall not discover, as I apprehend, any valid reason to the contrary.

It cannot indeed, be thought very likely that St. Paul should go over, *verbatim*, the whole of the Epistles which he wrote, with a view to their publication in one body, because, we know that they were, many of them, written on the spur of the occasion, and that he was almost continually changing his residence. Nevertheless, he might when at Rome, for instance, keep transcripts of his letters sent into Greece; these he might review and revise, [in the leisure of imprisonment,] and to persons who desired copies of his writings, he might give permission to transcribe from mss. so revised by himself. What is there in

this contrary to good faith? Do we not see it done every day by writers of the highest repute, without the smallest imputation? If any one objects, that the very *words* of the first edition being inspired they could not be varied without guilt; I answer, that even our blessed Lord himself *did* repeat his sentiments a second time, in words not the same as those which he had used the first time; not from any imperfection in the phrases which flowed from his lips, but from condescension to the understandings of his hearers, who had, as he perceived, mistaken, or not fully comprehended, his meaning: and, what he who was inspiration itself did in speaking, why should not his Apostles do in writing?

It is probable that St. Paul, when writing to the Corinthians, for instance, would use Greek terms, current in Corinth, in the same sense as they were used in that city; whether or not those identical words expressed the same identical ideas, without variation, at Athens, at Rome, or elsewhere than at Corinth. We know that nearly or quite every city in Britain has some phrases, or terms, which are employed by its citizens in their own peculiar sense. Suppose then a person at Rome was desirous of perusing St. Paul's Letter to the Corinthians, would it not become the writer to explain in what sense such or such a Corinthian word was used by him; or to substitute such other word as to the Roman reader would express the sentiment, or convey the idea intended?—This is not only no impeachment of the moral character of the Apostle, but, whether it would not, on the contrary, have been such an impeachment, had he put into the hands of his applicant, words which he would not understand, or would understand in a wrong sense, may be submitted without hesitation to the judgment of your readers.

It is not, however, principally in reference to St. Paul that I propose the present hints. He was an *active* man: but, if there were another Apostle who was more stationary, who for many years together resided in the same city, whose life was lengthened out to extreme old age, who *then* was *solicited* to write, and who in compliance with such solicitations, did write *his last work*, is there any thing unlikely or unnatural in the conjecture, that when he published his last work, he also revised his former works, and delivered his revision, together with his new production, to those persons who had urged him to favour them with these labours? Would any body suppose there was any harm in his publishing a *Second Edition* of tracts composed by him fifteen or twenty years before?—But, to bring this question to the test of an instance.

Whoever has attentively perused the First Epistle of St. John, must have remarked that the language perpetually fluctuates from time present “I write”—to time past “I *have* written.” Let us try the first two chapters: chapter i. verse 4. these things *write* we: chap. ii. 1. I write: 7. I write: 8. I write: 12. I write: 13. I write: 14. I *have* written: 21. I *have* written: 26. I *have* written.

I think it absolutely impossible, that any author would change his phrase from “I *have* written,” in his First Edition to “I *write*” in a Second Edition: he would never adopt that form of the verb. But I see no improbability in supposing that, in a Second Edition he might vary the “I write” of the first, to “I *have* written.”

I think it extremely unlikely that any author having stated a position both affirmatively and negatively, in his First Edition, would diminish the effect of his statement, by expunging either branch in his Second Edition, but, I see no improbability of his adding to the strength of his First Edition by rendering the Second more complete:—for instance, chap. ii. 23.

FIRST EDITION.

Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father.

SECOND EDITION.

Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father, (*but*) *He that acknowledgeth the Son the same hath the Father also.*

Your readers will judge whether this addition is not precisely in St. John's manner: yet it is marked as *doubtful* in our public version, by being printed in Italics, because it is not extant in all copies.

.....

There is a yet more decisive instance, as I think, of such re-writing, in verses 12. 13, and 14.

FIRST EDITION.

I write unto you Little Children, because your sins are forgiven you for His name's sake.

I write unto you Young Men, because ye have overcome the wicked one.

I write unto you Fathers, because ye have known Him who is from the beginning.

SECOND EDITION.

I have written unto you Little Children, because ye have known the Father.

I have written unto you Young Men *because ye are strong, and the Word of God abideth in you,* and ye have overcome the wicked one.

I have written unto you Fathers, because ye have known Him who is from the beginning.

.....

On this passage I beg leave to submit a few remarks:

1. I think it impossible any writer should designedly insert two passages, one following the other, containing precisely the same ideas, and so perfectly correspondent, even to tautology, in words, as these are, in any edition of his works, published by himself.

2. I cannot bring myself to think, that any copier would dare to *add* two sentences to the words of an inspired writer: this would be a crime committed on set purpose: and in this instance it would be without motive or object.

3. Though it is much more easy to omit two sentences, than to insert one *original* sentence, which requires mental exertion, and composition, and cannot be the effect of accident, yet I am extremely unwilling to impute such gross negligence to Christian transcribers.

4. No writer of taste or feeling, having described the Young Men as *being strong, and having the Word of God abiding in them*, could expunge these ideas: but (as our foregoing instance consisted of an *addition* which strengthened the sentiment) so these ideas appear to be *added* with design to complete the passage. I leave this argument to the feelings of all who are judges of composition.

5. I must observe that the copies do not agree in offering the same reading;—some omit the second address to Fathers: and none has preserved the *natural* order of the parties addressed. If we begin with the Children we must place the Young

Men second, and the Fathers last; if we begin with the Fathers we must place the Children last; whereas it stands in our copies, 1. Children; 2. Fathers; 3. Young Men; an order for which no reason can be assigned, but totally subversive of the order of nature: your critical readers will judge of the arrangement above suggested, and of other minor variations.

You will not understand me, sir, as pleading for any change of *sentiment* in the apostle: I have only considered *words*. Those who do not think every *word* from a sacred writer's pen was inspired [plenarily] will find no difficulty in giving a fair consideration to this hypothesis. It appears to me to be well calculated for solving some of those perplexities which have embarrassed the learned. You will also perceive that I conclude that we have in our present copies, transcripts of *both* editions. Now there is no harm in having this duplication: and I hope there is nothing dishonourable in this mode of accounting for it. It surely needs no apology for supposing that an ancient writer meeting with a copy of each edition, inserted them both in his text, from which association our present copies are descendants. It is impossible to conjecture over what extent of country either edition might prevail, but the *first* edition was in all probability the most generally dispersed.

..... LETTER II.

IT may readily be granted that any tract published by an Apostolic man in the early Christian church, would be circulated among the Christians of those times, with great dispatch, *immediately* on its publication. This is a natural and indefeasable position, since it arises from a principle in human nature, itself. It is natural, too, that, in those times it should be copied without delay in such churches as were then extant. And, this *first* edition would be circulated to the widest extent, of course. Churches that were established afterwards, were most likely to receive the *second* edition, if such there were; especially, if they had intercourse with the town where the writer resided in his latter days, and drew their copies from thence. But, I think, we may say, that for one copy of the Second edition that was circulated, there would be 20, or 50, or 100 copies, of the First edition, since not only would it have the advantage of priority, but not one reader in a hundred would think of procuring the Second Edition, on account of any expected variation from the First. This has led our translators to mark as *doubtful*, the quotation selected from the First Epistle chap. ii. 23. I have no doubt on the genuineness of the *addition*: but possibly there may be 50 or 100, copies without it, to *one* which contains it.

Admitting then, the residence of St. John to be at Ephesus, or any part of Asia Minor, for the last thirty years of his life, for which we have the testimony of all antiquity, we may date his First Epistle, early in that period: or *even before he came to live there*. This would spread *first*, among the neighbouring churches: *secondly*, eastward, to those countries which professed Christianity, to Antioch, for certain: Syria, Cilicia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Babylonia, &c. Toward these countries, there are caravans which go every month, or six weeks, from Asia Minor; there is a regular intercourse maintained, between Smyrna, and the internal provinces of that country; and through Tarsus to Antioch:—from Ephesus to Smyrna was easy. We have every reason to affirm, that it was the same anciently, and therefore, there was an *immediate* conveyance of such addresses as

the Apostle John published for the general use of all Christians, from Ephesus, to the oriental provinces of the Roman empire, where Christianity was settled and flourished. In these churches his writings would be in request. Moreover, these churches would be the first to translate his writings into their current language, for the use of the natives of these provinces, who did not understand Greek, (which, however prevalent the Greek language was, must have been many,) because, here was a great number of professing Christians, who desired to be acquainted with their contents.

It is evident, therefore, that these translations having for their basis the *first* edition, can afford no evidence of what the apostle thought proper to add in his *second* edition. The Syriac version, for instance, if we suppose *that* to be the earliest, would represent the *first* edition, as would also, every version made from it, and all copies made from those, at that time, received in those parts. Whereas, the Armenian version, or any other, made later, would at least stand the chance of obtaining, (and being made from) the *second* edition. The Syriac version, therefore, is no evidence *against* an *addition*: the Armenian version is an evidence *for* it. [This version contains 1 John v. 7.]

Also, the churches in Africa were not planted till many years *after* those of Asia; their intercourse with Ephesus, being by sea, was irregular, and could only take place, occasionally, if direct: but if we suppose it to be, on a Christian matter, through Italy, then it was subject to the same circumstances as attended the intercourse between Ephesus and Rome. I say Rome, because we have no reason to think there was any number of Christians, worth mentioning, in any other city of Italy, so early. The Apostle Paul travelling from Rhegio upwards, was met by brethren *from Rome*: which when he saw, he thanked God, and *took courage*. Certainly then, he had not met with many in places he passed through, and his courage had been somewhat cast down, for that reason. We find no trace of Christianity in Herculaneum, one of the cities of Italy, of the second size, which was destroyed A. D. 79. though we meet with traces of Judaism there: and, in short, it must be admitted, that, compared with the East the West had but few Christians. We have no reason to think that Rome sent out many missionaries early:—the south of France was Christianized from Asia, though so much farther off than Rome. The natural inference is, that these parts would receive *later* copies of any Apostolic writing, published in Asia, than those parts which had a regular intercourse, half a dozen times in a year, at least, but probably much oftener, with the coast cities. And whatever versions were extant in the West, would represent the second edition with its variations, whatever they might be.

As to Rome, itself, I infer, that that capital of the empire had, if any place had, *both* editions. Suppose, for a moment, that the *first* edition had reached Rome, when Aristobulus quitted that city for Britain, or that it was sent to Aristobulus, in Britain, from Rome [Comp. Nos. DCVI. DCVII.] it will follow, that the ancient British copies would *not* contain those additions which the Apostle inserted in the *second* edition. And to this agrees the fact: for Pelagianism, could hardly have been repressed by any text more effectually than by the one in question: yet that error rose in Britain, and it was not so decidedly opposed then, as it is now; *minus* the testimony of this text. Moreover, the text is not quoted by the venerable Bede, in a passage of his works, where we should expect to find it at least alluded to. He, therefore, might have the *first* edition.

In short, almost all the arguments employed against the authenticity of the text, may be admitted: they cease to have any great force, after it is once conceded to those who use them, that the *first* edition, with its representatives, had not the words in debate. They are reduced to the infirmity of a negative argument, at best.

I must now observe, that the African churches being planted long after the Asiatic, they, no doubt, would obtain the best transcripts of the works of any inspired writer, which could be procured about the time of their being founded; *i.e.* the *second* edition of the letter under consideration. To this agrees the fact; *the African Bishops quote the passage*: Tertullian, Cyprian, Eucherius, Eugenius, with his consistory of 400 Bishops, Vigilus, Fulgentius, &c. &c. so that it was undeniably extant in their copies from the second century downwards. The argument then, is reduced to a point: either these divines *found* the passage in their copies, or they *put* it there. The latter alternative is so dishonourable to Christians and to Christianity, that one is willing to accept of any hypothesis which may vindicate professors and teachers from such enormous guilt.—But, farther,

I have said, that Rome might be expected to possess whatever was most excellent in Christian literature, as well as in other studies. It had, then, the *first* edition, because that was the *earliest* which could be procured; and the *second*, because the influx of persons to Rome from all parts was so great, that every thing portable of a literary nature, might be expected to be brought there.. Rome had an ancient version of the Scriptures, known under the name of the *Old Italic Version*: it is not of any consequence to our argument, whether this version contained the text of the *heavenly witnesses*, since it was made very early; but if the *revised* Roman version of the New Testament contained it, we are reduced to the same dilemma as before, in reference to the African Bishops,—the reviser of this edition (Jerom) either *found* it, or *forged* it. The same arguments that relieve the characters of the African Bishops, relieve the character of this Father: the accusation is incredible: it is loading the party with a crime so far beyond ordinary culpability, that the mind revolts at the charge. It is admitted, then, that the Latin version reads this verse, that St. Jerom adopted it, that it was adopted by the learned after him; as by our own famous Alkwin, at the time, and in the Court of Charlemagne; and has so continued ever since. The inference is, that St. Jerom preferred the authority and text of the Second Edition, and followed it.

These, moreover, are *independent* witnesses; for, the African Bishops, who wrote before Jerom, could not receive this passage from his revised version: or, if any choose to affirm that the African bishops received this passage from the *Old Italic Version*, then the authenticity of the passage follows of course, in proportion to whatever importance is attached to this increased antiquity.

Let us now suggest a few thoughts on the nature of the passage itself, as connected with our views of it. We have seen that all variations in the Second Edition by St. John, are *additions*: and we can very easily conceive from the knowledge we have of the Gnostic, and other heresies, then beginning to spread, that twenty or thirty years might see a considerable difference in the opinions, and floating notions of *soi disant* Christians. An opinion which was not so much as broached A. D. 70. or 80. might become sufficiently popular to be entitled to notice, reproof, and correction, in A. D. 100. Admitting, then, that the longest liver of the Apostles, would endeavour to preserve his readers from the contagion of error, either inci-

pient, or advanced, he could not do it, by *expunging* any part of an inspired work, since that would be to accuse inspiration with having been the cause of error, but he might do it, by *adding* to his own works, by *strengthening* former sentiments, or by enlarged or explanatory expressions, so arranged as to meet the mistake in question. This enlargement was the way of our Lord, himself; we have seen that it was the way of St. John in other instances; and if in others, why not in this?

We have seen, also, that the *placing* of the verses containing other *additions*, in our present copies, is incorrect: arising, most probably, from the *addition* being inserted on a first edition ms. in the margin; and brought in erroneously, as to its true situation, by transcribers who copied that ms. The same I apprehend, is the case here; I confess myself to be of opinion that those copies which place the 8th verse before the 7th are right. It is well known, also, that copies vary in the words they introduce: some insert the words "on earth," and "in heaven:" others omit them; some omit, "water;" some omit "the Word:" and, I might, did I not think it would tire your readers' patience, treat them with a long and delectable discourse, on the Greek accents, articles, &c. inserted or omitted in this famous passage: but, it is enough for my purpose to say, that these variations are *proofs*, in my estimation, that the *addition* has been made on first edition copies, and introduced with more or less skill or convenience, &c. &c. according to the ability of their possessors.

Your readers, sir, will distinguish between what I verily think to be founded on fact, *i. e.* the foregoing statement,—and what I am about to submit as conjecture only, *i. e.* the following view of the passage. Nay, I must even apologize for some of the language I am about to use, by saying, that, I use it not strictly, but for the purpose of conveying my meaning. Let us, now, attempt to shew the propriety of introducing this addition, in opposition to the sentiments of those who considered the Christ, as consisting of one nature, only, *i. e.* the human: but who denied the residence of the other nature, *i. e.* the Divine, in the humanity; which combination we hold to be necessary to constitute the Christ.

Who is he, says the Apostle, *who overcometh the world, unless it be one who believes that Jesus* [the humanity] *is he who came into this world by assuming the component parts of human nature, 1. water, i. e. animal life; and 2. blood, i. e. a body,* [Some copies read *caro* or *carno*. *Vide* Simon, *Crit. Hist.*] *Such is JESUS THE CHRIST; who came, not by assuming water, animal life, only, being a mere phantom, as some pretend, but by water* (life,) *and blood* (a body,) *also.* However, the assumption of both these principles, though necessary, yet would not qualify him effectually for his office, which was, to bear witness of God; for an animal may have life and a body, yet is incapable of bearing witness: *but the intelligent and immortal spirit*, in man, *is that which beareth witness*, since that only is capable of understanding. *And these three principles are those which bear witness on earth* [*i. e.* which compose the humanity] *the intelligent spirit, and the water, or animal life, and the blood, flesh, or body, and these three agree in one testimony; [or rather, these three are necessary to be combined into one person, in order to enable that person to bear testimony; since if you take away either of these principles, you incapacitate the party from all power of bearing witness.] Correspondently to this (ὁτι) three are those who bear witness in heaven; the Father, and the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are THE ONE, the Being of beings! If we receive the witness of men, [the humanity?] on human questions, with confidence, the witness of God is infinitely greater, both as to*

subject and certainty, since God is an infinite spirit, and not liable to error. *Assuredly this is the witness of God, which is witnessed concerning his Son*, as above. *He who believeth in* [this representation of] *the Son of God* [Jesus, the humanity] *hath the witness in himself*, not only of the possibility, but of the actual existence, of such a combination, since his own nature is an instance of the same combination of principles as was extant in [the man] Jesus. *He who believeth not God makes him worse than an honest man, a liar, &c.*

Under this view of the passage, let us endeavour to state, and compare the editions.

FIRST EDITION.

Who is he who overcometh the world, unless it be one who believes, that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came by water, and blood; Jesus the Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood: but the spirit is that which beareth witness. They which bear witness then, are these three; the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these are combined in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater; *and assuredly this is the witness of God, which is witnessed of his Son, &c.*

SECOND EDITION.

Who is he that overcometh the world, unless it be one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came by water, and blood; Jesus the Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood: but the spirit is that which beareth witness. They which bear witness then, *on earth*, are these three; the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are combined in one. *Correspondently, those who bear witness in heaven, are three; the Father, and the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are THE ONE.* If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater; *and assuredly this is the witness of God, which is witnessed of his Son, &c.*

.....

I am justified in affirming, that (as observed in my former letter) here is no *change of sentiment* in the Apostle: every thing he said formerly he says again now: he *retracts* nothing; every syllable stands untouched; but he *adds*, and encreases the strength, the beauty, and the correspondence member to member, of the passage, while at the same time, his addition is in direct opposition to opinions which *peeped* forth toward the close of his long-continued life; and which, certainly, this passage as it stood in the First Edition, was not particularly calculated to repress.

You will understand, sir, that I hint at this explanation with great deference, and as a mere conjecture only: let it be judged by reason and candour, and whatever may be proposed as superior, more applicable, or more probable, by any of your learned correspondents, shall at least be accepted with all due respect, by,

Sir, your's, &c.

Conjecture as to the time of the Second Edition has already fixed on the period of the publication of St. John's Gospel: which was long after the other Gospels were in circulation; when, we may suppose, the apostle revised and edited his "Works," complete. As to the time of the First Edition, we have very little to help our guesses.

It

It is certain, however, that the Third Epistle of John was written many years before the date assigned to his Gospel, since Gaius, who was host of St. Paul, and of the whole church," was most probably a man advanced in life; and we cannot think it likely that he should live till towards the end of the first century.

The first chapter of the First Epistle, seems from its contents to have been the precursor of the Introduction to the Gospel of this writer."

No. DCXXII. ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS.

IN these Letters the reader will perceive a strong sense of the difficulties which surround the history and the occasion of the First Epistle of John.—GROTIUS thought it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem; and though MICHAELIS doubts the validity of Grotius's argument, yet he thinks "the opinion itself is highly probable;"—says he, "St. John's Gospel was opposed to heretics, who maintained the same tenets with those, which are opposed in this Epistle." In short, that writer denies to this performance the name of "Epistle;" and hints that, from its intention, it might much rather be denominated a Tract in Controversy, "the design of it being to combat the doctrines delivered by certain false teachers." Who these false teachers were, except they were the Gnostics, none could conjecture; at length, when M. NORBERG's *Prospectus* of his translation came abroad, with a specimen of the work, (1780.) a flash of conviction struck the mind of MICHAELIS; and that learned man saw at once the application of the Apostle's arguments as well affirmative as negative. But the numerous variations in the readings of this tract, that eminent *litterato* did not set himself to consider; nor did he perceive that if one passage was excluded from this performance, on the plea of its being an *addition*, by an unknown hand, that many others must share in the exclusion. He never conceived the *possibility*, to say the least, that these *additions* were made by the original author; nor did he trace the notion to its consequences, that, as the disciples of John certainly formed a distinct, a popular, and an opposing sect, at the very earliest period of the Gospel, it was becoming in an apostle of Christ to counteract their opposition immediately as the manifestation of the Gospel of Christ was arrived at maturity.

This proposition, if strictly followed up, would justify our placing this evangelical document very soon after the crucifixion. Because, the disciples of John charge the Apostles with mistaking the character and doctrine of their Master, directly after his death; with the grossest error in ranking him superior to John the Baptist; with perverting the people on the subject of his resurrection; and with nothing short of guilt in baptizing with "invocation of the name of *the dead*; in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, they baptize: they also make mention of the name of *Messiah*." This last particular we certainly find hinted at more than once in the Acts of the Apostles; equally certainly, it did not long continue in the Christian church; and, most likely, it was restricted in its use to those who had been baptized with John's baptism; which, as we have already seen, included a reference to "the Man in whose name John baptized with the baptism of Life." Comp. Acts xix. 3—5.

It is not, therefore, to correct the Gnostic opinion that the Christ was a mere phantom, only, having no real body; that the Evangelist commences his address with a protestation of the absolute certainty—(confirmed by his senses—over and over again)—of what he asserts, in reference to the *prior* life and person of Jesus;

it is in reference to his *subsequent* life, to his real, proper, and substantial, existence after his resurrection: *q. d.* “We heard him discourse: we saw him with our eyes, and not only so, but we scrupulously, closely, examined him; more than that, our hands handled him;—I repeat this: What we have seen and heard, that declare we to you. Unless, therefore, our ears have deceived us, the voice, the accents of the voice, the subjects of renewed conversation between us, were those of the very same person whom we accompanied previous to his decease:—Unless our eyes saw falsely, they beheld the same man, and for our own satisfaction we scrutinized him with the most intense and persevering examination (*ἐθεασάμεθα*). But we did not trust to our ears and to our eyes; the most attentive hearing, the keenest ocular inspection did not satisfy us, we used our hands; we GRASPED him:—what could we do more?” This is at large, what the evangelist Luke has expressed in one word, Acts i. 3. “He shewed himself alive again after his passion, by MANY INFALLIBLE SIGNS, being SEEN of them, and SPEAKING of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, during forty days:” —It is the assertion of Paul “he was SEEN MANY DAYS of those who had been in the habit of coming up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, and therefore knew him well, before his suffering. Acts xiii. 31.

It appears, then, that the proposition of the Resurrection of Christ was put to the severest tests,—to tests more severe than it is in the power of modern infidels to devise,—in the very first instance. It was no sooner promulgated, than the Saducees—the people in authority, among the Jews, were vexed beyond endurance at the opposition it bore to their long cherished tenets, and publicly attempted to suppress it; while the disciples of John (a numerous sect) counteracted it, to their very utmost, privately; and persuaded their adherents, as they persuade them to this day, that though Jesus himself might be a good man, enough; yet his disciples were miserably perverted;—a set of enthusiasts, knaves, or fools. Now this Evangelist was by far the most proper person of all the Apostles to certify the fact: He had been well acquainted with the person of Jesus, from the time of his baptism—most probably, he saw the *Shekinah* settle on him at that time—he was much in his confidence, as many occasions demonstrated,—he witnessed his crucifixion; he saw the wounds made in his hands and feet:—more especially, he saw the (naturally fatal) wound in his side given, he observed its direction, its magnitude, the circumstances attending it, with great solicitude, as he himself informs us;—he must know, subsequently, whether this wound were the same in form, in size, in place, in direction, in short, the identical wound he had witnessed only three days before; nor could all the logic and casuistry of the Sanhedrim, all the terrors of their jurisdiction, all the aspersions of the Jewish populace, or the renitence of John the Baptist’s disciples, persuade him out of the evidence of his senses, or induce him to retract an *iota* of what his duty dictated, and his absolute and personal knowledge warranted.

We place this Tract, then, (its composition) many years before the destruction of Jerusalem: say, from A. D. 35. to A. D. 45. during which period the Jewish pilgrims flocked peaceably to their metropolis: but, we place the final revision of it after an interval of nearly or altogether *fifty years*, when Jewish pilgrims no longer existed, instead of being satisfied with the modest conjecture of “fifteen or twenty years,” or, from “A. D. 70. or 80. to A. D. 100,” as in the foregoing Letters. And, if the reader enquire, what could be the circumstances of St. John at Ephesus, when writing his Gospel, (which we take to be the time of the last edition) that should require or justify the *additions* pointed out, perhaps, we may discover in the Gospel

itself the rudiments of an answer to such enquiry. For it is not enough to say that this Apostle intended to OPPOSE the disciples of John, or to guard his readers against the errors of the Gnostics, by the use of the terms WORD, LIGHT, LIFE, &c. in a Christian sense, in the Introduction to his Gospel, unless we can discern, in part, at least, what occasion he had to institute this opposition. But, if we conceive of the rival sect of Baptists as very numerous, and still maintaining their enmity to Christianity, while the Gnostics also were a rising and spreading persuasion, we shall find the sentiments of the Apostle, intent on establishing better principles, in perfect coincidence, not to say identity, in both performances ; as might be expected, if both were contemplated together.

Whether the sect of Baptists were more numerous at Ephesus than elsewhere, we have no means of determining; but, it is remarkable, that this city is distinguished in the Acts of the Apostles as being the residence of many ; for here Paul found no fewer than twelve men [with their families?] whom he persuaded to embrace the doctrine of the cross ; nor is it unlikely that Apollos intended to settle at Ephesus, because here was a flourishing society of Baptists, with which he, as a Baptist, could hold communion. Admit the continuation of this society to the days of the Apostle John, and we discern the reason of his desire to oppose their tenets. Admit the continuation—perhaps, the increase,—of this society, and it vindicates the propriety of strengthening in certain instances, the expressions of a Tract originally written (pretty much, at least) against them. Admit that this society held the same opinions as we trace in the books of the present Baptists, and the inference becomes clear, That the Christian writer had more cogent reasons for the insertion of every sentence he adds, than could be conceived by us before these works came under our inspection.

Possibly, an instance may illustrate this argument.—In a strangely mystical story (which neither MICHAELIS nor myself will undertake to explain,) that follows the baptism of Jesus by John, in the Sabeian books, we read that—"the Angel of Light threw the covering of the body of John into the Jordan, wrapt him in a covering of glory, and put on him the beautiful turban of light. . . . Four men of peace, the *Living Eye*, the *Living Name*, the *Living Glory*, and the *Living Light*, took John by the hand, led him to the place of Truth, and said, *Let us see a man, who comes from the Earth, a just and upright man!* Abatur, the ancient, clothed some of them with glory, others with light. But John stood at the place of ALL GLORY and of ALL LIGHT, and said, "I beseech thee, thou first Life, thou second Life, and thou third Life, that to the place of Light, where I stand, may come all honest and upright men, who are *written in the book of Life*, and are baptized with pure baptism, over whom the name of the GREAT LIFE has been pronounced." Stories of this kind were certainly well calculated to catch the attention of the crowd, whether taken literally or mystically. It was not in the power of the Apostle to meet this marvel, as a Christian, by a parallel instance of an earthly mortal's reception in the realms of bliss ; but, he meets it by asserting the descent of a Celestial personage to earth, who gave to as many as received him the privilege of becoming sons of God,—who was made flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth : and WE BEHELD HIS GLORY, THE GLORY AS OF THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN OF THE FATHER."

"*We beheld his glory*"—the writer has in view some event of which he had been spectator. Nor had he alone been the spectator of it. It was an impressive event. He recollected it to his dying day. If the Evangelist were one of the two disciples

of the Baptist who followed Jesus, in consequence of the testimony borne by their Master (John i. 35—39.) as is usually supposed, then he might have beheld the resting of the *Shekinah* on Jesus, at his baptism, which took place the day before. Undoubtedly, there was on that occasion, as already observed in No. DCXIII. and, as reported by the Baptists, themselves, “an assemblage of splendors which marked **that** event with peculiar and wonderful effulgence and dignity:” the Holy Ghost **was one** witness to the sanctity of his character; the Voice from Heaven was a **second witness**;—yet on that occasion John did not “*behold his glory.*” But John, **with Peter and James, saw this** “Word made flesh” transfigured; when “**HIS FACE DID SHINE AS THE SUN,**” when “*the fashion of his countenance was altered,*” when his very raiment was “*white as the light:*” in short, when to “Peter and they who were with him,” he appeared as the **WORD, IN GLORY**; secondly, “a **BRIGHT CLOUD** (the *Shekinah*) overshadowed them; and thirdly a **VOICE** was heard from Heaven, saying, “**THIS IS MY BELOVED SON.**” If Peter found it availing to appeal to this incident—if he protests (2 Epist. i. 16.) “We have not followed cunningly devised fables, (like that of the ascent of John the Baptist to the place of all glory and of all light”) when we made known to you the **POWER** and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we were eye-witnesses of his **MAJESTY**; for he received from God the **FATHER HONOR** and **GLORY**, when there came a Voice to him from the **EXCELLENT GLORY**, saying, **THIS IS MY BELOVED SON:**”—If Peter made this appeal, to this event, why should not John allude to it! If John alludes to it, what is the essence of that allusion, but the very sentiment of the passage containing the three heavenly witnesses? “*This is my beloved Son,*” say the three prior Evangelists, was the witness of the Voice from Heaven; and Peter says the same: *it is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son,* says John, in his Epistle: and if it be asked, why this inspired penman thought it necessary to *add* the testimony of these Heavenly Witnesses, it is answered by considering the necessity which actuated him to adduce the manifestation of *the Glory of the Only-Begotten of the Father*, which he had beheld. The same reasons as justify that passage in the opening of his Gospel, justify the *addition* in his Epistle. And nothing could be more proper, considering the persons whom it immediately concerned; since the Baptists themselves acknowledged, concerning Jesus, that—“he manifested himself in fire”—“he was clothed with fire:—he also shewed prodigies in fire.” The Apostle appeals, though covertly, to their own acknowledgments. We conclude therefore, that, as both passages exhibit the same thought, and refer to the same incident, it confirms the probability that they were both written by the same pen, at the same time; which is what we have ventured, with the greatest deference, to suggest, and to defend.

No. DCXXIII. BAPTISTS AT EPHEBUS? 1 Epist. TIM. III. 16.

I KNOW that to press an hypothesis too far is often fatal to the cause it is intended to serve; and therefore would only submit, as a query, whether the existence of a Baptist interest at Ephesus may be allowed to throw any light on the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy, supposing him to be Bishop of Ephesus, at the time he received them? Some have imagined that the First Epistle had particularly in view the *Therapeutæ*, [MICHAELIS asserts their prevalence at Ephesus, under the name of *Essenes*.] a Jewish sect, [See their Articles in the *Dictionary*.] and was intended to counteract the maxims they inculcated. That they were numerous in Egypt, we know; and they were not confined to that country; but, that they had

any establishment at Ephesus, or even any existence there, we do not know. Whereas, we have every reason to believe the existence of John's Disciples there: and farther examination may, perhaps, convince us that the cautions addressed to Timothy might have some (inclusive) reference to them. Possibly too, the famous text, "*God manifest in the flesh*," might receive illustration from this admission, and prove to be coincident as a sentiment, with that of the Evangelist, "*We beheld his glory*," &c. If the Evangelist beheld his glory, why might he not be *seen of Angels*? if the *Shekinah* accompanied him, why might he not be *justified in the Spirit*?—if the Word was made flesh, yet was gloriously transfigured, what was *that*, but "*God manifest in the flesh*?" and if St. John, at Ephesus, found it necessary to assert this doctrine against the Baptists, might not St. Paul, also, who was well acquainted with that city, experience the same inducement, when writing to the youthful Bishop, for whom he felt all the affection of a father? The Epistle to the Ephesians was, probably, not written *solely* to that city; but was to a certain degree, or within a certain vicinity, *circular*.

No. DCXXIV. CONSTITUENT PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN NATURE?

WE must not quit this subject without submitting a few words in elucidation of notion of three Constituent Principles in the composition of Man. Whether this were the doctrine of the learned among the Hebrew nation, in opposition, perhaps, to the Saducees, or whether it were general in the East, we need not now enquire. It is certain, that St. Paul expresses himself to the same effect, in writing to the Thessalonians, 1 Epist. v. 23. "May the God of Peace sanctify you wholly—your whole entirety, *the Spirit*, and *the Soul*, and *the Body*."—Here the distinction intended by the manifest construction of the passage, between the three Constituent Principles, is the same as is intended by the Apostle John, under the terms *the Spirit*, and *the Water*, and *the Blood*; but as these are united to form a man, in the most formal mode of speech, by Paul, so they are by John; for otherwise, their testimony, could neither be combined, nor testify the same thing, nor to the same effect, &c. &c. And any one of them omitted in the Epistle of John, as in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, would be fatal to the *entirety* contemplated by the writers, and to the import of the passages where these terms are found.

No. DCXXV. A PRAXIS ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN;

AN ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN THE IDEAS OF THE WRITER, BY MEANS OF ARRANGEMENT.

IT is remarkable that this Epistle has neither Address, Salutation, nor Name of the Writer, yet no part of Sacred Writ has been more generally ascribed without hesitation to one of the Apostles, and that one the Evangelist JOHN. What could be his reasons for omitting his name, may be surmised, but cannot be absolutely determined. If this tract were composed so early as we have conjectured, he was not then "the Elder," which is his subsequent distinction; nor was he Bishop of Jerusalem, for that station was occupied by James; nor does he choose to describe himself as "a servant of Jesus Christ," since that might alarm the suspicions of the prejudiced, and induce them to reject his performance without reading it. It must, therefore, be considered as being, at first, a Tract in somewhat of confidential circulation; intended to direct the doubtful, and to guard the faithful; to state in

the most simple form the doctrines of the new sect, with the duties they stood engaged to discharge; their encouragements and enjoyments here, with their most glorious expectations hereafter.

It has long been the opinion of the present writer, that the divisions by chapters and verses have done at least equal injury to this Epistle, as to other parts of the N. T. not to say, that those portions of it which appear to have been retouched by the author, have suffered also by intermixture of the margin with the text; to the great disparagement of the whole. The reader is desired to look for nothing in the following Praxis but an attempt at Arrangement, an attempt to ascertain what the writer thought proper to address to his countrymen, while they were yet a nation, while their expected calamities were yet at some distance. That their present institutions were ere long to be annulled, he knew; but they did not. He very cautiously hints at approaching events. And it deserves notice, that the Jews received ample warning, from the pens of Christian writers, of what was about to befall them. The evangelist Matthew is explicit—the Epistles of John, and of James, are to the same effect; and the Epistle to the Hebrews may be added to the predictions which anticipated the close of the Levitical observances.

Again the reader is reminded, that the words of the following Praxis are not to be considered as those of a professed translation; but merely as signs of ideas intended to discover the *feelings* of the original writer, and to transfer them to the conception of the English reader. As verbal renderings, they trip; but their design is apparent.

It is likely, for instance, that the learned will object to the import given throughout to *εαν*, that of supposed or comparative *certainly*, to distinguish it from *α*, *if*, which is completely uncertain. But, in this Epistle by rendering it *so surely*, it assists in affording the means, not only of separating the propositions, according to the intention of the author, but, of marking that criterion, which it is evidently his purpose to suggest, but which the *if* of the English language, or the *α* of the Greek, does not effect.

Nor is it here only, that a similar power ought to be contemplated in *εαν*. The passage 1 Tim. iii. 16. [alluded to in No. DCXXIII.] is rendered little other than a contradiction, by indifference to this distinction. “These things I write to thee, hoping to come to thee shortly”—If the Apostle hoped to come *shortly*, there was less reason, or no reason at all, why he should write. The sense of the passage requires—“These things I write to thee.—I had hoped to come to thee shortly; but since, but *certainly*, *εαν δε*, as I am very slow, very tardy in coming,—these things I write to thee, *να*, in order that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, in selection of church officers, bishops, deacons, &c. so as to give no umbrage, without cavil, or controversy, and preserving uniformity of discourse, *ὁμολογουμένως*, among the Ephesian aspirants.

“Great is the mystery of Godliness, &c.—nevertheless, notwithstanding this glorious character, in the latter times some shall depart from the faith,” &c. The division of the chapters should be disregarded by the judicious.

.....

A PRAXIS ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΟΙΚΟΥΣ: [1.]

TO THE PILGRIM - STRANGERS. [2.]

THAT which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, what we have closely inspected, and our hands have handled, concerning the doctrine of the LIFE—(for THE LIFE was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness of it, and announce to you that ETERNAL LIFE which was with the Father, and was manifested to us)—That which we have seen and heard we announce to you, to the intent that you also may have communion with us; and truly, our communion is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ. Moreover, we write these things to you, that our joy may be full.

This also is the communication that we have heard from him, and we report to you,—that GOD IS LIGHT, and no shades are in him. So surely as we should say “we have communion with him,” but should walk in the darkness, we should lie, and should not practise the truth. But, so surely as we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have communion one with the other.

Moreover, the blood of Jesus Christ, his son, cleanseth us from all sin. So surely as we say that we have no sin, we mislead ourselves, and the truth is not in us. So surely as we confess our sins he is faithful and just to remit to us those sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

My little children, these things I write to you to the intent ye should not sin. But, so surely as any one sins, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous. And he is a propitiatory victim for our sins; nor indeed for ours only, but for those of the whole world.

By this also, we may discern that we know him, so surely as we keep his commandments. The person who says, “I know him,” but who does not keep his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in that man. But he who obeys his word, truly in this man the love of God is complete.

By this also, we may know that we are in him. The person who says “I abide in him,” is bound to walk, like as he walked.

Brethren, not a new commandment do I write to you, but, an old commandment, which ye have had from the beginning... Again, a new commandment I write to you, that is verified by him, and by you, inasmuch as the darkness is passing off, and the true light already

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ.

A GENERAL EPISTLE.

Duplications, Variations, &c.

[*Doctrine*, literally *word*, *λογος*. Comp. the sentiment, Acts v. 20. “Go speak to the people all the words of this LIFE.” See Note 3.

[*shades* are defects of light: there are no defects of light in God: no spots, as in the Sun.]

.... So surely as we shall say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his Word is not in us.

CHAP. II.

[*Advocate*, *Παρακλητος*. See Note 4.]
[*Ἰλάσμος*, the medium of *at-one-ment*: See the Article ORACLE in the *Dictionary*, in which the distinction between *Ilasmos* and *Ilasterion* is stated. See Note 5.]

.. The old commandment is that word which ye have heard from the beginning.

shineth...He who loveth his brother, abideth in this light, and meeteth with no occasion of stumbling: whereas the person who hateth his brother, is in the darkness, and in the darkness he walketh, and knoweth not whereabout he is wandering, because the darkness hath suspended the office of his eyes.

I write to you Little Children, because your sins are remitted to you through His name.

I write to you Young Men, because ye have overcome the wicked one.

I write to you Fathers, because ye have known Him who is from the beginning.

Do not affectionately love the world, nor the things in the world. So surely as any one affectionately loveth the world, the affectionate love of the Father is not in him. Because, all that is in the world—the lust of the flesh—and the lust of the eyes—and the pomp of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof; but he who doeth the will of God abideth for ever.

My Little children, it is the last period of time; and as ye have heard that the Antichrist should come, so now many Antichrists are instituted, whence we know that it is the last period of time. From us they went out; but they were not of us: if, indeed, they had been of us, they would also have continued with us: but (this took place) that they might be manifested, that they are not all of us.

However, you have an unction from the Holy One, and are aware of all things. I have not written to you because ye are not aware of the truth, but because ye are aware of it; and because (ye are aware that) every falsification is not of the truth. Who is the falsifier, if not the denier of Jesus, that he is the Christ? This is the Antichrist, the denier of the Father and the Son. Every denier of the Son hath not the Father... Let, therefore, that which ye have heard from the beginning abide in you, and you will abide in the Son and in the Father: and this is the constant promise that he hath constantly promised us—ETERNAL LIFE.

These (cautions) I have written to you concerning those who are seducing you. But the unction that you have received from him, abideth in you, and you have no need that any one teach you, other than that unction itself teacheth you, concerning all things; and that is true, and is no falsifier. Also, according as that teacheth you abide in him. And now, little children, abide in him; in order that whenever he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before him at his coming.

So surely as ye know that he is righteous, ye know that whoever practiseth righteousness is born of him. See what great affection the Father hath given to us, that

... The person who professes to be in this light, yet hateth his brother, is in the dark hitherto.

[γράφω, I write: ἔγραψα, I have written.]

I have written to you Little Children, because ye have known the Father.

I have written to you Young Men because you are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one.

I have written to you Fathers, because ye have known Him who is from the beginning.

[*last period of time*, literally, *the last hour*: the latest period of the Jewish polity. See Note 6.]

... (but) He who confesseth the Son, also hath the Father.

... So surely as that abideth in you which ye have heard from the beginning.

we should be called children of God! Wherefore the world knoweth us not, as it knew him not. Beloved, we are now children of God; but it doth not yet appear what we shall be, yet we know that so surely as he shall appear, we shall be like to him, because we shall see him as he is. And every one having this hope in him purifieth himself, as he is pure.

Every one practising sin practiseth also contrariety to law; for sin is what is contrary to law: and ye know that he was manifested, that he might take away our sins; moreover, sin is not in him. Every one abiding in him sinneth not. Whoever sinneth hath not seen him, nor known him.

[*contrary to law, ἀνομίαν, lawlessness; illegality.*]

Little children, suffer none to mislead you. He who practiseth righteousness, is righteous, like as He is righteous. He who practiseth sin is of the devil, inasmuch as the devil sinneth from the beginning. To this purpose the Son of God appeared, that he might undo the deeds of the devil. Every one born of God practiseth not sin, because His seed remaineth in him; and he is unable to sin, because he is offspring of God.

By this are distinguished the children of God and the children of the devil:—Every one that doth not practise righteousness is not of God; nor he who loveth not his brother. Because, this is the message that ye have heard from the beginning, that we should mutually love one another. Not resembling Cain, who was of the (ill-intentioned) malignant one, and killed his brother: and for what cause did he kill him? Because his own deeds were ill-intentioned, while those of his brother were correct. Wonder not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we are passed over from (the way) of death to life, because we affectionately love the brethren. He who loveth not his brother, remaineth in (the way) of death. Every one who hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that any murderer hath not eternal life abiding in him.

By this we discern the affectionate love of God, inasmuch as such an one as He, for us laid down his life; and we ought for the brethren to lay down our lives. But, whoever hath the property of this world, and seeth his brother suffering necessity, yet shutteth up closely his bowels from him, how doth the affectionate love of God abide in him? Little children, let us not love in word, nor in profession (only) but in performance and in reality.

By this also, we may know that we are of the truth, and may assure our hearts before him. But so surely as our hearts condemn us (by recollection) so much greater is God than our hearts, and knoweth all things. My dearly beloved, so surely as our hearts condemn us not (by recollection) we may have confidence towards God, even that what we solicit we may receive from him, because we keep his commandments, and practise what is pleasing in his sight. And this is his commandment, That we believe in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and affectionately love one another, as he gave us command-

ment. And he who obeyeth his commandments, abideth in Him, and he in him abideth.

By this also, we know whether he abideth in us—from the Spirit which he hath given us. Beloved, do not confide in every spirit; but examine the spirits if they be of God, because many lying instructors have gone out in the world.

By this may be distinguished the Spirit (which is derived) from God. Every spirit that confesseth Jesus Christ to be come in flesh, is from God; but every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ to be come in flesh, is not from God: but this is that of Antichrist, of which you have heard that it should come, and now is it, already, in the world.

Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them, because greater is he who is with you, than he who is with the world. They are of the world, wherefore they speak of the world, and the world hearkeneth to them. We are of God: he who knoweth God hearkeneth to us: he who is not of God hearkeneth not to us.

By this we distinguish the Spirit of truth from the spirit of misguidance. Beloved, let us affectionately love one another mutually, because affection is from God; and every one who exerciseth affection is offspring of God, and knoweth God. He who doth not exercise affection, knoweth not God; for God is affection. In this appeared the affection of God towards us, inasmuch as God sent into the world his Son, the Only-Begotten, that we might live through him.

In this is the affection (displayed) not that we have affectionately loved God, but that he hath affectionately loved us, and sent his Son (to be) the Propitiatory Victim for our sins. Beloved, if God so (displayed) affectionate love for us, then, we are bound affectionately to love one another mutually. No one hath inspected God, at any time. So surely as we affectionately love one another mutually, God abideth in us, and his affectionate love is complete in us.

By this we distinguish that we abide in Him, and he in us,—that, of his Spirit is given to us. And we have seen, and do testify, that the Father sent the Son, (to be) the Saviour of the world. Whosoever confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God. And we have known, and have confided in the affectionate love that God hath towards us. God is affectionate love; and he who abideth in affectionate love, abideth in God, and God in him.

By this is perfected the affectionate love with us, in order that we should have confidence in the day of judicial investigation, because, conformably to what he is, are we in this world. Apprehension (of evil) is not in affectionate love, but the perfected affectionate love casteth out the apprehension (of evil) because apprehension hath painful sensation: for he who apprehendeth (evil) is not complete in affectionate love. We affectionately love him, because he affectionately loved us, first.

CHAP. IV.

[*lying instructors*, literally *false prophets*, *ψευδοπροφῆται*. See Note 7.]

[Propitiatory Victim. *ἱλασμος*.]

So surely as any one should say "Aye, I love God affectionately," yet hate his brother, he is a falsifier: for if he do not affectionately love his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he affectionately love God, whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from Him, that he who affectionately loveth God, should affectionately love his brother, also. Every one who believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is offspring of God: and every one who affectionately loveth the progenitor, affectionately loveth his progeny.

By this we know that we love the children of God, inasmuch as we love God himself, and observe his commandments: for this is the love of God; therefore we should observe his commandments: and his commandments are not burdensome; because every offspring of God conquereth the world: and this is the (means of) victory that conquereth the world—our Faith. Who is the victor over the world, if not he who believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came through (the means of) water and blood, Jesus the Christ; not by the water only, but by the water and blood: but the spirit is the witnessing (power) because the spirit is the truth. For three are the witnesses on earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood... If we receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater: and this is the witness that God hath witnessed concerning his Son. He who believeth in the Son of God, hath the witness in himself: he who believeth not God, makes him a falsifier, because he believeth not the witness that God hath witnessed of his Son. And this is the testimony—that God hath given to us Life Eternal; and this Life is in his Son. He who hath the Son hath Life; but he who hath not the Son, hath not Life.

These things have I written to you... that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God, (and) that ye may know that ye have eternal Life. Also, this is the confidence that we have towards Him, that so surely as what we solicit is according to his will, he hearkeneth to us: and so surely as we know that he hearkeneth to us, in that which we solicit, we know that we may (expect to) have the things requested from him.

So surely as any one sees his brother sinning a sin not unto death, he shall intreat, and (God shall) give to him ..life. There is a sin unto death; I do not say that he should pray concerning that. All unrighteousness is sin; but there is sin not unto death.

We know that every one (who is) the offspring of God sinneth not, but..keepeth himself, and the (ill-intentioned) malignant one toucheth him not.

We know that we are of God, though the whole world lieth under the malignant one.

We know, too, that the Son of God is come, and hath given to us understanding, in order that we should know the true God, and should be in the true, in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and Eternal Life.

Little Children, guard yourselves carefully from idols.

SO BE IT.

CHAP. V.

... and these three agree in one. And three are the witnesses in heaven, the Father, and the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are THE ONE.

... who believe in the name of the Son of God,

... who is sinning not unto death,

... he who is the offspring of God

No. DCXXVI. ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE FOREGOING SKETCH.

THE reader has now before him a skeleton of the First Epistle of John, different in arrangement from that in common use. The duplications and variations speak for themselves. It may be pronounced impossible that any person capable of writing should have adopted so many *doubles* as usually deform this tract in our common copies: for instance, no author could say, "these things have I written to you who believe on the name of the Son of God,—*wa*, in order that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God,"—if his readers already believed, of what use is the latter clause, with the cause assigned for his writing? and to insert the word *continue*—"that ye may *continue* to believe," is endurable, only because it has been a customary refuge of commentators. The judicious will determine whether the passages "If, therefore, that which ye have heard from the beginning abide in you"—"So surely as that abideth in you which ye have heard from the beginning:"—that relating to him who hateth his brother, and therefore walketh in darkness:—those referring to the old commandment; and those importing denial of having sinned, are not evident duplications; if they are, the inference will fully justify the notion of revisions by the author;—this also will follow, that if one passage be expunged from our present copies, because of doubtful existence in the first copy, it must be accompanied by many others.

No. DCXXVII. ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥΣ, ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥΣ: PARTHICUS. [Note 1.]

THERE is a world of difference between assigning an early date to this tract, and insisting on the adoption of a mere verbal conjecture, which, whether ingenious or stupid, cannot now be verified. The accidental insertion of a dot or a line might, or might *not*, be the cause of misleading those Latins, who mistook the Greek *Parthikous*, for their *Parthicus*: nevertheless, it may be tolerated, till one more plausible be suggested. The error, or rather, the cause of error, hinted at, was in perpetual occurrence among the Greek writers; and the following extract may convince the reader that, whatever becomes of the conjecture, the thought is, at least, not unnatural.

Referring to Menecrates, a physician of Syracuse, who flourished, according to Plutarch, in the time of Agesilaus (about 300 years before A. D.) and who wrote a work "On Cures," (now lost.) Galen, the famous physician, has a passage to the following effect: "A book that treats on medicine has been entitled *Αὐτοκράτωρ ὀλογράμματος*: *Autocutor*, because it was dedicated to the chief Magistrate; *hologrammatos*, because by means of separate characters it expressed in whole syllables [*i.e.* perspicuously, in words at length] two, three, four, five, or any other number (of quantities) of resin, pitch, and most other medicaments. Menecrates did this, because, it FREQUENTLY HAPPENS not only to those who are NOT DISPOSED TO COMMIT AN ERROR IN WRITING, but also to some who do it by design, that they make omicron, O, into theta, Θ, by a line drawn across the middle of the circular letter."—The reader will observe that Galen says, this *frequently happens* to writers who have no such intention; and that, by the very accident we have supposed, in the instance before us. Certainly, the desire of providing against this frequent cause of error in his medical *recipes*, was greatly to the honour of Menecrates, as a member of the faculty; nor should Galen's candour in noticing it, pass without

applause. He proceeds to say, what is not equally to our purpose, but yet is of value to all critical enquirers into the state of the text, that—"the *iota*, I, too, may be turned into other letters approaching it in shape; so, if from *gamma*, Γ, one line be taken away, or if from *rho*, Ρ, a member be removed, the form of *iota*, I, remains. In like manner, with regard to many letters, it has happened, that the characters denoting them have suffered variations, some by apposition, some by composition, some by parts taken away." GALEN *de Compositione Medicamentorum per genera*, lib. vii. cap. 9.

On this evidence may rest our justification. It has seldom been so openly stated in reference to the letters of the Greek alphabet; but every Hebrew scholar knows that considerable variations have taken place in the readings of that language, by the accidental omission or suppression of the heads, or the members, of some characters, and the disproportionate length of parts bestowed on others.

No. DCXXVIII. PILGRIM STRANGERS. [Note 2.]

THAT considerable importance was attached to the Pilgrim Strangers, to their opinions, and convictions, by the Jews of Jerusalem, and by the chiefs of the nation, is not only a very natural supposition in itself, but is supported by the best authorities; among others we may notice the incidents introduced by Hegesippus, in his account of the death of James the Just.—"Since many of the chief men believed, a disturbance arose among the Jews, among the Scribes and Pharisees, who apprehended there was danger, that all the people would think Jesus to be Christ. Coming therefore to James, they said, We beseech thee to persuade *all that come hither at the time of the passover*, to think rightly concerning Jesus: . . . for on account of the passover ALL THE TRIBES *are come hither*, and MANY GENTILES." Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 23*. If it were of consequence to these chiefs to destroy the nascent faith of these Pilgrims Strangers in the character of Jesus, it was of no less consequence to the Apostles to confirm that faith; and this could not be better effected than by a short, a portable, and an *affectionate* tract.

With this coincides the history of the Acts of the Apostles; for, whether it were by means of this tract, or by any other means, it does appear that the resort of Christian believers of the Jewish nation, to Jerusalem, at the national feasts, was very great. It was concerning these that James advised Paul,—"*thou seest brother, how many thousands (myriads) of Jews there are which believe:—and they are all zealous for the law.*" Acts xxi. 20. It was, however, the unbelieving Jews "of Asia," which raised the tumult against Paul; no doubt encouraged and supported by a vast assemblage from all parts of the world.

These instances may also stand in proof of the facilities afforded for circulating addresses to the Jews dispersed among the Gentiles, and to the Gentiles themselves; in all parts. This has been already hinted at; but it may bear repetition, on account of its great importance: of which, we, at this distance of time, can form no adequate conception; indeed, no conception, at all, except by comparison with the present throngs of Mahometan Pilgrims, which from the remotest regions visit the Temple at Mecca.

* * The importance of the Apostles' permanent residence in Jerusalem, as a station, is clearly evinced by these considerations.

No. DCXXIX. [Note 3.]

Doctrine of the LIFE. It has been usual to consider this phrase which literally may be rendered "*Word of Life*," as a Hebraism, importing the *living Word*, or even the *life-giving Word*; but, if the notion of opposition to the disciples of John, be admitted, it should appear to be intended in direct contradiction to their *doctrine of Life*; as well to the doctrine as to the phrase; and under this acceptance it preserves the uniformity of the passage, has considerable force, and is a proper member of the paragraph in which it stands.

No. DCXXX. [Note 4.]

Advocate, Παράκλητος. I think it very likely that this is a sacerdotal term, in use among the Jews, and, probably, applied to the priest who offered sacrifices on behalf of offenders. The office of the priest, on such occasions, was to instruct, to advise, to encourage, to intercede, and finally to comfort, when the solemnity was properly performed. All these ideas are included in the term *paracletos*. It is known in its forensic sense among the Greek writers; but, I cannot bring myself to believe that a Jew writing to Jews would travel out of his national connection for an idea of the kind, or for a term by which to express that idea. The inference I wish to draw is, that this term was employed by this writer while the office and the action (of intercession) was in constant and regular exercise. The Apostle could not possibly allude to an idolatrous *paracletos*; which was the only kind extant *after* the destruction of Jerusalem: he therefore expresses by this term what was well known to his readers, and to which they were parties, *before* that event.

No. DCXXXI. [Note 5.]

A Propitiatory Victim. The argument adduced in the foregoing No. applies with additional force to this term. If it were addressed to persons who might any day concur in the offering up of such a Victim, in the place appointed by the Lord, then it possessed a peculiar distinctness, propriety, and interest; especially if such intention had brought these persons from distant countries; whereas, if it were selected by the writer when no such service existed at Jerusalem, or could exist, - while it was in perpetual repetition on thousands of Heathen altars, which hourly forced themselves on the notice of spectators, it surely implied a reference to which no Evangelist could reconcile his own mind, or direct that of his reader. If the practice were abrogated the term would cease to be clear, appropriate, and cogent: if the practice were familiar to both writer and reader, as part of the Jewish national service, then the application of it to Jesus Christ, on which the Apostle is express, is direct and striking. To this he adds a quality not attached to the Propitiatory Victims of the Jews, *UNIVERSALITY*: a distinction and a superiority which every one must feel to be most significant, on the supposition that the Jewish ordinances were in regular and constant execution. We have seen, also, that many Gentiles came up to Jerusalem, to the feasts; it were dangerous to the faith of such to refer them by any allusion (indiscreet, of course) to the rites or ceremonies which they had quitted by profession; but, to which they had daily temptations to return; and which they could not fail to recollect, however they might, under various circumstances, have renounced them. This argument seems to be conclusive for the early date of this Epistle.

No. DCXXXII. [Note 6.]

It is the last hour. This is understood by the judicious, as importing the *last period of the Jewish polity*. There is nothing else to which it can be referred; for, that it was not the *last hour*, or *period*, of time, of the world's existence, is abundantly evident: nor could the Apostle entertain such a notion. We need not be solicitous to explain the word *hour* as expressing a very short period of time. It seems to be used like the term *day*, and others, in a much more extended calculation, or rather in a still looser acceptance, than the moderns have usually annexed to it. But, if this phrase be admitted to denote the last period of the Jewish polity, it will follow, that the performance in which it occurs, must be placed before the destruction of Jerusalem; an event, on which the national and patriotic feelings of the writer, did not allow him to expatiate, though his deference to the express predictions of his Master, could not be satisfied without some allusion to a dispensation, most interesting, and most terrific, to all concerned.

No. DCXXXIII. [Note 7.]

Lying instructors, literally false prophets. The notion of prophets and prophecy is so strongly connected in the mind of English readers with prediction of future events, that it seems to be proper to explain the import of the term as opportunity offers. The office of Prophet [see the Article in the *Dictionary*,] not seldom was restricted to interpretation; and I understand the Apostle here, as charging these transgressors with false interpretations of principles, maxims, and institutions, which, in their purity, were evangelical and divine. The numbers of these erroneous teachers must have been very great, to justify St. John's inference; greater indeed, than history has recorded; but, of this the Apostle, residing in Jerusalem, must have had ample means of conviction, as most of them commenced their career in Judea, and pleaded some authority, truly or falsely, from principals resident in, or at least, connected with that country. The rule given by the writer, for detecting impostors, plainly shews that the Gnostic notions, or those which afterwards were adopted by the Gnostics, were very early in operation among falsely informed Christians.

No. DCXXXIV. A HINT ON THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

IN cases of great uncertainty, it often happens that a trifle has the effect of turning the scale of opinion; and whatever may be thought of the arguments adduced in the foregoing Numbers, should their main object be deemed admissable, it will assist in determining a question on which the most learned have felt it would be temerity to pronounce in positive terms. Supposing the First Epistle of John to be of that early date which we have ascribed to it,—may it take precedence of the Epistle of James?—and, since there are doubts to which of the Jameses, the world is indebted for this Epistle, may John's performance assist in solving those doubts?

The most ancient traditional reports ascribe this Epistle to James the Elder, the son of Zebedee, and consequently, the brother of John. He was one of the three Apostles, in whom Christ placed the greatest confidence, who alone were witnesses to the raising of Jairus's daughter from the dead, to the transfiguration of

Christ, and to his agony in the garden. In the Syriac version—undoubtedly, one of the oldest, and perhaps the best,—into which the First Epistle of Peter, the First of John, and the Epistle of James, only, are admitted, a subscription, according to the edition of Widmanstadt, is to this effect,—“In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, we here close the three Epistles of James, Peter and John, who were witnesses to the revelation of our Lord, when he was transfigured on Mount Tabor, and who saw Moses and Elias speaking with him.” To this MICHAELIS adds the subscription to the edition of the Syriac version, published by Tremellius, which is to the same purport; also, that of a manuscript of the old Latin version, the Codex Corbiensis, which is, *Explicit Epistola Jacobi, filii Zebedæi*. Could we depend on these subscriptions, the question were settled: but all subscriptions are doubtful, and can justly claim no great reliance. However, they shew what some, at least, thought anciently. James the Elder was beheaded about A. D. 43. or 44. “If therefore he was the author of this Epistle,” says MICHAELIS, “it must have been the first written of all the Epistles.” But, this opinion is not tenable, if the First Epistle of John were written in Jerusalem, if it were addressed to the visitants of that city, and if its objects were such as most properly may be attributed to the infant state of the church.

A Comparison between these two Epistles might be instituted with considerable effect. We only glance at it here; nor perhaps, should we venture the thought, had not the learned man already alluded to, closed his Article on the subject by an acknowledgment not altogether free from melancholy; “After all, I must confess my uncertainty, and must leave the question undecided.”

The first resemblance would consist in the Address, if that surmised to the Epistle of John were established: what one writer addresses “to the Stranger Pilgrims,” who were mostly Jews from foreign countries, the other addresses “to the Twelve Tribes, which are scattered abroad.” The coincidence is more than accidental.

SENTIMENTS OF JOHN.

GOD IS LIGHT, and in him is no darkness at all.

Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called sons of God!

Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth.

If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

This commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.

SENTIMENTS OF JAMES.

Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the FATHER OF LIGHTS, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.

Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures.

If a brother or a sister be naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit?

In many things we offend all.

If ye fulfill the royal law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, thou dost well.

Love

Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him, For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.

If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death.

Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God.

Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth and one convert him; let him know, that he who converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.

It is not proper to do more than submit these passages to the eye of the reader, who will draw his own conclusions from them. If they really were written by the two brothers, these traces of similiarity are easily accounted for: if they were the first published papers in behalf of the Christian cause, they justify an additional portion of respectful consideration; and if we had the history of the time completely before us, we should find them very suitable to the state of the Jews in foreign parts. The "wars and fightings" mentioned by St. James, may well be thought those which took place under Asinæus and Anileus, in Mesopotamia, &c. about A. D. 40. as described by Josephus. If so, this Epistle must be placed after the first Epistle of John. Those contests, with others in various parts, might occasion the Epistle; and the Epistle might occasion the death of the author.

To examine the style or the phraseology of St. James's tract, would be out of place here. I cannot, however, help observing that the term "Synagogue" applied to places of worship, where Christians met, marks a very early date; since certainly, that appellation was not long continued among believers. If it be thought, that these places of worship were those which appertained to the Jewish nation, as such, under the indulgence of the governing powers, it agrees equally well with an early date; since it proves that the separation between Christians and Jews had not yet taken place. The Jewish believers in Christ in foreign parts, continued to hold communion with their nation; they had not been expelled, neither had they, as yet, withdrawn themselves.

No. DCXXXV. OF ST. MARK, THE EVANGELIST.

I AM by no means satisfied with the unhesitating decision of MICHAELIS, that the Evangelists Mark and Luke obtained ALL their information from others, and that neither was in any case witness of events contained in his history.

It were indeed, somewhat rash to affirm without reserve, that St. Mark *must* have known some things concerning Jesus Christ, of his own personal knowledge: yet, when we consider his character, his residence, and his activity, we find it difficult to deny him opportunities which warrant this inference. St. Mark's mother lived in Jerusalem, and occupied a house of considerable size, for it had a court-yard between the house and the street, Acts xii. 12. 13. It was well known to the Christians dwelling at Jerusalem; it was one of their places of meeting: and circumstances seem to imply that this worthy woman was by no means a *new* inhabitant of the city, or of this residence. Her condition in life was respectable. If then St. Mark lived with his mother, in Jerusalem, he must have known the more

public events of Christ's ministry, which took place in that city, as well as Peter, himself, from whom he is said to have received his account of them.

It was not possible that the triumphant entry of Christ into Jerusalem, his actions and discourses in the temple, the circumstances attending his Crucifixion, &c. should be unknown to any inhabitant of the Jewish metropolis. And if,—as every thing leads us to conclude—his mother was an early believer, if Peter were in habits of intimacy at her house from an early period, as is usually thought, it will follow with a probability little short of certainty, that her son Mark, had many opportunities for knowing the truth of facts, in the very first instance, and altogether independent of the subsequent preaching of the Apostle. There will, indeed, remain the question of his age: if he were *very* young, he was no competent witness, if a witness; and yet, we know, that Children observe and retain in memory, very strongly, incidents which powerfully affect them. His father is not mentioned or alluded to; probably, therefore he was deceased; but his mother was still living: it should appear from these circumstances, that Mark was not aged, and with this agrees his ready attendance, in a subordinate capacity, on his uncle Barnabas, on Paul, on Peter, who also calls him his "*son*;" this suits with the greatest propriety, the time of life of a man rising into his prime, when compared with that of an elder, a man in declining years, which was the state of the Apostle. The term "*son*" does not necessarily imply natural relation: it may signify convert, (though that may not be applicable, in this instance) it may import one *baptized* by the writer, which is far from improbable; or, his favourite disciple, in which sense it is usually taken in reference to Mark.

From the Hebrew name John (Jochanan) given to Mark, it should appear that he was of direct Hebrew descent: and from the character of his uncle Barnabas, who was a Levite, some have thought he, also, might be a Levite; this, however, does not absolutely follow, since marriage, especially of females, was not restricted to members of the same tribe; and Mark is distinguished as "*sister's son*" to Barnabas. Some have placed Mark among the seventy disciples sent before the face of Christ, to proclaim his advent: this, if it could be proved, would supersede all difficulties as to his age; since, certainly, those preachers were not youths. But, apparently, there is no other foundation for this, than a desire of including the seventy, in the number of the hundred and twenty, whose names were registered in the first list of believers, Acts i. 15. Yet if this might be accepted as an indication of *some* authority for placing him among the hundred and twenty, - and against it there lies no objection— it would completely remove all scruples which might be imagined on account of his youth; and would effectually ascertain his qualifications, as well as his opportunities, for witnessing a variety of important transactions, of which Jerusalem was the scene. Undoubtedly, the individuals who composed this first of churches, were competent witnesses of many actions of their Lord, seen by themselves; beside what they might have heard related by their fellow disciples.

Such, we conceive to have been the character and qualifications of John surnamed Mark. It is not meant to insinuate that he could have possessed a complete knowledge of the actions, the sentiments, and the discourses of Jesus; since many of them took place in Galilee, &c. but, it is meant to submit, that unless he were uncommonly incurious and careless, unless he were criminally indifferent to what was passing, he could not be totally ignorant of facts which form the basis of the Gospel History. He could not be reduced to the necessity of receiving **ALL** his

accounts from second hands. He must have had full reliance on the authenticity of such accounts as he did receive;—for, the “*son*” of Peter, and the nephew of Barnabas, was not likely to be easily imposed on;—but, he also might have a thorough personal conviction, from his own immediate knowledge, of the truth of many events which he afterwards recorded in his Gospel; especially of those which occurred in the city of Jerusalem, and its vicinity.

No. DCXXXVI. OF ST. LUKE, THE EVANGELIST.

IF any exception could lie against the competency of the Evangelist Mark, as an original witness of many things which he has related, it must be on account of his youth, as already stated: against the Evangelist Luke no such exception can be taken: on the contrary, it is the intention of the present article to exhibit this historian as an elderly,—in fact, an OLD man; and to derive from that circumstance, proofs of his competency as an original witness, which have either escaped the penetration of writers on the Gospel History, or which, at least, they have never combined in such a manner as to produce their full effect.

It may be thought a somewhat singular mode of treating the Biographical History of an individual to begin it with mention of his death; but, in the present instance, that becomes nothing less than a kind of key to the greater incidents of his life: for, as we have no regular history of the party, but are obliged to arrange incidental references to him, not recorded with any such intention, it is of consequence to be able to annex dates to those incidents, and to shew the propriety of certain circumstances connected with them. On that propriety depends the cogency of our arguments; but, when it is once well established, we shall find, that it applies not to one incident only, but to all which hitherto have been included in the subject of our enquiry.

It passes uncontradicted that the “Acts of the Apostles” were completed and published A. D. 63. or 64. that Luke not very long afterwards went over into Achaia, where he lived, perhaps a year or two, and died, aged 84. He was, therefore, more than *fifteen* years (but less than *twenty*) older than the computed era of A. D. and, if we trace this calculation upwards, we shall find it furnish notable coincidences.

For instance,—says St. Paul, “at my first hearing all forsook me, no man stood with me;” 2 Tim. iv. 16. yet Luke was with him at that time;—why did he not support the Apostle? No answer can be given to this so rational, or so effectual, as the recollection, that Luke was then eighty years old (more or less); a time of life when many infirmities may become innocent causes of absence in such a case; when the person can afford but little assistance, at best; an age which even persecutors may feel some compunction, if not reluctance, at bringing to the bar, and exposing to danger from “the mouth of the lion.”

If I am not mistaken, we discover also tokens of elderly weakness, in the circumstance, that whereas Paul and his company intended to travel *on foot* from Troas to Assos, a short but mountainous tract, Acts xx. 13. St. Luke preferred proceeding *by ship*, as less fatiguing. He might be now about seventy-four, or seventy-five years of age.

The same consideration manifests the discretion of the Christian Missionaries in leaving St. Luke at Philippi, Acts xvi. A. D. 51. After what had happened, it was impossible for Paul and Silas to remain in that city; of the other brethren

Timothy was too young a man, not only as it concerned the care and superintendence of an infant church, but, as it is most likely that the family of Lydia (in whose house they abode) consisted principally of daughters, the residence of that young man in her family, however pious he might be, was unadvisable. No such objection lay against St. Luke: he was then much beyond sixty years old; perhaps sixty-six, or sixty-seven; an age which prevented censure, while it bespoke prudence; and accordingly, we find that under the charge of our intelligent as well as pious Evangelist, this church'speedily became flourishing, numerous, and composed of members who had something to spare for their spiritual father: and from whom their spiritual father would condescend to accept what he declined from other churches,—an incident not to be overlooked.

Again, we read Acts xiii. 1. A. D. 45. that “there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers;—as (1) Barnabas, (2) Simeon, called *Niger*, (3) *Lucius* of Cyrene, (4) Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and (5) Saul.” It is questioned whether this *Lucius* were *Luke* the Evangelist? General opinion inclines to the affirmative; but the argument has never been so clearly stated as it might be. There are two propositions necessary to be attended to, for the better understanding of this passage; the first is, that the writer *Latinizes*: the second is, that the names are ranked according to seniority.

There needs no other proof that the writer *Latinizes* here than the appellation *Niger*, given to Simeon. The import of this *Latin* term certainly is—*black, dark, deeply swarthy*; but, unless *Latin* were the current language at Antioch, [which we know it was not.] this is a translation of the Greek term *Melas*, which denotes the same thing; and, therefore, is a verbal accommodation. But, if the writer *Latinizes* in the preceding name, it can occasion no surprize if he also *latinizes* in writing *Lucius* instead of *Luke*: and perhaps, we may find before our enquiry terminates, that this is constantly observed when Latins are expected to be the readers.

Our second proposition is, that the names are ranked according to the age of the parties. To establish this we must reflect that Barnabas—(though, perhaps he may be placed first in compliment to his being a superintending visitor sent from Jerusalem) was brother [elder brother?] to Mary, who was herself advanced in life, being mother of a son, John Mark, already old enough to accompany his uncle on various journeys; and to choose firmly for himself the course of his own conduct. Barnabas was also of a certain dignified and majestic presence, proper to the currently understood character of Jupiter, the father of the gods, Acts xiv. 12. This is inconsistent with the notion of his being a young man. Moreover, as Mercury was son of Jupiter, according to the Heathen Theogony, Barnabas must have had the appearance of sufficient age, and gravity, the natural attendant on age, to pass for the father of Paul, whom the Lycaonians qualified as Mercury: for, we cannot suppose, that the mere eloquence of these Missionaries was the sole cause of these peoples' mistake: there must have been a suitable deportment, figure, and relative time of life, also; and these conspicuous.

The second on the list is Simeon, surnamed *the Black*; an epithet that well agrees with the complexion of a native of Cyrene in Africa; and therefore, renders it extremely probable, that this is Simon the Cyrenean, the father of Alexander and Rufus, Mark xvi. 21.

It appears from Acts, xi. 19, 20, that among the believers dispersed at the time of

Stephen's martyrdom, were men of Cyrene, who travelled as far as Antioch, preaching the Lord Jesus." There, is, therefore, nothing to hinder our reckoning among them, Simon the Cyrenean, otherwise Simeon *the Black*; but, if so, and if th Rufus whom Paul salutes, Rom. xvi. 13. with his mother, were son of this Simeon [see his Article in the *Dictionary*.] then he was, certainly, an elderly man; since both his sons were eminently distinguished in the church, when St. Mark composed his Gospel; and apparently long before. It is probable also, that Simeon was deceased, when Paul wrote to the Romans, say A. D. 58.

We come now to *Lucius*; and if he be Luke the Evangelist,—placing this transaction in the year of Christ 45. then Lucius exceeded the age of *sixty years*; consequently, he might probably enough take precedence of Manaen, and certainly, of Saul, who at this time, as the most judicious commentators suppose, was not more than about *thirty-five*. And thus we have reduced to its true value one of MICHAELIS's two formidable objections, objections which appeared to him insurmountable, against the identity of Lucius and Luke.—“Besides,” says he, “the name of Lucius stands before that of St. Paul, an arrangement which is incompatible with St. Luke's modesty, if he himself were Lucius, for, he would then have placed his own name before that of an Apostle.” Now, this he had a very good right to do, without any impeachment of his modesty—in fact he was obliged to do so—if this were the arrangement on the church lists at Antioch; and if the order were determined by seniority.

And here we ought not to overlook the wisdom of the appointment made by the Holy Ghost in uniting Barnabas and Saul in the same mission: one was the oldest, the other was the youngest, of the teachers at Antioch: the sedateness of one would temper the fire of the other: the character of Barnabas as a “son of consolation,” as a “good man,” mild, courteous, a man of experience, who had long been a companion of the Apostles, and was familiar with their views of things, admirably combined with the fervour of his younger friend, whose greater activity and promptitude, would induce and enable him to improve every opening, to “spend and be spent” in all directions, to discern possible advantages, and to act on contingencies, in cases, which to his less vigorous partner might appear dubious, if not imprudent; or which he might think himself, at least, not altogether competent to.

If Luke were about sixty years of age, when settled at Antioch, whither he, a Cyrenean, had followed some of his countrymen, he must have been about forty-eight or fifty, at the period of the Crucifixion;—a time of life when the judgment is mature, when the reasoning faculties are vigorous; when the character of the man is formed; and when even the company and associates of a person assimilate to the same qualities with his own: for, men of this number of years seldom choose boys or youths for their confidential friends. Nor was it a boy, or a youth, who accompanied the disciple whose name is omitted in the history of the travellers walking to Emmaus:—it was Cleophas, or Alpheus; and Alpheus was the father of several of the Apostles: he was, therefore, in advanced life. If his sons were of age to be called to that eminent station, their father was certainly not under the age attributed by our calculation to St. Luke; and forty-eight, or fifty, is likely to have been nearly the corresponding years, of these two confidential intimates.

We are now arrived at that point of time, when, according to our intention to support the competency of St. Luke as an eye-witness to some of the facts he records it is of importance to consider what evidence of this his narrative affords. It

is the earliest period at which he can, with propriety, be introduced ; for, though some have placed him among the seventy, yet every probability is against that notion. It appears that he was a native of Cyrene, not of Galilee ; and therefore, not likely to have been so employed.

To understand this properly, we must observe that there assembled on the morning of the Resurrection, a number of adherents to Jesus, beside the Apostles ; for the women ran and told their wonderful tale “to the eleven, and to *ALL the rest*: (as Luke, and Luke only, distinctly observes.)—they believed them not:—However, ὁ δε, Peter starting up, ran to the monument, and stooping down, he saw the linen clothes laid by themselves, and went away, wondering in himself at what was come to pass.” Nor was Peter the only one who ran : for we learn afterwards from the traveller’s recital, ‘that certain (τινες, plural) of those who were *with us* went to the monument, and found it as the women had reported ;—but him they saw not.” Among this “*rest*,” and this “*us*,” we must place the speaker : but, evidently, whoever the speaker was, this was not the first time of his associating with this company : he was, like his fellow-traveller, Alpheus, a well-known friend. These travellers quitted their company, after Peter and John had returned ; in the very height of their universal amazement. And, going for Emmaus, they debated, they *argued*, with each other, concerning these events. And as they discoursed together and reasoned, controverted the various incidents, Jesus himself approached them [Their eyes were holden that they should not know him,—which implies that, otherwise, they would have known him : they, therefore, had a previous acquaintance with him.] and said, What are these subjects which ye are bandying backwards and forwards, one to the other, as ye walk, and are sad ? Alpheus answering said, Art thou the only stranger in Jerusalem, who hath not known what hath taken place there, in these days ? He enquired what things ? and THEY said—No ; I beg pardon of the Evangelist : it was not THEY who said : for Alpheus had spoken already ; and it was now his companion’s turn to speak. The writer mentions the name of Alpheus, distinctly enough, but the name of his companion—the present speaker—he suppresses.—

And farther to avoid introducing “I said,” as the fact really was, the writer takes a liberty with grammar, and puts that in the plural, which certainly passed in the singular. This license betrays the man ; the writer and the speaker are the same person. The distinctness and accuracy of the speech mark more than mere second hand narrative. The subsequent observation—“Did not our hearts burn within us by the way ?”—the precision with which the action of Jesus is described, “he made as though he would have gone farther ;” these are hints of participation, not of information. And they agree well with the correctness of the historian who has told us [see No. DLXXV.] that the inscription on the cross was “written in LETTERS of Greck, and Latin and Hebrew.” How could he know this minute particular ? He must have been in Jerusalem at the time, to see it. If he were in Jerusalem at that time, then we infer, at once, the competency of St. Luke as an eye-witness to some of the facts he records ; which it is the purport of the present discussion to support.

Moreover, it is remarkable, that all the appearances of Jesus after his resurrection introduced by St. Luke, are in, or near, Jerusalem. He says nothing of what happened in Galilee, at the Sea of Tiberias, or any where else ; he confines his history to facts which came within his own knowledge. Nor should we disregard remarks that might be made on the early chapters of the Acts, such as, the writer’s

acquaintance with the number of the names recorded on the first Christian list:—"they were about a hundred and twenty:"—his full report of Peter's speeches—of the conduct of Caiaphas and the Saducees towards the Apostles, and towards the deacons, especially Stephen,—whose speech he records in a manner that proves he heard it,—with the action of the Jewish rulers, "they gnashed upon him with their teeth;" a minor circumstance, of no importance whatever to the story; but, evidently, the remark of a by-stander, made at the time. Now, if we admit the residence of St. Luke at Jerusalem, when Stephen was murdered, and when the Holy Ghost descended, &c. we shall find it impossible to deny his residence in that city a few weeks sooner, when the Crucifixion and the Resurrection took place: and if he were, as every thing leads us to conclude, of the number of the hundred and twenty, he was certainly a believer of long standing, and one of those who formed the "*rest*," the "*us*;" the deeply interested and argumentative associate of Alpheus; and one of the company met together with the Apostles.

Is it too much to say that the medical knowledge of St. Luke contributed to the confidential altercation between him and Alpheus? that he knew the course of the wound made by a spear under given circumstances, and argued, as he well might, on the *impossibilities* of the case? Is it too much to say, that, as Luke is the only writer who notices, chap. xxiii. 49. that "*All the acquaintance* of Jesus stood with the women, afar off," therefore, he himself was one of those acquaintance?

If this train of argument be credible, we have ascertained two facts; that St. Luke was of mature age, at the time of the manifestation of the Gospel; and, that he is by no means that mere reporter of what he had learned from others, which some have supposed. But this leads us to an investigation of his CHARACTER,—a particular, that must form a separate article in continuation.

The reader will perceive that by tracing the Chronology of St. Luke's life in an inverted order, we have obtained a stronger conviction of the truth of the facts stated, than others have allowed themselves to indulge; nevertheless, that these facts have already been admitted by the inquisitive, may appear from the words of the equally cautious and learned LARDNER.

"It is probable, that he is *Lucius*, mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. If so, he was related to St. Paul the Apostle. And it is not unlikely, that that *Lucius* is the same as *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, mentioned by name, Acts xiii. 1. and in general with others, ch. xi. 20. It appears to me very probable, that St. Luke was a Jew by birth, and an early Jewish believer. This must be reckoned to be a kind of requisite qualification for writing a history of Christ, and the early preaching of his Apostles, to advantage; which, certainly, St. Luke has performed. He may, also, have been one of the two, whom our Lord met in the way to *Emmans*, on the day of his resurrection, as related Luke xxiv. 13. . 35. He is expressly stiled by the Apostle *his fellow-labourer*, Philem. ver. 24. If he be the person intended Col. iv. 14. (which seems very probable,) he was, or had been, by profession a Physician. And he was greatly valued by the Apostle, who calls him *beloved*. He accompanied *Paul*, when he first went into *Macedonia*. And we know, that he went with the Apostle from *Greece* through *Macedonia* and *Asia*, to *Jerusalem*, and thence to *Rome*, where he stayed with him the two years of his imprisonment.

We do not exactly know, when St. *Luke* formed the design of writing his two books. But, probably, they are the labour of several years. Nor can any hesitate to allow the truth of what is said by some of the ancients, that *Luke*, who for the most part was a companion of *Paul*, had likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the Apostles."

No. DCXXXVII. THOUGHTS ON THE CHARACTER OF ST. LUKE.

WE have presumed that St. Luke, at our first acquaintance with him, was of mature age, a reasoning and considerative man, and we farther presume, a Physician; such was the companion of Alpheus: but, there is another personage of greater importance than Alpheus, on whose account the character of St. Luke peculiarly demands notice. For, if we reflect, we shall find that Mary, the Mother of Jesus, was of much about the age of St. Luke (say nearly fifty years, at the time of the Crucifixion) that she was no less reasoning, and no less considerative, than he was; and that his profession of Physician, admitted access to the confidence of the sex, without offence. The inference we wish to draw is, that this Evangelist received from the Holy Mother those papers which he has preserved in the early part of his Gospel; with that information which enabled him to assert his "perfect understanding (or diligent tracing) of all things connected with this history, from the very first."

It is likely, that this confidence was the result of prolonged intercourse; and therefore, we cannot possibly say at what time it produced the effect we have attributed to it. Leaving this uncertain, yet placing it, as most convenient, in the interval from the Resurrection to the dispersion subsequent to the martyrdom of Stephen, we shall beg leave to lay before the reader certain arguments of which the public has already expressed a favorable opinion. They appeared in the *Literary Panorama* for the years 1806, 1807. under the signature of FIDELIS.

No. DCXXXVIII.

To the Editor of the Literary Panorama.

ST. LUKE'S VERACITY AS AN HISTORIAN, ILLUSTRATED BY HIS
CHARACTERISTIC ACCURACY AS A WRITER.

NOTHING so fully establishes our confidence in a writer, as a knowledge of what kind of man he is in his general character. If he be loose, inaccurate, heedless, we hardly know how to trust him when he declares the most solemn truths in the most solemn manner. If he be studious, particular, punctual, we pay a deference even to his current discourse; and if he affirm a thing, we rest satisfied of its truth and reality. But, persons of strict accuracy seldom trust to their memory entirely, on important affairs; they make *memoranda*, or keep some kind of journal, in which they minute transactions as they rise; so that, at after-periods, they can refer to events thus recorded, and refresh their memories by consulting their former observations. I believe too, that this is customary, chiefly, if not wholly, among men of letters, men of liberal and enlarged education, men who are conversant with science, and who know the value of hints made on the spot, *pro re nata*. My first proposition is, that Luke the Evangelist was a person of learning, of accuracy of character, and that he instanced this by *keeping a Journal of Events*, of which we have traces in his writings. He did not trust to his recollection, I say, but his custom was, to make *memoranda* of interesting occurrences.

Let us try a few passages of his Travels by this proposition.

We meet this evangelist, Acts xvi. 17. where he says "loosing from Troas we came *with a straight course* to Samothracia, and the next (day) to Neapolis, from
thence

thence to Philippi, a city of the first part of Macedonia, and a (Roman) colony."—These particulars are precisely such as a traveller of education would insert in his pocket-book.

Acts xx. Memorandum of the Company.—1. Sopater of Berea—2. Aristarchus—3. Secundus; these were of Thessalonica:—4. Caius, he was of Derbe—and 5. Timothy, whom I know so well as to have no need of marking his country—6. Tychicus—7. Trophimus; these were of Asia. These going before, tarried for us at Troas.

Memorandum of the Time of year.—We sailed from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread [as we might say in modern English, directly after Easter.]

Memorandum of the Time occupied in the journey—We came unto them to Troas in five days, where we abode seven days, &c.

Acts xxvii. At Cesarea—went on board a ship belonging to Adramyttium.—Aristarchus, 1. a Macedonian, 2. of Thessalonica, in our company,—made sail same day. *Next day* touched at Sidon, staid there some little time, made sail again, wind contrary, sailed under the lee of Cyprus, sailed across the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, bore up for Myra, in Lycia: finding an Alexandrian vessel there, went on board her; sailed slowly, after many days had hardly made Cnidus, the wind being unfavourable; sailed under the lee of Crete, standing towards Salmone, which we weathered with difficulty, and brought up in a roadstead called the Fair Havens, near Lasea. Not advisable to remain here: the opinion prevailed to make for Phenice, said to be a good port of the same island, Crete, over against Africa, but bearing west-south-west of us. —You perceive, Sir, that every idea of these extracts is in the original; I have done no more than put them into current language, such as we find in books of travels. They are mostly particulars of no consequence to the main purport of the history; but are evidently transcripts, not from memory, but from *memoranda*. The same we may say of the following.

Acts xxviii. 11.—After three months, we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, (Malta) whose sign was Castor and Pollux; landing at Syracuse, we tarried there *three days*; from thence standing out to sea and *tacking frequently*, we came to Reggio; and *after one day* the wind blew from the south, we came the *next day* to Puteoli, tarried there *seven days*, went on to Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns,—arrived in Rome.

This repeated mention of *days'* journeys, is clearly a continuation of the journal; and shews that the writer had not lost it in the shipwreck at Malta; he probably carried it about his person, and being saved himself, saved also his pocket-book. We often find travellers preserving their papers, when they lose every thing else.

There are many other notes of time, &c. which might corroborate my assertion; but this specimen I think sufficient, and is all I offer at present.

Hence the inference is undeniable, that the writer of the "Acts of the Apostles," had, in composing that work, *written evidence*, of the most accurate description, before him.

Let us see whether he maintains the same character for precision in his Gospel; which he thus begins -- "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar (the Emperor), Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, Herod tetrarch of Galilee, his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and the Trachonitis, Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being high priests."—Could any man take greater pains to ensure precision, or to fix a date? He does not content himself with mentioning the year of the emperor, or the king of the country wherein the events he is about to narrate happened, but he calls in, by way of corroboration, as it were, the evidence of three sovereigns,

for no other purpose than that of marking the period he intended; they being afterwards dropped by him.—This shews clearly the particularity of a *writer*; of a man conversant with *written documents* of the most correct and precise description; one who trusted nothing to words, or to memory. How *extra* precise should we think the author, who dated a volume from Jamaica—“In the fifteenth year of George III.—*Such an one* being governor of Jamaica—*Such an one* governor of Barbadoes —*Such an one* governor of Grenada, and the Rev. M. and N. archbishops of Canterbury and York.” We should certainly conclude “this writer, whatever else he is, is *correctness* itself.”

We turn now to the Preface of St. Luke’s Gospel, and we find it completely in union with this strongly marked exactness and precision;—“*Whereas many good people enough, and not to be blamed, have taken in hand, but did not complete their intention, to publish AN ORDERLY narration of certain events, as they have been delivered to us by those, who from the beginning of these events, were (some of them) eye witnesses, and (others were) parties concerned in them, promoters of them by personal participation; it has seemed good to me, having accurately examined all points from a much earlier period than they had done, indeed from the very first rise of the matter, to write AN ORDERLY history of these things; and thereby to accomplish that desirable purpose in which those writers have failed.*”

I say, Sir, this profession of *correctness* and *order*, is perfectly in character with the man who tells us how many days he staid in such a place, in what point the wind was, what was the name of the ship he sailed in, on what occasion a council was held in the vessel, and what was the language and observations of the seamen, as to the bearing of the port they intended to make, &c. &c. This man could not bear the imperfections of the books which came under his notice on a certain subject; they did not begin early enough, and they ended too soon. He therefore determined to begin his history much earlier; and to continue it much later. This he accomplished in a manner, which we shall see hereafter.

There is an instance of his accuracy and spirit of research that ought not to pass unnoticed, Acts xxiii. 26. where he gives us, (translated I suppose from the Latin) a copy of the Letter which Claudius Lysias sent to his excellency Felix the governor. That this corresponds exactly with Roman letters of the like kind, we know; that the Greek is not the original, will I think appear to any one who reads it with this idea on his mind; besides, that it should seem most natural for Roman officers to write to each other in their native language. And what (additional) do we learn from this letter? Nothing at all; had it been omitted, we should have known the same facts as we know now; but it was not consistent with the *researching spirit* of this writer to let it escape him; it adds a *written document* to his history; and very characteristically, he procures a copy, and preserves it years, for future service.

I wish to state this argument on two suggestions; If St. Luke had *no intention* at this time of composing a history, his procuring this letter was the effect of his *general* character, and customary inquisitiveness. But if St. Luke *had an intention* at this time of composing a history, his procuring this letter is an instance of his collecting the most authentic materials possible for that purpose.

As I believe that it was St. Luke’s custom to procure copies of writings, I shall endeavour in another communication to state additional reasons for this belief.

No. DCXL. ST. LUKE'S CHARACTERISTIC PORTRAIT OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

I AM no great friend to traditions: they seldom or never retain, unadulterated, for any length of time, the original truth which gave rise to them. Yet some of them convey information, though disguised, which more regular history does not afford. Among these I take the liberty of reckoning the report, that St. Luke was a *painter*, and had painted the portrait of the Mother of our Lord. I shall not support this notion by appeal to the miraculous Madonna at Florence, said to be one of his capital performances; nor to that which in our heretical country performs no miracle, though strongly vouched for as an *unquestionable original* of the Evangelist, by the housekeeper at Chatsworth: and which certain wicked wights have pronounced to be painted *in oil*! But, presuming that this tradition had *some* foundation, and is not wholly void of meaning, I shall examine whether we do not find in the writings of this sacred penman, such a description of the Holy Mother, as may justly be called her *Portrait*; that is,—the *portrait* of her character and mind, not of her person and countenance.

We are scarcely introduced to this interesting personage, chap. i. 29. when we are told, that “she was *troubled*, and *cast in her mind* what manner of salutation this should be.” The word rendered *troubled*, does not import any deficiency of natural courage, but simply the agitation of her mind, dashing, as it were, backwards and forwards, like water; now thinking well, now suspecting ill, of this salutation. And to this sense agrees the word *διελογίζετο*, reasoning within herself, examining both sides of the question, *dialoguizing pro and con*, as to the nature of the present occurrence. A very natural action, surely, for a person of understanding, and manners! And this character for reflection and thought is retained by the blessed Mary, where we next find her, chap. ii. 19. She “*kept* all these things, and *pondered* them in her heart.” She *collected* and *preserved* these events in the storehouse of her mind, and *laying them beside one another*, compared them together; by this means they mutually served as objects illustrative of each other. Again, verse 51. “she *kept* all these sayings in her heart.” But the form of the verb here used is *διετήρει*, (before, it was *συνετήρει*,) she closely *watched*, with all the affection of her heart, *all* these sentiments, to see what turn they would take.

Now, nothing of this depicting of the character of Mary, appears in any of the other Evangelists; St. Luke alone has thus *painted* her. Moreover, this character is perfectly agreeable to the warning given her, by Simeon, that a sword should pierce her reflective and considerate heart: or rather, that a javelin, thrown by a fierce hand, after having pierced its object, should wound her deeply, in its farther course. It is perfectly agreeable, also, to the solicitude which, many years afterwards, thought her Son, our Lord, *overdid* himself; *i. e.* he *exceeded* his strength, in labours, &c.

We have seen a picture of the mind, of Holy Mary; the Evangelist draws another of her actions. We have found her thoughtful and reflective; she was, also, discreet and active; for after her salutation, she determined to put to the test the information she had received; and to judge by her own eyes and ears, whether her ancient friend Elizabeth had really “conceived a *son* in her old age;” and whether this was really the *sixth* month of her pregnancy. Elizabeth had concealed herself during *five* months, but this Mary did not know; Elizabeth’s pregnancy *might* however be reported in her neighbourhood, and so the informant

of Mary *might* have told her no great news; nothing worthy of being a sign in confirmation of what he had predicted. It *might* also have been the *third* month, or the *eighth*, in which case the imperfection of the information would have been apparent. Mary staid till she saw a *son* born. Nothing, then, could be so discreet as placing herself under the protection of a person of the age and character of Elizabeth. Nor is this all: for, Mary went *in haste* on this, to her, extremely important business: it follows, that she must have been in circumstances of life, which permitted this *instant* exertion. No person extremely poor, no person in servitude, no person under any authoritative controul, could have made this *hasty* journey. This then, is another feature in the picture of Mary, as drawn by St. Luke.

But the inference from Mary's situation in life, is of still greater consequence. That education contributes essentially to form a *thinking* mind, we know from every day's experience: and we have seen that such a mind was Mary's. It is evident, also, from what is called her *Song*, that she had read the Scriptures of the Old Testament with attention: and, as reading was not (as it is not, at this day) a common acquisition among women of the lowest class in the East, the possession of it removes Mary from that class, had we no other proof. Nevertheless, I think a principal mistake of critics has been their taking Mary's Song for a *sudden vocal* effusion, by *instantaneous* inspiration: whereas, there are so many allusions in it to passages of the then extant Scriptures, as should at least have abated this opinion. It is not likely, that instantaneous inspiration should have repeated sentiments already recorded, and public to the whole nation: something not yet known, something looking forward, something of sufficient consequence to justify its being revealed, is what we should rather expect from such an *afflatus* of the Holy Spirit. It will be observed, also, that the sacred writer does not assert the instant inspiration of Mary: his words are, speaking of Elizabeth, she "was filled with the Holy Ghost;" and speaking of Zechariah, he "was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied;" whereas concerning Mary, he says nothing of the kind; but simply, "Mary said:" This distinction of phrase is not favourable to the notion of a *sudden verbal inspiration*, in which the party speaking is the mere organ of the Sacred Spirit.

I know not whether it be necessary to remind your readers, Sir, that, *to say*, is often used, when *writing*, not speech, is the subject. We have the phrase among ourselves: "He *says* in this letter"—"He *tells* us, in such a place"—"Your correspondent *says* that,"—and, that the same idea is annexed to the word *to say* in Scripture, appears, among many other places, from John i. 23. Isaiah *said*, (*i. e.* wrote): vii. 38. The Scripture hath *said*: Rom. vii. 7. The law hath *said*: Gal. i. 9. As we *said* (*i. e.* wrote) before, so *say* (*i. e.* write) I again, &c. &c. Give me leave, then, to consider the Song of Mary as composed—*written*, under the illumination of the Sacred Spirit; and being committed to paper, it comes under the principle which I have endeavoured to establish, that St. Luke sought out, and procured all the *written* documents which he could obtain for his purpose. The fact, I presume is, that during the residence of Mary with Elizabeth (three months, or more) she penned this Song; and copies of it were extant, one of which St. Luke employed in his History. I must take the liberty of forming much the same idea of the song of Zechariah; this is indeed prophetic, and looks forward; it is also expressly said the author was filled with the Holy Ghost: but, as ancient prophets, though filled with the Holy Ghost: *wrote* their prophecies, so, I appre-

hend, this also might be composed by Zechariah, even during his preternatural dumbness, or in the privacy of his closet; without the smallest imputation on it, as an inspired production. It imports nothing as to the character of these papers, whether they were spoken first and afterwards reduced to writing, or first composed in writing and afterwards published; in either case, the industry of St. Luke in procuring them is the same.

Now, the acquisition of writing by a young Jewish woman, adds to proofs already hinted at, that Mary was in respectable circumstances, and had received a liberal education: for, we are not to attribute to those times, and to that country, the same diffusion of knowledge as obtains among ourselves: Writing and reading were rare among the men, much more rare among the women; and the possession of them, is, in my opinion, decisive against that poverty which some have unwittingly attached to the condition of our Lord, and his parents.

It remains to enquire in what language these papers, were composed: certainly not in Greek, as we now have them; but in the language then spoken in the country, the Syriac Hebrew: and they follow, no doubt, the rules of Hebrew poetry; *e. gr.* as to the parallelisms of verbal construction, which are a well known peculiarity of Hebrew composition. St. Luke, receiving these papers in Syriac, translated them into Greek: and thus justifies the assertion in his preface, that he derived his materials from those who were *eye witnesses of the matters*, as Mary was of Zechariah's prophecy, and the facts in his family; or were *personal participators in them*, as Mary was in what concerned herself. Of these very early events, St. Luke by his diligence obtained *perfect understanding*, and he inserts these documents, that Theophilus might know the certainty of those things in which he had already been instructed. That they are very happily adapted to this purpose, and have undeniable *internal* marks of authenticity, I hope to shew in another paper. St. Luke also mentions the return of Mary to *her own house*; which agrees with the notion of her situation in life, &c. being respectable.

I would only remark farther, here, that St. Luke is the writer who last mentions Mary the mother of Jesus, by name, Acts i. 14. and she is the only woman whom he thus distinguishes. On the whole, the inference is clear, that we are obliged to him for a *portrait* of this highly distinguished person; not indeed of her features, but of her character and conduct: and thus the tradition, of which no critic has ever been able to make any thing probable, may be explained with some appearance of consistency.

The characteristic precision of St. Luke appears also in minor particulars in these chapters; but, they are too evidently in the spirit of the author, to be overlooked or mistaken by a considerate mind.

No. DCXLI. COMPARISON OF THE SONG OF MARY WITH THE ODE OF ZECHARIAH.

WE are now prepared for examining the interesting papers of which copies have been preserved to us by translation, through the agency of St. Luke.

COPY OF MARY'S SONG.

My self doth magnify the Lord,
And my spirit rejoiceth in God my protector.
Indeed, he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaid,
And behold from henceforth all generations shall congratulate me.
Indeed, the Powerful hath wrought for me great things,
And Holy is his name.

Yea, His mercy is from generation to generation,
Towards those who fear him.

He hath exerted the strength of his arm;
He hath scattered the proud, in the imaginations of their hearts:

He hath dragged the potent from chairs of state:
But hath exalted the humble.

The hungry he hath filled with good things;
But the abounding he hath sent away empty.

He hath raised up Israel his son,
In remembrance of his mercy of ancient times,
As he predicted to our forefathers,
To Abraham, and to his posterity.

This Song bears great resemblance to that of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. But, it excels in delicacy and modesty.

I have endeavoured to render clear some of those Hebraic paralellisms and oppositions, which occur in this poem. It appears to be the simple effusion of a grateful, but not untaught mind. The sentiments it expresses are timid and covert; decided, but not alarming. The Roman Governor, or Herod himself, might have perused this ode, without finding in it, any thing *startling*; nor could either of them have perceived the slightest hint affecting the government, or state affairs. The individual is thankful, but the patriot is silent: the sentiments are general, as to gratitude; but nothing marks the writer as the direct descendant of David, and allied to the crown. The enemies of the state are not even alluded to. It is evidently the production of a private personage, little knowing and less known in the world. In short, it is perfectly agreeable to the state and character of the Blessed Virgin.

But, if such a modest, mild performance were shewn us as the production of a man of learning and zeal, a man accustomed to act a public part, and to appear before the people, a man who knew but too well all the vexations which the solemn services of his country experienced from arrogant conquerors, who set a military guard over the performance of worship in the temple itself, who occasionally practised indecencies, harshnesses, cruelties, slaughter, in the very precincts of the Holy Place, who interfered with the functions of magistracy, and thwarted the chiefs of the nation—Were we told that he, in the fullness of his joy, and in earnest expectation of great events, had composed this ode, we should pronounce it tame, insipid, spiritless, too feeble for such a character, whose thoughts *must* run in another channel, whose bolder verse *must* be marked by more pointed allusions, and *must* express something more analogous to his dignity and station. Let us see what marks of a different character may be discovered in the poem composed by Zechariah; and whether we can trace the style of the priest in his effusion.

COPY OF ZECHARIAH'S ODE.

Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel!
Surely he hath visited, and wrought redemption for his people:
And hath raised a horn of deliverance for us,
In the house of David, his servant:
As he spake by the mouth of his holy ones,
Who from ages *past* have been his prophets!
Deliverance from our enemies,
And from the hand of all who hate us.

To realise *to us* the mercy *stipulated* to our fathers,
 And to remember his holy engagement,
 The oath which he swore to Abraham our father,
 To give us, without fear, to serve him, *with sacred service*,
 (From the hands of our enemies, we being delivered,)
 In holiness and righteousness, before his face,
 All the days of our life!
 And thou too, my son, shalt be distinguished as a prophet of the Most High;
 For thou shalt precede before the face of the Lord, to prepare his way,
 To give the information of his deliverance to his people,
Evinc'd in the remission of their sins.
 Such is the tender mercy of our God, in which he hath visited us;
 Breaking like day in the east, from on high,
 To enlighten those sitting in darkness and the shadow of death;
 To guide our feet in the way of prosperity!

I think, Sir, a well-practised ear may perceive, notwithstanding the unspeakable disadvantage of a translation from a translation, that this Ode was composed in a rhythm and modulation different from the other: that the structure of the verse is not the same: but I am sure, that any one conversant with Hebrew poetry, will discern evident marks of a Hebrew original, in the phraseology and the sentiments.

No poet composing in pure Greek would use such expressions as—doing a thing by *the hand* of any one,—*to give us* to do a thing—to precede *before the face* of any one—or would speak of *raising up a horn*—or would put *peace* for all manner of prosperity; all which are in perfect accord with Hebrew usage.

It is evident, also, that the writer had extensive ideas of national advantage: nobody in reading this *at the time*, could have been ignorant *who* were alluded to as “enemies” of the Jews, or as those who “hated” them; or from what condition they were to be *redeemed*—or what is implied in *redemption*, *i. e.* a state of slavery, or at least of subordination. These are, unquestionably, views of a politician; of one who had *long* felt the galling chain of subjection. But this politician was a *priest*: accordingly, we find his foresight of all the deliverances he anticipates, terminates in the priestly service of God without fear, in the advancement of holiness and righteousness, and the remission of sins.

His son too, was not to be a captain, a warrior or a statesman. His father foresees that he would be a priest, *like himself*, such being his descent; and in that character he would announce remission of sins;—but, the father’s whole heart is rapt, and all his wishes center, in his son’s character as a prophet; that he might emulate holy men of old, and, like Samuel, for instance, that “his words might none of them fall to the ground.”

Can we not discover in the character of this paper sufficient reasons for keeping it *private*? May it not bear a doubt whether Zachariah’s opinion was *strongly* in favour of paying the tribute laid on his nation by Cæsar? Had the Roman Governor seen this effusion, he would have punished the writer by fine and imprisonment, at least.

Now, if we consider these strong internal marks of distinct yet appropriate character,—for to enter into a verbal discussion would, though satisfactory, be tedious,—if we consider how unlikely it is, that a forger of such papers would have maintained this character so correctly, throughout, as we see it is maintained,—if we consider how little advantage could attend the most complete forgery,—or what end it could answer,—we shall find every reason to conclude that ~~we~~

are obliged to St. Luke's spirit of research for our knowledge of these Poems, and that, had he not drawn his authorities from the very earliest date, these at least would have been lost in the current of ages.

If these poems be genuine, they contribute to establish the genuineness of the history with which they are connected. The anecdotes attaching to them are such as could only have been known, after the crucifixion, from Mary herself, Joseph being dead: and it is certain, that whoever gave St. Luke these papers, might very easily, give him farther information. The preservation of these papers, supposed to be by Mary, adds to the evidence of her being a considerate person, and pondering events in her heart. But the establishment of the early chapters of St. Luke, becomes an argument for the authenticity of the early chapters of St. Matthew. The most wonderful circumstance alluded to by St. Matthew occupies a considerable space in the narration of St. Luke: and if it be admitted as authentic in *this* Evangelist, no good reason can be given for rejecting it from *that* Evangelist; since we should willingly receive it on the credit of any one of the four. If then the history in St. Matthew *must* be exploded, let those who attempt it, set aside these events from St. Luke;— but, on close examination they will find, that there are in this writer's history such natural, and artless characters of authenticity, such internal demonstrations of genuineness, and integrity, that if those who peruse them even with suspicion, or aversion, have any tolerable portion of mental acumen, or critical skill, they will abandon the undertaking. I add too, that if their honesty be equal to what I wish it, they will with pleasure bear their testimony to the truth, and abandon errors which cannot but give pain and offence to their brethren.

A verbal examination of St. Luke's history would relieve it from many *false* ideas which are usually entertained of it; for which we are pretty much beholden to the very injudicious, unwarrantable, and unnatural representations adopted by the arts of Design.

No. DCXLIII. ST. LUKE'S EVIDENCE TO JESUS OF BETHLEHEM.

PERHAPS the reader will scarcely think it possible, that a question still more important than that of the character of the Virgin Mother, should rest on the chapters of Matthew and Luke which some would expell from the Gospels; yet such is the fact; and the following article, in continuation, will afford farther occasion of acknowledgments to St. Luke's industry, under Providence, for the Evidence he has collected, and preserved.

The people of the Jews expected, and with the utmost propriety, that *Messiah* should be, 1. of the tribe of Judah; 2. of the *posterity* of David; 3. in the *direct line* of that Prince; so that, had he enjoyed his own, as a descendant from David, his right to the throne itself was unquestionable: 4. *born in David's town*, Bethlehem of Judah. Comp. John vii. 42. Matth. xxii. 42. 45. Mark xii. 35. 37.

Now, it happens, that no other parts of the Gospels but these impugned chapters prove this fact; so that if we had not these chapters, whatever we might think of the person nicknamed "Jesus born at Nazareth," "Jesus the Nazarene," we could not prove that we received as the *Messiah*, Jesus born at Bethlehem; we could not prove that this person traced his descent from David, still less in the immediate line, and direct descent, from him; we could not even prove that he was of the tribe of Judah; all which particulars are *absolutely indispensable*, in determining the person of *Messiah*: because, we readily admit so much of Mr. S.'s principle, as to
accept

accept Jewish prophecy for one criterion, and a principal one too, of the truth of Christianity.

And then, Sir, what will follow?—That the Jews in rejecting Jesus born at Nazareth, as *Messiah*, were perfectly laudable: for he was defective in a main branch of that evidence which was necessary, indispensably necessary, to vindicate his claim to this title. Supposing him to be born at Nazareth, he was not of Judah, but of Galilee: he was not of Bethlehem, by the terms of the affirmation: he was not descended from David, or at least, there could be no proof of it: for how should the town records of Bethlehem concern themselves about a birth at Nazareth?—*Ergo*: he could not be *Messiah*.

It appears, that those who were unacquainted with the early history of Jesus, uniformly considered him as a Galilean: Matt. xxi. 11. Luke xxiii. 6. *et seq.* John vii. 41. They also unanimously described him as born at Nazareth, and this was a circumstance of such direct opposition to a justly founded characteristic mark of *Messiah*, that we cannot but approve of Saul's opposing with all his might the prevalence of Jesus born at Nazareth. Indeed, a prominent topic of discussion between those who favoured and those who opposed Jesus, was—the place of his birth: and, unless we can prove *negatively*, that he was not born at Nazareth, or in Galilee, as the Jews affirm; and *positively*, that he was born in Judah, and in Bethlehem, of which our only proof lies in these to be exploded chapters—we have no (complete) rational evidence to produce, nor any (decisive) reasons to justify us, in supporting our faith; and the whole of Christianity crumbles to atoms before our faces. Such is the importance of the introductory chapters to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke: so happily and so learnedly exploded by Mr. S.!"

.....

In these papers the reader will easily perceive a desire to counteract what the writer thought to be an error of no small magnitude. To dismantle the Gospels of any integral part, is to injure the Religion of which they are the basis, in proportion to the importance of that part; and, if the writer be not mistaken, a more vital part than what our attention has now been directed to, can hardly be selected. The Genealogy in Matthew was necessary to evince the descent of Jesus in the Royal line of David, and his right to the kingdom; a right, that he constantly refused to recognize during his life,—and, being asserted only after his decease, could give no just umbrage to the ruling powers. That was a *public* document. The Genealogy in Luke was a *private* document; and its insertion adds to the proofs of confidence placed by the Holy Mother, in St. Luke, since from her, certainly, he received it;—and, perhaps, she only could communicate it:—while his preserving it coincides with that accuracy which we have attributed to his character, manifested in his desire of obtaining *written* vouchers as his authorities.

The reader will judge, whether, on the whole, the evidence for the introduction of Luke into the society of the Apostles, at least as early as the Crucifixion, does not preponderate; if it does, the regular Biography of that historian might with propriety, begin about this period: and it will consequently, follow, that to deny him a personal acquaintance with some of the incidents he narrates, is to contract his testimony to a degree not warranted by just views of facts, or by correct inference from what is within our knowledge.

No. DCXLIII. INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF ST. LUKE.

WE have no design of enlarging on the Life of St. Luke; but, would point out a few incidental allusions to him, in their regular order. For, notwithstanding what appears so conspicuously, his habitual correctness and diligence, by placing this Evangelist in the number of the hundred and twenty, on whom the Holy Ghost fell, in a visible form, we insist on his unquestionable inspiration; and that in no ordinary degree. He was, in this respect, though no Apostle, yet equal to the Apostles; and there can be no doubt, but what the extraordinary gifts of the Sacred Spirit qualified him abundantly for the discharge of every duty to which Providence might call him; whether as a teacher, or as a writer. This might be insisted on at large; but, as it will not be controverted, we pass it, with this clear and express mention of it, in this place.

We suppose him—he being a Cyrenean—to have felt a special interest in the opposition raised by “those of the synagogue of the Libertini, of the *Cyrenians*, and the Alexandrians (all Africans) against Stephen; which ended in the death of that proto-martyr, Acts vi. 9.—And here perhaps, began his acquaintance with the “young man, whose name was Saul.”

We suppose him, also, to have sympathized much with those who were scattered abroad on the persecution that followed the death of Stephen; “some of whom were men of Cyprus and *Cyrene*, who went as far as Antioch,” Acts xi. 20. But, whether he quitted Jerusalem at this time, cannot be determined without reserve. If he did, —he was now a sufferer through the persecution of that very man, Saul, with whom he afterwards contracted the most confidential intimacy. Little did either of them foresee the events of a few years!

It might be proper, to notice the consequences attending his “more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the Apostles,” for which we have the authority of antiquity: but, as we know that he visited Jerusalem repeatedly in subsequent years, we may, possibly, find a more convenient opportunity of recalling this subject to the reader’s recollection.

No. DCXLIV. ST. LUKE AT ANTIOCH.

WHATEVER becomes of the conjecture that St. Luke was driven from Jerusalem by the persecution raging after the death of Stephen,—if he be the same with *Lucius*, we must direct our attention to Antioch, to which city some of the expelled *Cyreneans* travelled at this time. And here it may be proper to notice a remarkable variation in Beza’s ancient ms. now at Cambridge, Acts xi. 28. where, instead of *There stood up one of them* (the prophets, at Antioch, *i. e.* Agabus,) —we read “*and when we were gathered about him, he said*”—by which phraseology the writer evidently expresses his own presence, on this occasion. A. D. 43. It is, indeed, hazardous, as MICHAELIS well observes, to confide in the reading of a single ms. unsupported by any other: yet, it is difficult to account for this insertion, if the transcriber had no authority for it from the original before him. Moreover, if *Lucius* be Luke, we certainly find him among the teachers at Antioch, quickly after; *i. e.* in the following year, A. D. 44. and this we proceed to investigate. [Comp. No. DXLVI.]

No. DCXLV. WHETHER ST. LUKE WERE LUCIUS?

HERE it is proper to state "the most material objection" of MICHAELIS in his own words. "St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans from Corinth, and *Lucius* was with him at the time; for St. Paul sends a salutation from *Lucius*. Rom. xvi. 21. Consequently, if Lucas and *Lucius* be one and the same person, the author of the Acts of the Apostles must have been with St. Paul at Corinth, when the Epistle to the Romans was written. But, if we attend to the mode of writing in the Acts of the Apostles, we shall perceive that the author of this book was not at this time in Corinth. . . . He staid behind at Philippi—he remained at Philippi (probably with a view of edifying the newly founded community) during the whole of St. Paul's travels which are described in chaps. xvii. xviii. xix. But, in this interval St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans from Corinth: and therefore, the author of the Acts was not with St. Paul when he wrote that Epistle: consequently, he was not the same person with *Lucius*."

The consequence relied on by MICHAELIS in this extract does not seem to be strictly legitimate. Was it absolutely necessary that *Lucius* should be present with St. Paul in order to send his salutation to the Romans? I think not: and I desire that the following arguments on this question may be considered. *First*, it is not impossible that Luke might be with St. Paul at any given time or place, in the interval of Acts xvii.—xx. 5. though not mentioned in these chapters, for, we learn, that repeated acts of intercourse took place between the Philippians and the Apostle; as we read Phil. iv. 10—18. "Now ye, Philippians, know also that in the *beginning of the Gospel*, when *I departed from Macedonia*, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only: for even in Thessalonica *ye sent once and again* [frequently?] *unto my necessity*:"—"I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now, at the last, your care of me hath flourished again; wherein *ye were also careful*, but ye lacked opportunity;"—for, "Epaphroditus your messenger, *hath ministered to my wants*," chap. ii. 25—30. That similar communications reached the Apostle at Corinth, is clear, from 2 Cor. xi. 8. 9. "I robbed other churches, taking wages of them to do you service: and when I was present with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no man; for that which was lacking to me *the brethren which came from Macedonia* supplied." Philippi, we know, was a chief city of Macedonia; and if we allow the possibility that among *the brethren which came from Macedonia*, St. Luke might on some occasion, be one, the possibility that he might be present with St. Paul when he sent the salutation of *Lucius* to the Romans, follows of course.

But, *Secondly*, as we see that communications from Philippi to the Apostle were frequent, what should hinder Luke from desiring Paul to insert his salutation to the Romans, though the Evangelist were still at Philippi? He certainly was acquainted with Paul's intentions, generally, as the Apostle writes to the Romans, chap. i. 15. "Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that OFTENTIMES *I purposed to come to you*."—This OFTEN *purposing* was no secret: admit, that Luke might express his readiness to accompany Paul, and the reason of sending his salutation is evident. But, this argument may be drawn still closer: for, Luke was certainly informed of Paul's intention, *at this very time*. The Apostle writes to the Romans, chap. xv. 13. "Whosoever I take my journey into Spain, *I will come to you*, for, I trust *to see you in my journey*. . . But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints; for it hath

pleased *them of Macedonia*. . . to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. . . . When, therefore, I have performed this, *I will come by you* into Spain." Now, this is in other words, what Luke relates in the Acts, xix. 21. "Paul *purposed in spirit*, when he had *passed through Macedonia*. . to go to Jerusalem; saying, "After I have been there, I MUST ALSO SEE ROME." By whatever means Luke knew of Paul's *purpose in spirit* to see Rome, he might know of the Epistle in preparation to be sent to the Romans, which was, evidently, the precursor to the execution of that intention: and by means of the frequent remittances from Philippi to the Apostle, he might easily express his desire to be remembered to the Romans. Nor is there any thing unlikely in the thought, that Paul himself communicated to Luke what he *purposed in spirit*; and that it was in some friendly letter to him he should say, *I must also see Rome*.

A hint on the *Latinizing* of the Evangelist's name will conclude this Article. We have already seen this mutation take place at Antioch; and we ought to add, that, no doubt, much Latin was spoken in this city; it being the residence of the Roman President of Syria, the seat of tribunitial power, the metropolis of the East, &c. also, the station of considerable military forces. Nor would we forget, that though Antioch was a Greek city, yet a coin of Vespasian is somewhat distinguished by bearing the Latin name *Antiochia*, inscribed around a turretted female head, the genius of the city. It was struck under Mucianus, who lay there with an army, while Vespasian, lately proclaimed Emperor, was yet in Asia. It is, therefore, possible, that Simeon was really called *Niger*, by the Roman part of the population at Antioch, and by the Roman members of the church there, as Luke might be called *Lucius* by them: these Latin names the writer of the Acts retains, in compliment to his Latin readers in Italy, where he finished his history; and St. Paul adopts the name *Lucius* when writing to the same persons, in his Epistle to the Romans: although, when writing *from Rome* to Greeks he inserts this appellation in its Greek form, Lucas, as 2 Tim. iv. 11. *et. al.*

No. DCXLVI. ST. LUKE QUILS JERUSALEM.

WE have thought it possible that St. Luke removed from Jerusalem to Antioch. But, it deserves notice, that this historian does not introduce his account of those who first took that route till *after* he has recorded Peter's vindication of his conduct in the case of Cornelius, of which event he inserts two histories; the first in the order of narration, the second in the speech of Peter to the Jewish zealots. It seems to be a very natural inference, that Luke heard that speech; he then reverts to what had happened some time before; so far back as A. D. 34. although his history is, in fact, advanced to A. D. 41. or 42. If he be *Lucius* we find him at Antioch, A. D. 44. [perhaps A. D. 43.] but he does not relate any thing else concerning himself, till a change in his phraseology discloses his residence at Troas, A. D. 51. and his departure from thence; after which we obtain somewhat more distinct intimations of his motions and services.

No. DCXLVII. ST. LUKE AT TROAS.

AS the residence of St. Luke at Troas, and his joining company with St. Paul there, are universally admitted, no argument or evidence is necessary, on those points.

But, Troas appears to have been a city of much greater importance in the Gospel History than is usually understood; and, might we depend on certain authorities, we should find our obligations to it not inconsiderable. If we adopt the most early date assigned by MICHAELIS to the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians (which floats between A. D. 49. and A. D. 51.) we cannot do better than fix on Troas as the place where it was written; and if we give credit to a superscription found in the Syriac Version, and in several Greek mss. it becomes a question whether St. Luke's Gospel was not—in part, at least—composed at Troas. We have missed this Evangelist (Lucius) from Antioch nearly, or quite, seven years; and, as we know nothing of his proceedings during the interval, he may have resided at Troas long enough, and with leisure enough, for the purpose here attributed to him.

This leads to the question—which can only be glanced at, not discussed,—Whether we may not consider Troas as a kind of familiar *hospitium* to Christian friends,—used also as a kind of *writing station*, by those so inclined? Under the article PAPER, in the *Dictionary*, *Add.* the reader has seen a distinction proposed between the mss. left by St. Paul in the custody of Carpus, at Troas. They consisted, perhaps, of loose sheets, or small books of Papyrus, and of finished pieces fairly transcribed on Parchment. The first look very like the draughts of intended works; composed, probably, and copied off in the house of the good man with whom they were left. It is not generally thought that they had remained very long with him; yet, they might be the accumulations of several years, and of different visits. For, we find the Apostle Paul at Troas several times: as Acts xvi. 8. when Luke joined his company: again, chap. xx. 5, 6. where we read of disciples, and public worship; and again, 2 Cor. ii. 12. where he appointed to meet Titus; but from whence his anxious impatience drove him over into Macedonia. This city, therefore, was a well-known, and important *rendezvous* to the Apostle and his connections; and he speaks of it to Timothy, 2 Epist. iv. 13. in a manner perfectly agreeable to this conception of it.

What little information is derivable from this evidence—and it is but little—favours the notion that St. Luke might write at Troas; and with this agrees the date assigned to his writing, in the same superscriptions, “the fifteenth year after Christ's Ascension;” which was not long before St. Paul arrived here, and joined the Evangelist.

But, it must be confessed 1. that the superscriptions to the Holy Books are no part of the original work; and are not sufficiently authentic or judicious to justify our confidence. 2. That this superscription is embarrassed by describing the city where St. Luke wrote as *Alexandria*, to which it adds the epithet “*great*,” which has usually been understood to apply only to Alexandria in Egypt. Now St. Luke could not be at Alexandria in Egypt, in the “fifteenth year after the Ascension,” because we know from himself that he was at Troas: Moreover, we know from authentic sources that Troas was called *Alexandria*, as may be seen under its Article in the *Dictionary*; and for which its history will assign the reason.

Troas was, or affected to be, the representative of ancient Troy, a city built by no less divinities than Apollo and Neptune; says Coluthus, *Rape of Helen*, ver. 272.

Et Troice Cynthus auctor. Georg. lib. iii. 36.

When Alexander the Great, after his victory at the Granicus, visited the scenes of actions rendered famous by the Iliad of Homer, he ran around the tomb of Achilles, in honour of that hero, and offered sacrifice to his manes, as to a deity. He also

ordered the city of Troas, or new Troy, to be built, and from him it was called *Alexandria*. It rivalled the Egyptian *Alexandria*, therefore, in the dignity of its founder; it took precedence in point of priority; as successor of old Troy, it boasted an origin from divinities; to which the Egyptian city could oppose no pretensions; --and the new town was placed in its permanent situation, by the interposition of an oracle, says Strabo. Troas was made a colony by Augustus; whence it took the name of *Augusta*. It was also free from tribute; Strabo, *lib.* xiii. It was acknowledged by the Romans (who derived their origin from Troy, by means of Eneas) as their mother by consanguinity; and when a body of Roman troops marching against Antiochus the Great, visited this country, mutual gratulations passed between the Ilians (Trojans) and the Romans: the joy was universal, and they considered each other as a parent and children meeting together after a long interval of separation, Justin, *lib.* xxxi. *cap.* 8. On the same account, Julius Cæsar had, long before, favoured Troas with various privileges and immunities. It stood the first of those Asiatic cities which had the same rights as cities of Italy: they were but three, *Troas*, *Berytus*, and *Dyrrhachium*. And every child of a mother native of the Troad, was free of Rome. Dio. *lib.* vi. Troas is called *Alexandria* by Pliny, and by Polybius, *lib.* v. Caracalla affected to call himself the "Eastern Alexander Augustus," says Dio. *lib.* lxxviii. He also, visited the tumulus of Achilles; and he thought, forsooth, that the soul of Alexander animated his body; having lived too short a life, formerly. Xiphilin. p. 428. After this time we find on the medals of Troas the inscription COL. ALEX. AVG. TRO. *Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troas*: and in some medals it rather omits the name *Troas* than that of *Alexandria*; as in Vaillant. *De Colon.* vol. ii. p. 45. p. 91. *et al.* where we have an inscription COL. AVR. ANTONIANA ALEX. In short, Troas is called by Strabo, *lib.* xiii. *one of our truly* NOBLE CITIES. ἑστὶ τῶν ἐλλογίσμων πόλεων, and this in reference to the most honoured of the Roman Empire.

The reader will now judge whether the Egyptian *Alexandria* was solely entitled to the appellation "great" as its distinction: and whether there may not be somewhat more than a possibility that *Alexandria Troas* at some period, and while in its flourishing state, assumed prerogatives which might more than vie with those of the Egyptian city; and among them this title.

However that might be --to return to our immediate subject --we can by no means admit the composition, or the publication, of the Gospel by St. Luke at Alexandria in Egypt; and if it were composed at any place known by this name, it was at *Alexandria Troas*: the ruins of which city, continue to be objects of wonder to our intelligent travellers, though continually carried off by the Turks; and employed in constructions of various kinds during several ages.

Says Dr. E. D. CLARKE, "The remains of Alexandria Troas have long served as a kind of quarry, whither not only Turks, but also their predecessors, during several centuries, repaired, whenever they required materials for ornamental architecture, or stones for the ordinary purposes of building. Long before the extinction of the Greek empire, the magnificent buildings of this city began to contribute monuments of ancient splendor towards the public structures of Constantinople: and, at present, there is scarcely a mosque in the country that does not bear testimony to its dilapidation, by some costly token of jasper, marble, porphyry, or granite, derived from this wealthy magazine. After all that has been removed, it is truly wonderful so much should remain. The ruins of the place, although confused, are yet considerable. The first object, appearing in the approach toward the city from Chemalé, is the

aqueduct of Herodes Atticus, formed of enormous blocks of hewn stone. The walls of the city exhibit the same gigantic style of masonry. Part of one of the gates still appears, on the eastern side, whose remains have been mistaken for those of a temple: they consist of two round towers, with square basements, supporting pedestals for statues. Immediately after passing this entrance, and coming within the district once occupied by the city, may be observed the ruins of baths, shewing the reticulated work of the Romans upon the stucco of their walls. Broken marble *Soroi* lie about, of such prodigious size, that their fragments serve as rocks among the Valany oaks covering the soil. But, in all that now exists of this devoted city, there is nothing so conspicuous as the edifice vulgarly termed by mariners *the Palace of Priam*; this building appears from a considerable distance at sea. In front it has three noble arches, and behind there are many others. . . Large blocks of sculptured marble, appear above and on each side of the arches in front; and the whole structure was once coated over with marble, or plates of metal." [The Dr. continues the description of this magnificent building through nearly two pages: He then says,] "On the south side of this building, and very near it, we found the remains of a circular edifice, resembling those structures at Baia, in Campania, now called temples but primarily baths. . . Farther on, the ruins of a small oblong temple, and afterwards another of considerable size, whose foundation remained unbroken. Then, turning towards the west, we came to the substruction of a very large building, but could comprehend nothing of its former history. Again, pursuing a south-western course, we arrived at the immense theatre of the city, still in a state of considerable perfection Lower down, towards the port, were marble *Soroi*, and other antiquities of less importance."

At some small distance our learned traveller found an inscription, as follows,

SPLENDIDISSIMVS
POPVLVS
COL. AVG. TROADENS, &c.

Whether this *Splendidissimus Populus* would not compete the title "*great*," with any other city, must be left to the opinion of the reader.

It remains, that we notice the subscription to the Arabic version of St. Luke's Gospel, published by Erpenius, which says, "He wrote it in a Macedonian city, twenty-two years after Christ's ascension, and in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Claudius." James Hase endeavoured to shew that by a "Macedonian city," was intended Alexandria in Egypt; but, Alexandria Troas was equally a Macedonian city: on which that writer had not duly reflected. The date, however, here assigned, agrees with St. Luke's residence in Philippi, which certainly was a Macedonian city;—and nothing hinders the supposition that here the Evangelist might distribute many copies of a work previously composed. [in modern language, *an Edition*.]

After all, MICHALLIS seems to favour the opinion that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Cesarea, during the imprisonment of Paul in that city: the thought is ingenious; but, has no historic evidence to support it. It is likely, as LARDNER observes, that the Gospel was the work of years;—*that* certainly is true of the Acts:—and wherever the writer distributed many copies, those who received them through several hands would infer their *original* publication in that place; whether correctly, or not.

As to the "Acts of the Apostles" no doubt can be admitted of its composition in Italy; and the close of it bears marks of haste; for the writer dismisses in two lines, the events of two years, during which many things worthy of record occurred, to which, in the early part of his journal, he would have allowed several chapters.

No. DCXLVIII. ST. LUKE'S RESPECTABILITY EVINCED.

BUT, we have not quite done with St. Luke, at Troas. I am not pleased with the inferiority ascribed to him by writers who make him merely an attendant on St. Paul, in his travels. His language is not consistent with that opinion. He says, "A vision appeared to Paul -and immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering—*συμβιβάζοντες*—collecting the sentiments of the company, comparing and uniting them, in order to obtain a just inference—that the Lord had called us to preach the Gospel in Macedonia." The writer does not say, nor does he mean—"Paul determined, and we obeyed:" no: he esteems himself equally entitled to give his opinion, and equally called to this expedition. Again, at Philippi—"On the Sabbath-day, *we* sat down and spoke to the women." And when Lydia was baptized with her family, she besought us, saying, If *ye* have judged—after a proper examination and consultation together—that I should become a faithful to the Lord—come into my house, and abide there: and she constrained us." St. Luke means to inform his readers, that *he* sat down and spoke to the women—and, that *he* gave an opinion on the conduct proper to be observed towards Lydia.

The voyage from Philippi to Judea is, of course, expressed in the plural, *we* and *us*. And when the company was arrived at Jerusalem, says St. Luke, "Paul went in *with us* to James and the elders:"—the equality is perfect: or, if any thing, Paul follows his company.

We conclude by observing St. Paul's respectful mention of St. Luke: In writing to their common friend, Philemon, he calls him—not his attendant, but his *fellow-labourer*, verse 24. In Col. iv. 14. he describes him as Luke the *beloved Physician*;—*beloved generally*, both by you, and by me. In writing to Timothy, 2 Epist. iv. 11. he mentions the various places to which he had sent his attendants—Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia, Tychicus to Ephesus—but Luke he had not sent any where. He was still in his company—and only he:—partly, no doubt, from respect to his great age; and still more from deference to his character. The hypothesis gathers strength as we proceed. We have traced the Evangelist under the names of Lucius and Luke, from Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Troas and Philippi; again from Philippi to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Malta, and to Rome. We have found him a learned, confidential, and considerate man, advanced in years, endowed with the Holy Ghost, from on high, an inspired teacher, a valuable companion and counsellor of the apostle Paul, a correct, judicious and spirited writer, a man of research, and of no less fortitude than composure. We now part with him, at the conclusion of his history, on his last remove into Achaia; where he soon after died, at the great age of eighty-four.

No. DCXLIX. ON THE QUESTION, HOW MAY THE VERBAL CONFORMITY OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS BE ACCOUNTED FOR?

[Compare the Article GOSPEL, in the *Dictionary: Addition*.]

AS we are about to quit the Evangelists, it may be proper to submit a few conclusions to which we are led by the arguments adduced. The first is, that if the evangelist John be allowed to retouch and enlarge his performance, the same privilege must be granted to the evangelist Matthew. That Matthew's Gospel was published

published at different periods, is argued by Benson, on the same authorities of ancient writers, as the reader has seen in No. DCI. But, that author did not enquire whether every publication of this performance were, verbally and literally, the same as the first. It did not occur to him to account for the strictly verbal Conformity of great portions of the first three Evangelists, by admitting the use of some document common to all so far as this conformity extends.—This, however, is now a prevailing opinion among the judicious: who, also, account for the differences among the first three Evangelists, by supposing that documents, obtained from other quarters, became their authorities for these insertions. Moreover, it is thought that the more concise account drawn up by St. Matthew, in the first instance, might be this common document; which that Evangelist might afterwards revise, remodel, and improve, till it assumed the form in which we now possess it.

The second conclusion is, that since the Epistles of John and of James were addressed to the Hebrew nation, and that very early, it was but congruous that an historical document should also be addressed to that people without delay; it being no less necessary that they should become acquainted with the life of the Person claiming their confidence and obedience, than with his doctrine. It may, indeed, be thought, that proofs of his descent from David and from Abraham, were evidence more on a level with the understandings, the expectations, the prejudices, and the manner of arguing, of the more numerous classes of the Hebrews, than a system of doctrines and duties deduced from his authority. It may be thought, also, that this evidence should naturally take precedence of such a system: and that the exhortations of John to *continue* to abide in a profession already made, are not inconsistent with that natural precedence. To meet these requisitions on the part of the Jewish people—of the commonalty—the nation, at large, neither of the other Gospels makes any pretence; nor has any such pretence ever been made for either of them: this purpose has been attributed to St. Matthew's Gospel, and to that only.

Thirdly, as every thing leads to the conclusion that St. Matthew's Gospel was primarily composed in the Syriac language, we may reverse the arguments of Lardner, and adduce this as evidence of its early date: for it can hardly be supposed that immediately prior to the destruction of Jerusalem such a composition should be addressed to the Hebrews in Syriac, or would meet their attention. Their language with their polity was about to be annulled. Their anxiety was strongly directed to indications of approaching national events; of which they were forewarned by the partizans of the new sect, as well as convinced by daily observation at home, and information from abroad. The Gospel proposed to their consideration suited much better a time of tranquillity, when they might reflect, examine and enquire, without hurry or perturbation. Nor should it be overlooked, that whoever was excited by the history to take an interest in this new dispensation, by directing his attention when at Jerusalem, to existing evidence, he might see for himself many corroborations of facts recorded in the work he had examined. Inasmuch, then, as the Gospel was directed to be first preached at Jerusalem, it is likely it should be first offered by the medium of writing to the inhabitants of that city, and to their compatriots, generally, throughout Judea.

Fourthly. But, when the Gospel was introduced among the Gentiles, it would doubtless, be expedient that these should be addressed in a language they understood, and should learn the history of the person recommended to them as Messiah, from documents open to their free perusal, in their own language. To write treatises in

Syriac,—to read in public worship written Syriac treatises to Greek assemblies, were equally unprofitable and ridiculous: the instructor and the instructed could have been neither more nor less than “barbarians” to each other.

We presume, therefore, on the probability that St. Luke, if he departed for Antioch about A. D. 41. might take with him that tract of St. Matthew’s composition, the counterpart of which (perhaps coeval with the original) was then obtainable in Greek: this document he afterwards used, knowing its authority and authenticity, in the composition of his own Gospel. Hence the verbal conformity between the two writers, in many places: but not throughout; because Luke obtained other documents, as Matthew also augmented (and, probably, newly arranged) his first performance, by additional insertions. If it be asked, by what means Luke obtained these papers, and was assured of their correctness, we must recall to the reader’s recollection his intimacy with the Virgin Mary, whose confidence it is evident he enjoyed; also, his “more than a slight acquaintance,” as ancient writers acknowledge, with the Apostle John, in whose house the Holy Mother lived. Either of these “witnesses and participators” in the leading facts could easily direct his choice of documents, could point out those which they knew to be trust-worthy, and could correct, or complete, such as were imperfect, though true in the main. Has it ever been enquired whether John’s Gospel, which is confessedly supplementary, does not form a supplement to Luke’s, especially?

Lastly, to account for the verbal Conformities between Mark and the other Evangelists, we may say, that he, [unless any should rather refer this to Peter] when he quitted Jerusalem, took with him the same Greek copy of Matthew, as was then obtainable in that city: that the other parts of his Gospel were derived from the personal information, the public preaching, or the private documents of Peter; according to the report of those Christian writers who, in the earliest ages, had the best means of information.

No. DCL.

CONJECTURES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. PAUL.

THE Arts of Design have received a severe censure on the subject of errors transmitted by tradition from age to age, in representing Bible subjects: nevertheless, we must do them the justice to acknowledge that they sometimes preserve the remembrance of particulars not otherwise obvious. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the most ancient representations of Lazarus, who was raised to life by our Lord: some of them may be as early as the fourth, or possibly, of the third century, and from thence downwards; but all of them agree in representing that beloved of Jesus as a youth, or as a child. It is likely he was not a mere child; however, nothing in the history forbids our considering him as a youth. And this accords correctly with the other instances of resurrection at the command of Christ. The daughter of Jairus was a young person; the son of the widow of Nain, was a young person: Lazarus too, was young. Hence we may derive a more complete answer to the objections of WOOLSTON against these miracles, than Dr. LARDNER was aware of. That learned and candid critic considered Lazarus as a man grown: but the infidel’s objection is more effectually confuted by observing, that in restoring to afflicted parents or friends the hope, the support, the dependance of their family,—in sympathizing with the sorrows of those deprived *not according to the course of nature*, the miraculous power manifested was equal, while the benefit was unspeakably greater, than the

restoration of aged persons would have been. These, however important to society by station (magistrates. &c. as Woolston demands) would have already lived their time out; their decease was an event to be expected: with their already exhausted constitutions, they could have been restored for a very few years, at the utmost: whereas, the young might live many years, (it is said, Lazarus lived *thirty years*) to bear testimony to the compassionate exertion of an authority paramount to death itself—to furnish evidence of an interposition, certainly superior to the powers of humanity. The usual objection of the Jews, and others, that we hear of no great men recalled to life, is true; but it is contemptible. Would they have had Herod Agrippa, or Caiaphas, reinstated in their stations? In such cases, the injury had infinitely exceeded the benefit. Those potentates were no subjects for the exercise of Messiah's compassion.

But, the main purpose of the present article is, to elucidate, if sufficiently fortunate, certain particulars appertaining to the history of the early part of the Life of St. Paul. It is possible, that the reader, equally with myself, has wondered on what authority artists of every description always represent Saul at the time of his conversion, dressed in a *Roman military habit*. It appears that he was by family descent a Jew; he was educated for a Jewish Rabbi; he received his commission from the Jewish chief priests:—Why, then, a military dress, and that dress, Roman?

Before we condemn this traditionary mode of representation, it is but fair to investigate what may be said in its favour; and this the rather, as among the numerous “Lives of St. Paul,” which have engaged the labour of the learned, none has taken this method of supplying the deficiencies which all acknowledge in our accounts of his Early Life.

Saul is introduced to us, Acts vii. 58. under the very ambiguous phrase of a *young man*;—“the witnesses against Stephen laid down their clothes at the feet of a *young man* whose name was Saul.” No stronger proof of this ambiguity is necessary, than the passage Mark xiv. 51. where we read,—“and there followed Jesus a certain *young man*—νεανίσκος—having a linen cloth cast about his naked body;—and the *young men*—νεανίσκοι—laid hold on him. And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.” It is evident, that the first term may denote a man young in years; but the second term, though identically the same, denotes, say the critics, *Roman soldiers*. That it denotes men, in a certain sense, military, must be granted; the “great multitude with swords and staves” of verse 43: which St. John describes as “a *band*—σπεῖραν—of men and officers, from the chief priests and Pharisees,” chap. xviii. 3. but, whether they were *Roman soldiers* is not clear: and we know, that the regular term, used by the Evangelists, for *Roman soldiers*, is στρατιῶται—Matth. xxvii. 27. Mark xv. 16. John xix. 2. It may be thought, therefore, that this term *young men* denotes a military force raised and embodied under the authority of the Jewish government, rather, than properly, Roman, whether legionary soldiers or others. And this conjecture is confirmed by the use of the term in the O. T. as 2 Sam. ii. 14. “let the *young men* arise and play before us:” it is clear that these *young men* were Hebrew soldiers. The LXX. use the term in this sense, here and elsewhere, as Josh. ii. 1. Isaiah xiii. 18. &c. Now, supposing, Saul were at this time in any office of a military nature, in the service of the heads of his nation, it would afford a glimpse of authority for his wearing a military habit on the expedition to Damascus.

“And Saul was *consenting* to his death;”—“by guarding the clothes of those who stoned Stephen,” says Bp. PEARCE; but I doubt much whether this reaches the full

intention of the word used; and the rather, because Paul makes a distinction between these actions,' chap. xxii. 20. "I also was (1) standing by, and (2) consenting to his death, and (3) kept the raiment of those who slew him" He adds a fourth particular, chap. xxvi. 10. "I gave my *voice* against [many martyrs.]"—It should be "I gave my *vote* against them;" I *black-balled* them; I marked them for death. Commentators have been extremely reluctant to give the word ψῆφον its accurate import, in this place; because, they could not conceive by what means a man young in years could possess a *vote* on life and death: but the difficulty vanishes, if we admit the possibility, that, in some military capacity Saul was standing by—ἰφιστάς—(a military term?); that, as head of some band he was consenting—συνευδοκῶν—that, in this character, the raiment of Stephen's murderers was laid down at his feet; and that as an officer he might *rote* on a subject in which he was to be a principal. It may deserve consideration, also, whether we have not a military term where we next meet with our hero. "As for Saul, he made *havock*—ἐλυμαίνετο—of the Church;"—the word is happily chosen by our translators: *havock* is a term in our ancient English military laws: the use of it was forbid among the soldiery, by the army regulations of those days.—

So in the *Ordinances des Batailles*, in the 9th year of Richard II. *Art.* 10. "Item, que nul soit si hardi de crier *havoick* sur peine d'avoir la teste coupée." This rashness was properly punished in a soldier; *havock* being the cry of mutual encouragement to general massacre, unlimited slaughter,—that no quarter would be given, &c. A tract on "*The Office of the Constable and Mareshall in the Tyme of Warre*," contained in the Black Book of the Admiralty, has this passage, "Also, that no man be so hardy to crye *Havok* upon peyne that he that is begyuner shall be deede therefore: & the remanent that doo the same or follow, shall lose their horse and harnes: . . . and his body in prison at the king's will." And this appears to answer well to the original term, which is taken from the ravages committed by a troop of wild beasts, wolves, lions, &c. falling on a flock of sheep: remorseless ravages! Comp. Eccus. xxviii. 27. But, some think it was originally a hunting-term: importing the letting loose a pack of hounds. [See more on this in a following Article.] Shakespeare combines both senses:

Cry *Havock*, and let slip the dogs of war.

With equal accuracy the sacred historian expresses the violence of this man's character: "And Saul yet breathing out threatnings and *slaughter*"—properly, *slaughter by the sword*—or weapons;—what might in modern language be called "military execution:" the phraseology depicts forcibly the ardour of a headstrong military bravo.

No. DCLI. OF THE SPUR, IN REFERENCE TO A HORSE.

PASSING on from these slight hints, we proceed to consider another phrase, which may prove analogous to those already noticed. Says the heavenly vision to the infuriated persecutor, "It is hard for thee to kick against the *pricks*"—(κέντρα, plural.) This word has usually been taken to signify an *ox-goad*, the instrument with which an ox when at plough was urged, or pricked; and against which he kicked. But, in truth, it signifies the *Spurs* used by a rider to push his horse's exertion to the utmost: it is a cavalry term: and every body must have seen young horses under the process of breaking-in, kick, when pricked by the Spur of the rider. So Suidas says, κέντρον, is τὰ τῶν ἵππων πλῆκτρα, a spur—that with which horses are struck:" and

Phavorinus, κέντρον λέγεται, ὃ σπέρχονται ἵπποι. that which stimulates horses they call *Kentron*, a Spur." So Xenophon, in his Treatise on Horsemanship, ii. 6. calls κεντριζειν, to stimulate, to *spur up* a horse, in order to put him on his paces, vigorously. And if any doubt whether *Spurs* were worn by cavalry soldiers, anciently, the same writer will satisfy them. *Cyrop. lib. vii. 1. 29.* Seeing the movements of Cyrus at the head of his troops—"Abradatas then delayed no longer; but, crying out vehemently, "Follow me, my friends!" he rushed on without sparing his horses [*i. e.* his own horse, and the horses of his troops] in any sort, but *with the spur* fetched a great deal of blood from them:" οὐδεν φειδόμενος τῶν ἵππων, ἀλλὰ ἐξαιμάτων κατὰ πολὺ τῷ κέντρῳ. It is evident, then, that *Spurs* were part of a horseman's accoutrements, customary among the Persians, and, no doubt, among the Greeks. We therefore dismiss this part of the present Article, with observing, that the ox-goad was properly called βούκεντρον; as by the LXX. Judges iii. 31. "Shamgar slew six hundred Philistines with an *ox-goad*." Eccles. xii. 11. "The words of the wise are as *goads*—βουκεντρα, *ox-goads*:"—but this distinction is sometimes neglected.

This slight investigation may afford a partial, if not a satisfactory, sanction, to the custom of representing Saul as falling, or fallen, from a horse, in the memorable moment of his journey to Damascus. The text, indeed, gives no other countenance to this supposition; but tradition might go farther: while, at the same time, this distinction contributes to mark the future Apostle, as leader and principal on that vindictive expedition.

It may be worth while to direct a moment's inspection to the use of the proverb quoted in the History of Saul's miraculous conversion. We have supposed that the *Spurs* indicated were those of a horseman; and that the mention of resistance—kicking, included an allusion to the action of a high mettled steed, new to discipline.

We now suppose, farther, that this proverb is directed as advice (generally, perhaps always) from the superior power to the inferior; which a few instances may explain.

Pindar in his Second Pythian Ode, has this passage:

Ποτε κέντρον δε τοι
Λακτιζιμεν. τελεθει
Ολισθηρος οϊμος. line 173.

But against the Spur [the goad, or the prick,]
To kick furiously
Is dangerous.

"That is," says the Scholiast, "We must be careful not to fight against God, we being only men."

Æschylus in *Agamemnon*, verse 1620. makes the criminal Ægisthus say to one of the chorus, who remonstrates against his crime,

Thou shalt be taught, old man, what at thy age
Is a hard lesson, prudence——
Against the Spurs kick not, lest thou be hurt.

Προς κεντρα μη λακτιζε, μη πησας μογης.

The mention of κεντρα, in the plural, suits a metaphor drawn from horsemanship; the rider having a Spur on each leg: but, *two* goads were not used to prick forward an ox at plough. This line is feebly rendered in Francklin's edition,

Contend not with the strong; there's danger in it.

The metaphor is lost; though the sense of the passage is retained.

The proverb is also used by Euripides, *Bacch.* 793. where he makes the god Bacchus (in disguise, as a mortal) say,

Θύοιμ' αν' αὐτῷ μαλλον, ἢ θυμούμενος
Προς κέντρα λακτιζοιμι θνητός, ὦν, Θεω.

Much rather I to him would sacrifice, than in my wrath
Against the Spurs would kick;—frail mortal I; but he a God.

The *Spurs* are here also in the plural.

If then, the use of this proverb is attributed to princes, to potentates, and to deities, by the classic writers, if it was thought proper as advice from superiors to inferiors, the adoption of it by a celestial personage, in the N. T. is not only vindicable but appropriate: and, if it were derived from observations made on cavalry, in a military sense, the application of it to Saul was singularly expressive and forcible. It comprized much meaning in a few words, and required no elucidation to him; as it does to modern times.

We conclude, by observing, that Bochart supposed this proverb to have originated among the Hebrews, and he traces it in the expression Deut. xxxii. 15. "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked against God." A passage, which is, at least, as suitable to the nature of a horse as to that of a beeve: and, if this saying were current among the Jews in the days of Saul, it could not but be familiar to a man "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel."

No. DCLII. THE ENQUIRY CONTINUED; FROM ST. PAUL'S WRITINGS.

BUT, it may be said, "If this Apostle had occupied any military station in his early days, we should trace in his subsequent writings, which are numerous, such incidental references to military matters, as would mark that fact." And so we do: there are many passages in Paul's Epistles which must of necessity be understood with such reference, and cannot be adequately understood without it. Of these some are more open; and others are more covert: some are more minute, others are more general.

Among the passages more openly marking the acquaintance of the writer with military affairs, we must reckon Eph. vi. 10—18. "Finally, my brethren, be STRONG in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the WHOLE ARMOUR—τὴν πανοπλίαν—of God, that ye may be able to stand against the WILES—μυθοδείας—of the devil. For we WRESTLE [the contest, ἡ παλη, is] not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the WHOLE ARMOUR—τὴν πανοπλίαν—of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the EVIL DAY, [the day of laborious conflict—τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονηρᾷ,] and having done all, to stand. Στῆτε, STAND therefore, having your loins—περιζωσάμενοι—GIRT ABOUT with truth, and having on the—θώρακα—BREAST PLATE of righteousness; and your feet shod with the PREPARATION—ἑτοιμασία—of the Gospel [of peace. Above all—ἐπὶ πᾶσιν—taking the SHIELD—τὸν θυρεόν—of Faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the FIERY DARTS—τὰ βέλη πεπυρωμένα—of the wicked. And take the HELMET—τὴν περικεφαλαίαν of Salvation, and the SWORD—μάχαιραν—of the Spirit, (which is the Word of God.) Praying always with all prayer, and supplication in the spirit, and WATCHING thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints.—And for me."——

Here we have at least twelve military terms: 1. Stand, 2. the whole armour, or *panoply*, 3 the wiles, in modern language, *les ruses de guerre*, of the adversary; 4. wrestle, rather *contest*, 5. the evil day, 6. the loins girt about, girdled, 7. the breast-plate, or *thorax*, 8. the feet shod with suitable covering, 9. the shield, 10. the fiery darts, 11. the helmet, 12. the sword. To which might be added supplication, and persevering vigilance. Each of these may demand a few words. But we should previously remark, that the whole of this armour is defensive: the Apostle gives his Christian soldier neither dart, nor javelin, nor spear, nor bow and arrows, nor even a sling and a stone. He does not wish him to *attack* his foes; and the sword itself, though usually held to be a weapon of offence, is here defensive. He bids him *stand*; he does not say, *advance*: and Dr. MACKNIGHT seems to be correct in his view of the phrase, verse 12. "and THEY—the enemies—having fully wrought every thing, to *stand*."

This observation divides the passage into two parts: 1. the attempts, assaults, or attacks of the enemy; principally shewn in his manœuvres, his wiles, devices, or stratagems, and his fiery darts, 2. the resistance of the soldier, his firmness, his intrepidity, in short, his immobility.

On the term "wiles," it is sufficient to say that it is the same as is rendered, chap. iv. 14. "cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive." The phraseology is equally expressive and definitive: we have only to attach to it, by way of completely suiting it to the passage before us, the idea of an ambuscade, or *military* deception.

The "fiery darts," were, strictly speaking, darts bound about with tow, or with cotton, or imbued with some kind of composition proper for retaining fire, (as turpentine) or not unlike the artillery-match of modern warfare; or rather perhaps, may be illustrated by the "rocket-men" of Indian armies, which is an establishment of consequence among them; and was much encouraged by Tippoo Saib, in his contest with Lord Cornwallis. But, the word is general, and implies missile weapons of all kinds, whether thrown by the hand [as, hand grenades were] or shot from a bow, as arrows were; or by any other projectile force. We have several instances of torches employed to set fire to houses, or to be thrown into forts, among the Roman soldiers in the Antonine pillar, &c.

We come now to the "Shield" by which the fiery darts should be quenched. And here it is necessary to observe, that shields were of different kinds. The *aspis* was round, or oval; the Apostle however, does not name this kind, but selects the *thureos*. When, therefore, commentators, as Dr. MACKNIGHT *in loc.* speak of "Soldiers as having their shields, which they turn every way, for the defence of the whole body," they describe the *aspis* not the *thureos*, and consequently they mistake the writer's meaning. The difference has been pointed out by various critics. (See Bos, *Antiq. Gr. lib.* iii. cap. 2. with Leisner's note, 10. and the authors there referred to; also Schleusner, Art. Θυρεός.) We the rather observe this, because the Soldier No. 2. in our Plate of "Armour" carries the *aspis*, not the *thureos*, which most nearly resembled the shield borne by the attendant on Goliath, No. 1. Various forms of shields may be seen on the PLATE, MEDALS OF JUDEA. In No. 9. the figure of Victory is writing on a round shield; in No. 5. she is writing on an oval shield; in No. 6. the trophy displays two different forms of shields; at the foot of the trophy in No. 9. is another form. Comp. GEBAL, No. 2.

But, our concern at present is with the *thureos*. The description of this we shall take from Montfaucon, *Antiq. Illust. tom.* iv. cap. 3. "Those shields which the

Greeks called *sacos* and *thureos*, and which the Latins called *scutum*, were sometimes of extravagant dimensions: they covered a man from the shoulders to his feet. M. Boivin . . . concludes that the shield of Achilles (described by Homer with twelve divisions, and in each a picturesque subject, &c. &c.) was four feet and a half in diameter; for the shields of those days defended the whole man, except the head; as is easily seen in several places in Homer.—[Hence they were called *ανδρομηκεας*, “as high as the human stature;” and *ποδηνεκεας*, “reaching down to the feet.” Comp. Plut. in *Æmilia*.]—A shield of four feet and a half in diameter would certainly protect a warrior from blows levelled against him; but how he could give blows to the enemy, is difficult to conceive; unless the shields were bent—curved—so as to surround the body, as those of the Roman legionaries were.”

Polybius allows to the *scutum* a length of four feet; which accounts for a passage in Livy, *lib.* xliv. where we read of soldiers who stood on guard, as sometimes sleeping with their heads on their shields, having fixed the other part of the shield on the earth.

We are now prepared to understand the technical correctness of the Apostle, who, certainly, well understood his subject, and has chosen, like a practical man, this kind of shield for the purpose of protection, with great judgment. But, hence we learn at the same time, that the words in our public version, “*Above all*, taking the shield of faith,” are peculiarly unhappy, as the ambiguity of the term *above* not infrequently betrays the incautious into perversion of the text; nor is the “*over all*” of Dr. MACKNIGHT much better. Perhaps, our term *about* might approach near to the import of *ἐπι*, in this place; for, although ambiguous, as preposition and adverb, yet it includes the notion of encompassing, encircling;—not entirely, but, more or less; which certainly denotes *nearness* to a person, or thing—“*About the whole* taking, carrying, or placing, the *tall* Shield of Faith.” For this signification of *ἐπι*, Comp. Matth. xxi. 19. Acts x. 17. Luke xxii. 40. *et. al.*

On the properties of this shield as resisting and “quenching the fiery darts of the wicked one,” we need say little: being composed of some light wood, or perhaps of the hide of some animal, and covered with brass or iron, no dart could penetrate it, nor could it be set on fire.

“The evil day” is, undoubtedly, a literal rendering of the original term; but, in this place it manifestly denotes the day of conflict, the day when the assaults of the enemy would most especially need to be repelled: it is not “evil days” in the plural, but “the evil day,” in the singular. Without entering into the distinction which depends on the place of the accent, between *πόνηρος*, which signifies *extremely laborious, fatiguing*, and *πονηρός*, which signifies *evil*; we may observe, that either sense would suit well enough with the day of battle, which certainly is very trying to the strength, the constancy, the discipline of the bravest soldier: nor are less trying the repeated and continued *assaults* of persevering foes: and *assault* is clearly the meaning of the term, Matt. v. 39. “But I say unto you—that ye resist not *evil*—but, whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.” Here the idea of *attack* is evident; and it would justify us in rendering this passage of the Apostle “the day of attack.” Nor is this acceptation of the term enfeebled by observing that the LXX. have employed it in the sense of *murderous, blood-thirsty*, 2 Sam. iv. 11. *wicked men*—have slain a righteous person in his own house, upon his bed:” they had murdered Ishbosheth by surprize. Take this term, then, here, in a military sense; as the scope of the argument demands.

No

Not to follow out a subject that would carry us too far, we refer to No. CCXVIII. and PLATE, for illustration of the terms *girdle*, *breast-plate*, *helmet*, and military *shoes*. But, having said that the sword, itself, is in this instance defensive; we remark, in passing, that arguments drawn from the Word of God, would avail nothing for the *attack* of principalities, powers, and spiritual wickedness; whereas, against the assaults of such enemies the Word of God affords principles, precepts, maxims, cautions, reasonings, completely effectual; as was found by the Wicked One when repulsed, at the temptation of our Lord.

We may take occasion, also, from the incident in Livy, of soldiers sleeping on their shields, to insist on the propriety of the Apostle's enumerating *supplication* and *watching* thereunto with ALL PERSEVERANCE, among the accoutrements of a well-furnished military Christian. Very possibly, he had seen instances in his younger days of fatal consequences attending want of vigilance: in all armies, for a soldier to sleep on his post, has been death.

Now, if any should think, that our Apostle acquired his intimate acquaintance with these particulars from his situation at Rome, whence this Epistle was written, being constantly attended by a soldier, and, no doubt, visiting very frequently, the Pretorian camp, or barracks of the life-guards, in that city, it may be proper to notice a few passages written previously to his transit to that metropolis of the western world. And to these, with some others, we now direct our attention.

No. DCLIII. ENQUIRY CONTINUED: ON THE PROPER TERM HAVOC.

WHETHER the term rendered by our translators *havoc*, Acts viii. 3. as already observed, be critically entitled to that forcible import, or not, we are sure that one used by the Apostle Paul concerning himself, falls nothing short of that idea. It occurs early in an Epistle, thought to be his very first work, Gal. i. 13. "Ye have heard . . . that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and—ἐπόρθην—*wasted* it." Comp. verse 23. where the same word is rendered *destroyed* it. The term appears to be *military*: we find it in the language of soldiers, speaking of their enemies. So Euripides, *Rhes*. 592. makes Ulysses say to Diomed,

Ἡ πᾶν στρατόπεδον πίρσειν δοκίς;—

—An putas, te totum exercitum esse eversarum?

The question is thus rendered by Dr. FRANKLIN:—

————— How canst thou expect

To spread a *general* HAVOC through their troops?

It is used by Sophocles in several places of his *Philoctetes*, to signify the entire ruin, the absolute desolation, of Troy; which city we know was depopulated by the *havoc* made by the Grecian army,

And grass now grows where Troy town stood.

Καὶ ταπὶ Τροία Πέργαμ' ὥς ἔμε ποτε
Πέρσκειν, ————— line 620.

*Et ut Trojæ Pergama non inquam essent
Diruturi.* —————

The prophet Helenus had foretold, that "Troy should not be *completely ruined*." ;
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in modern language *blown up from its foundations*—till Philoctetes came against it." "What wilt thou do with me?" asks Philoctetes of Neoptolemus; who answers,

Σῶσαι κακῶ, μὲν' πρῶτα τῷδε, ἔπειτα δὲ
ἔν σοι τὰ Τροίας πεδία πορθησάι μολίον. 941.

First from thy present evil set thee free; and then
With thee spread devastation o'er the Trojan plain.

Πέρσεις τε Τροίαν, σκῦλα τ' εἰς μελαθρα σά
Πεμφείς, ————— 1473.

Thou shalt depopulate Troy, and bear the spoil
To thine own home, —————

τοῦτο δ' ἐννοεῖσθαι ὅταν
Πορθῇτε γαῖαν, εὐσεβεῖν τα πρὸς θεοῦς. 1485.

————— but this remember,

When thou the land hast havock'd, be pious tow'rd the gods.

This last sentiment might be put into the mouth of persecuting Saul, with little variation; for there can be no doubt but what he thought himself exemplarily pious while making havoc of the poor Christians, who were so unfortunate as to fall under his power. Can we forbear remarking, that St. Luke adopts the milder term in reference to his friend; St. Paul adopts the most offensive in speaking of himself: such self-condemnation was becoming in a true penitent.

No. DCLIV. ENQUIRY CONTINUED: ON THE STIGMATA, OR MARKS.

THERE is in this Epistle another term, which having more than one application, has seldom been explained in its full force. The Apostle says, chap. vi. 17. "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the *marks*—*στιγματα*—of the Lord Jesus." Says PARKHURST, "the Apostle calls the *scars* he received from stripes, chains, &c. in the service of Christ, the *marks of the Lord Jesus*, by a beautiful allusion to the *stigmata* with which *servants* and *soldiers* were sometimes marked, to shew to whom they belonged." MACKNIGHT says, "Because the word *stigmata* denotes marks made by burning, it is generally supposed that the Apostle had in his eye those *servants* in the heathen temples, on whose foreheads the name of the god to whom they belonged was burned. After which, it was believed they were under the immediate protection of that god. . . . The Apostle calls the *scars* of the wounds he received, when stoned and left as dead in the streets of Lystra, the *marks of the Lord Jesus*. . . . marks by which he was distinguished as the *servant* of the Lord Jesus."

But, *stigmata* were, certainly, not imprinted on a free servant; and Paul was no runaway slave. The term must be taken in its military sense. Whitby says, "Let no man question, whether I truly stile myself *Paul the servant of Jesus Christ, or fight the good fight of faith, as a good soldier under this Captain of Salvation*."

We should consider, that the writer appeals to these *marks* as evidence of his Apostleship; they were, therefore, obvious to the Galatians, which scars of wounds in the body could not be; as the Apostle did not expose himself naked among them. They were also *marks* received from the Lord Jesus; which wounds and cicatrices of sufferings, were not. The true import of the passage is to be gathered from chap. iv. 13. 14. "Ye know how that through *infirmity of my flesh*, I preached

the Gospel to you at the first. And my *temptation which was in my flesh* ye despised not, nor rejected, but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus." This *infirmity*, this *temptation*, which he elsewhere calls his *thorn* in the flesh, was known by all; in fact, it could not be concealed; it was "given" to him, to countervail in some degree an abundance of revelations; it was the result, the consequence, of those revelations, and therefore was derived from Christ himself, who granted those revelations. Hence it became evidence of his Apostleship; and reason sufficient why no man should trouble him by calling his authority, his *commission*, in question.

With peculiar propriety, especially supposing him to have been familiar with what passed in the ranks, the Apostle attaches this military term to himself; and nothing remains for us, now, but to shew that *it is* a military term. Says Bos, *Antiq. Gr.* "To prevent desertions, marks termed *stigmata*, were imprinted on the hands of soldiers." His annotator says, "There were no *military stigmata* but under the Cæsars. . . It is true, Aëtius Amiden, a Greek physician, has the following words—" *Stigmata* are marks imprinted on the face, or any other part of the body; as they were imprinted on the hands of soldiers.—By this passage we see what *stigmata* were, and that they were made upon the hands. But, as this physician lived in the time of Justinian, when the Romans were masters of the world, his testimony is not sufficient to prove that this custom was in use among the Greeks."

But this is enough for us: if it were a custom under the Cæsars—if it were carried by the Romans wherever they were masters—it was certainly known to Saul, at Tarsus; and was familiar to a man conscious of his privilege and dignity in being a Roman citizen. Conscious too, of a mental feeling something like that of Philip of Macedon, who having been wounded in the leg, limped ever afterwards; at which expressing his regret, "Sir," said one of his officers, "never be ashamed of an infirmity that puts you in mind of your valour every step you take."—Never be ashamed of a bodily suffering that demonstrates the reality of a supernatural interposition on your behalf.

No. DCLV. ENQUIRY CONTINUED: FROM THE EPISTLES TO THE
THESSALONIANS, ARMOUR, MILITARY INDIGNITY.

THOSE critics who think the Epistles to the Thessalonians are the earliest productions of St. Paul's pen, may justly expect that our argument should be supported by expressions selected from them: nor is this difficult; for long before his address to the Ephesians, the Apostle had employed the same military illustrations in writing to the believers of Thessalonica. So, 1 Epist. v. "Let us not sleep as do others: but let us 1. WATCH, and 2. be SOBER, putting on the BREAST-PLATE—*θώρακα*—of faith and love, and for 4. a HELMET—*περικεφαλαίαν*—the hope of Salvation:" these are clearly military terms, as already explained. Again, 2 Epist. ch. ii. "Brethren, 5. STAND—*στήκετε*—and, 6. HOLD FAST—*κρατεῖτε*—the traditions which ye have been taught.—[the word signifies to hold fast in consequence of victory, as we may suppose those soldiers who had well defended an eagle, would grasp it tightly.] Chap. iii. "Withdraw yourselves from every brother who walketh, 7. DISORDERLY—*ἀτάκτως*—not according to *tactics*, appointments, regularity; for we did not walk disorderly—*ἡτακτησάμεν*—*untactically*, among you:—We hear, that there are some among you who walk disorderly—*ἀτάκτως*." That this word glances at military order, appears from what follows, "count him not as an *enemy*, but admonish him

as a brother:”—“Keep no company with him, that he may be ashamed;” and take care of yourselves, that ye be not *weary* in well-doing?—“do not flag through sloth or *cowardice*,” says MACKNIGHT. These then are military terms: nor less the conclusion, “May the Lord of *peace* himself, give you *peace* always:” Not Mars, not Bellona, nor (military) Victory; but the benign, the beneficent Jesus.

There is also in this Epistle, an allusion to an occurrence, which the Apostle seems to have distinguished from all his sufferings in the Christian cause: “But, even after we had *suffered* before, and were SHAMEFULLY ENTREATED, as ye know, at Philippi”—ὕβρισθέντες—were treated, first, with outrage, and secondly, with *contumely*, by those who usurped a power over us to which they had no just right; as the word properly signifies. And this he remembers many years afterwards; and reminds the Philippians of it, in one of his latest productions. Phil. i. 29. “Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ to suffer for his sake, having the same conflict which *you saw in me*.” This they saw, when he was in their city, Acts xvi. The Apostle, in various places enumerates his sufferings in the Gospel cause; but, I am not aware, that in any other passage or in reference to any other incident, he uses language approaching to this—“SHAMEFULLY entreated.” To understand it, properly, we must investigate the History in the Acts.

Philippi was a Roman colony, xvi. 12. consequently, there were Roman soldiers settled there, with officers, as well as the civil (original, Greek) magistrates of the city. These officers had the power of inflicting summary punishment on their colonists; but, their just authority extended no farther. Paul and Silas having expelled a Pythonic spirit, were forcibly drawn into the market-place, to the ἀρχοντας—rulers, and brought to the στρατηγοις—magistrates, charged with teaching customs, which are not lawful for us to receive, we being Romans. And the multitude—ὄχλος—rose up together against them, and the στρατηγοις—magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them—ῥάβδιζειν. And when they had laid many stripes on them, they sent them into prison—φυλακην,—charging the jailor—δεσμοφύλακι—to keep them safely. Who having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks,—ξύλον. And when it was day the magistrates—στρατηγοις—sent their serjeants—ῥαβδούχοι—saying, let those men go. But Paul said, They have beaten us openly and uncondemned being Romans, and have cast us into prison; and now do they thrust us out privily? nay, verily, but let them come themselves, and fetch us out. And the ῥαβδούχοι—serjeants told these things unto the στρατηγοις—magistrates; and they feared when they heard that they were Romans. And they came and besought them, and brought them out, and desired them to depart out of their city.”

Here we have *Archons*—Chiefs; *Strategoi*—General Officers; *Rabdouchoi*—Bearers of Rods, for beating; *Phylaken*—a military prison; and *Desmophylake*,—the military master of the military prison.

These are, evidently, military terms; the whole is a story of military tyranny: first by a rabble of [drunken?] soldiers dismissed from the service; and then by their officers, [not less intoxicated?] who taking Paul and Silas for a couple of poor destitute travelling Jews, indulged themselves in the opportunity of shewing their contempt for the Jewish nation, and enjoying a piece of excellent sport, at the expense of two unprotected foreigners. They treated these strangers with *military* severity, *military* brutality, and *military* contumely. Against this, the spirit of the soldier, of the officer, the *veteris vestigia flammæ*, still latent in the bosom of St.

Paul, revolted: HE knew the whole extent of the disgrace intended: He knew the abuse of power included in the action; He knew that this assumption of extra-official jurisdiction, or rather, violence, was severely punishable by judicial process: He therefore insists on humbling these sons of haughtiness and vehemence, on the moment; and lets them know, that he was better acquainted with the laws by which the military ought to be regulated, than they were. He insists on, and obtains, an *amende honorable* as public on the part of these oppressors as his injuries had been. This might be not only politic at Philippi, under the circumstances of the church, and just to his character of Roman citizen, but, the long-suffering of the Christian yields to the feelings of the soldier, afterwards, and he recollects it with indignation—soldierly indignation—“SHAMEFULLY ENTREATED! as ye know, at Philippi.” He annexes no such epithet to his repeated flagellations by the Jews, the “forty stripes, save one;” nor to any other incident of his life; such punishments had inflicted present pain; but this had most severely harrowed up his feelings. On what other principle than the *ci-devant* military character of St. Paul, can this peculiar distinction in his recollection be accounted for?

No. DCLVI. ENQUIRY CONTINUED: EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS, TRIUMPH.

THE First Epistle to the Corinthians affords but few passages directly to our purpose. It is true, the writer enjoins his readers to “*watch, to stand fast in the faith, to quit themselves like men, to be strong:*” He speaks of “death and victory;” but these phrases might have occurred to any writer; and we have no occasion to press evidence in this enquiry.

The Second Epistle to that church is more explicit: for instance, chap. ii. 14. “Now thanks be to God, who at all times *causeth us to TRIUMPH with Christ*, and who, by us, diffuseth the smell of the knowledge of him, in every place. For we are through God a fragrant smell of Christ, among the saved, and among the destroyed. To these, indeed, we are the smell of death, ending in death; but, to the others, the smell of life ending in life: and for these things who is fit?” This is Dr. MACKNIGHT’s translation; of which I avail myself, for the sake of his notes, &c. He says, “The original phrase, *ὁρμαβενοντι ημας*, signifies, *who carries us along in Triumph with Christ*: an allusion to the custom of victorious generals, who, in their triumphal processions, carried some of their relations with them in their chariot.” *Diffuses the smell,*” &c. In Triumphs, the streets through which the victorious general passed, were strewed with flowers. Ovid, *Trist.* iv. *Eleg.* 2. *line* 29. The people also were in use to throw flowers into the triumphal car as it passed along.”—“The captives of greatest note followed the triumphal chariot in chains; some of them had their lives granted them, others were put to death immediately after the procession closed; to the first the smell of these flowers was *a deadly smelling, ending in their death*: to those who had their lives granted them, *this was a smell of life, ending in life.*” Whatever be thought of this illustration, it is clear that the passage alludes to a Triumph: and that a triumph is a *military* procession.

I am under the necessity of differing from the learned Doctor’s acceptation of another passage, which he inclines to refer to the combats in the Grecian games: but, I apprehend, that several antagonists were not allowed to surround an individual combatant, in those games; neither were combats allowed to proceed to death, or to imminent danger of death; on the contrary, proper persons were appointed to interpose, when the passions of the contending rivals were too highly worked up;

as were those of Entellus, when Eneas terminated the contest between him and Dares; and soothed the vanquished:

*Tum pater Æneas procedere longius iras,
Et sævire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis;
Sed finem imposuit pugnae, fessumque Dareta
Eripuit, mulcens dictis; ac talia fatur:
Infelix, quæ tanta animum dementia cepit?
Non vires alias, conversaque numina sentis?
Cede deo. Dixitque, et prælia voce diremit.* ENEID. v. 461.

But, if the Apostle may be supposed to describe his numerous and diversified sorrows, or difficulties, as surrounding enemies which sought his destruction, the true import of the passage, will be placed in the strongest light. “*We are pressed on every side, but not straightened* [Syr. and Arab. *not suffocated.*]; *perplexed but not in despair; pursued but not entirely forsaken; thrown down, but not killed; always bearing, about in the body, the putting to death of the Lord Jesus*, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body. For always we who live are *exposed to death* for the sake of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. So that *death strongly worketh in us.*”——This language may safely be pronounced too forcible for the games, for trials of strength and skill: it marks enmity and war. And the association of ideas leads the writer to allude to the *resurrection* of Jesus; certainly, from a state of absolute death. An enumeration of these sufferings may be read, chap. vi. 4–10. where the reader will not fail to notice a military hint, at *the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left.* Comp. chap. xi. 23–29. xii. 10. See another military allusion to the *battering ram*, chap. x. 3–5.

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To bring this Article to a close, I pass over the military term, Rom. vi. 13. “Neither yield your members as *instruments*—ὄπλα—warlike *weapons* to unrighteousness; but, to God, as *instruments*—ὄπλα—of righteousness:” and another, xiii. 2. “He who resisteth the power resisteth the *ordinance* of God:”—the arrangement, as a general arranges his troops, “assigning to each soldier his proper place in the order of battle.” Nor shall I enlarge on the last, the dying words of the venerable Apostle to his beloved son Timothy, 2 Epist. iii. 3, 4. “Be **STRONG** in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. Thou, therefore, endure hardships, as a good **SOLDIER** of Jesus Christ. No man who *warreth* entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a **SOLDIER**.” It is enough to remark, that we find this military diction, as in the first written Epistle of Paul, so also in his last: And I have purposely omitted several passages which allude to combats, and fighting, because they might be thought questionable as military terms; and might more properly be illustrated by reference to the games of Greece.

No. DCLVII. ENQUIRY CONTINUED: FELLOW-SOLDIER?

NOW, after this mass of evidence, in what sense shall we take the expression “**FELLOW-SOLDIER**,” used by this Apostle?—literally, or figuratively? It is applied to two persons; to Epaphroditus, Phil. ii. 25. “I thought it necessary to send Epaphroditus, 1. my brother, and 2. companion in labour—συνεργον—and, 3. fellow-soldier—στρατιώτην—but, 4. your messenger.” Also to Archippus, Philem. 2. Why are these persons thus distinguished? Many are called “fellow-labourers;” young and old; men and women; Marcus, Demas, Lucas, Clement, Timothy, and

Philemon, himself: nay, **Epaphroditus** is called “fellow-labourer,” and then “fellow-soldier.” Now, taking the term “fellow-labourer” in a theological sense, as assistant in proclaiming the Gospel, wherein does the term “fellow-soldier,” if taken figuratively, differ from it? it becomes a mere redundant repetition: What addition does it make to this worthy man’s character and recommendation? with which intent, it is evidently, inserted. And farther, how shall we account for the application of this term to **Archippus**, who most probably, was not a preacher of the Gospel: for he is said to have received, (Col. iv. 17.) *τὴν διακονίαν*—the deaconship—a service, a ministry, an administration; but, not the office of fellow-labourer in propagating the Christian religion; and to this duty he was recently called, as appears from the nature of the exhortation to be addressed to him: not so the title “fellow-soldier;” that is clearly given him as the effect of recollection; and it has all the force, where it is placed, of a term of endearment.

The man would justly be thought very rash, who should venture to infer from these hints, that these personages had been members of the same corps, had served in the same ranks, had been comrades. The argument ought in propriety to be pressed no farther than a testimony that they all had, in some period of their lives, borne arms in military service. That all Jews did not decline military service, is abundantly evident from **Josephus**, and other authorities: and the sentiment of commentators, that **Saul’s** father obtained the privilege of the citizenship of **Rome**, by services rendered to (or, *in*) the Roman army, is confirmed, by that familiarity with arms, and with military affairs, which is conspicuous in his son. Taking all circumstances into consideration: the natural turn of the Jews for commission and brokerage, with the occupation subsequently followed by his son, it should seem probable, that **Saul’s** father had filled some station in the commissariat: hence **Saul** was conversant with soldiers and their accoutrements, from his infancy: and hence he became a tent-maker, as it were, by hereditary descent. A soldier, but not a *Roman* soldier: an auxiliary, but not a legionary.

This affords an answer to the notion of **MICHAELIS**, that the term *σκηνοποιοὶ*, Acts xviii. 3. does not signify *tent-maker*, but “maker of mechanical instruments.” In the commissariat young **Saul** must have seen many tents made; and must have been familiarized to the whole process. He would naturally become acquainted, also, with officers, who could not fail to notice a youth of such sprightly parts. The ancient writers who speak of “the disciples of the tent-maker,” certainly did not mean to speak of the disciples of “the maker of mechanical instruments.” Tents were wanted wherever there was a garrison; and in all cities visited by caravans.

Unless we are greatly deceived, what has been said adds to the reasons usually adduced why **Julius** the centurion “courteously entreated **Paul**,” Acts xxvii. 3. why he distinguished **Paul**, and was particularly desirous to save him, verse 43. and why he made so favourable a report of him to the captain of the guard, at **Rome**, that **Paul** was [immediately] allowed to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him. chap. xxviii. 16.

Nor does the whole of the inference terminate here. It is very probable, that the soldiers who had **Paul** in custody, would resort, as often as possible, to their place of arms, taking **Paul** in company. Hence his bonds would soon become known, together with the occasion of them, throughout the whole of the Pretorian guard; and would be talked of by the soldiery in their camps, after their own manner, and not without commiseration for a fellow-soldier. It may therefore bear a question, whether the term rendered *palace* in our public version, is strictly correct.

It might be applicable in a country town; as it certainly was in Jerusalem; but Rome was a large place: and had several camps, or *corps de garde*, in different regions. That best known by us is the *Castrense*, in which the troops of the Pretorium had an amphitheatre, wherein they practised different exercises, suitable to their profession, including combats with wild animals. The remains of this structure are still extant, at the extremity of the Esquiline Mount, near the church now called the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, where they form part of the walls of the city, into which they were inserted by the emperor Aurelian. Ficoroni reports the discovery of the ancient *arena*, by digging below the modern accumulations of soil. Other large spaces, for the same purpose, were connected with it. In some of them have been found bones, &c. of large animals, the remains of beasts killed in military combats.

No. DCLVIII. PAUL THE AGED.

NOW, if any should ask, what effect this view of Paul's character previous to his conversion (as well before his being entered as a scholar of Gamaliel, as afterwards) would have on the Chronology of his life, or on that of the Acts of the Apostles,—we apprehend it would make little, if any, difference, from what is usually estimated. This is deduced from his describing himself to Philemon, verse 9. as “such an one as Paul the Aged:” he does not say, worn out—or absolutely unfit for future service: but, if we take the term in a military sense, such an one as in military estimation, is passed the time of army activity, and is fit only for garrison duty. Inasmuch then, as this marks a certain period of life, fixed by general consent at sixty years, the acceptance of the term “*young man*,” in a military sense, in reference to St. Paul, does not affect any subsequent date in his life; or any calculation which can justly be built on certain points of time, connected with the history of the New Testament.

Whether this “chosen vessel” to the Christian cause had resided long at Jerusalem, so as to have seen Christ in the flesh, and to have become acquainted with his doctrine and miracles, is a more difficult question. He never alludes to his having been a disciple of John the Baptist; for, what he says concerning him does not infer a personal knowledge; nor does it appear that he had a previous knowledge of any of the Apostles. Yet he speaks of himself as having been brought up at the feet of Gamaliel in Jerusalem, and as spending sufficient time in that city to profit in Judaism above many fellow students who were his equals in age. It is difficult, therefore, to deny him opportunities of having seen—perhaps, heard—the Saviour, in person. He might, possibly, be strictly private, till the prevalence of the new sect roused his zeal and fury.

No. DCLIX. ON THE CHANGE OF NAME FROM SAUL TO PAUL.

THERE remains one incident in the Life of Paul, that has always been deemed extremely obscure; nor shall we attempt to explain it fully; but, having a thought on the subject, we state it for the investigation of others.

It was customary to give in before Baptism the name by which the person was to be called: whence Tertullian says *sed tui Ordines, et tui Magistratus, et ipsum curiæ nomen, Ecclesia est Christi: illius es conscriptus in libris vitæ*. This was customary in the case of children;—but adults changed their name. So in the
acts

acts of St. Peter Balsamus, (Ruinart, p. 557.)—*Severus dixit ad eum, Quis diceris? Petrus respondit, Nomine paterno BALSAMUS dicor, spirituali vero nomine, quod in baptismo accepi, PETRUS dicor.* “Severus asked him, By what name art thou called? Peter answered, The name given me by my parents was BALSAMUS, but by the spiritual name which I received in baptism, I am called PETER.” Now, this name, *Balsamus*, is clearly idolatrous, *Baal-shemen*; and was abandoned by the convert, who desired to retain no trace of his former condition. So in the sepulchral inscription on king Cadwalla [Bede, *Hist. lib. v. cap. 7.*] *Hic depositus est CADWALLA, qui et PETRUS*: “Here lies CADWALL, who also is called PETER.” So Socrates (*lib. i. cap. 30.*) describing the Bishop who accused Athanasius, gives his name ACHAB who also is called JOHN: in Athanasius (*Apol. 2.*) he is described as ARCAD who also is called JOHN: So the companion of St. Saturninus is called DATIVUS *qui et SENATOR*, (Ruinart, p. 349.) and in another sepulchral inscription we find “SIMPLICIA *who also is called CALONYMOS.*”

Now it is well known that commentators have differed on the reason of the change of name of the apostle from *Saul* to *Paul*, Acts xiii. 9. Some have supposed that he adopted the name of his illustrious convert Sergius Paulus: others, as Origen, that he was called *Saul* among the Jews, but *Paul*, his Roman name, among the Gentiles: may it not, however, be an admissible conjecture, that he chose the name of *Paul* by which to be baptized; and thereby shewed his entire renunciation of his former Jewish notions, and his renovation into Christian life under a new appellation. This new name, signifying “*little*,” was probably taken from the same motives as induced the apostle afterwards to describe himself as “one born out of due time; the least among the Apostles;” and “less than the least,” of all saints. To this it may be answered, that long after his baptism we find him still called by the name of Saul, so that under this idea, we must allow that he went by either name, indifferently; or by both names, for a time. St. Luke’s words seem best to agree with this “Saul who also is Paul:” the custom of having, and using two names, was not uncommon at the time; so Luke was *Lucius*, John was *Mark*, Simon was *Peter*, &c.

But, whether the change of name at baptism be strictly applicable to the instance of Paul or not, it should seem to be derived from the earliest ages, and practized, as a demonstrative proof of a desire to manifest that “old things were passed away, and all things were become new.” The party who received new life, received also a new name; he contracted new relations, and esteemed himself in more than a metaphorical sense, “a new man.” This explains how easy it was for some to err, by “saying that the resurrection was past already;”—and it throws a light on the conduct of the incestuous Coriathian, who, supposing that his new birth dissolved all former relations, concluded that his mother-in-law, *formerly*, was alien from him, *now*, and therefore was free to become his, by contract of matrimony.

No. DCLX.

ATTEMPTS TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF MELCHIZEDEK,
AND TO DETERMINE HIS PERSON, AND DIGNITY.

IN No. DIX. and several Numbers which immediately follow it, the reader has seen traditionary accounts of the history of Noah, and of the Deluge, veiled, indeed, under emblematic mythology, yet sufficiently intelligible to warrant the general conclusion that we ventured to deduce from them. It might naturally

be asked, whether some traces of the history of his sons may not likewise be preserved among those nations, respectively, which derived their origin from these renovators of mankind. They may be obscure, or ambiguous, or embarrassed by additions, intended as improvements, yet not wholly beyond the reach of explanation by learning, skill and diligence. That allusions to the history of *Shem*, the patriarch of the Hebrew nation, should be found among the Hebrews, his descendants, can excite no surprize, and that the place of his residence was likely to acquire peculiar sanctity from that incident, will readily be admitted. In No. DLXXII. we attempted to elucidate the progress of this sanctity, by a sketch of the character of *Salem*, previous to its receiving the name of *Jerusalem*. These two articles have partly prepared the reader for farther notice of the great High Priest of the Most High God, who had there his dwelling; and to them we refer as preparatives for additional enquiries concerning that venerable personage, which form the substance of the ensuing article.

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The reader has observed in various passages of this work, that we have hinted the propriety, rather perhaps, the necessity, of placing the ancient *Kedem* (the original seat of the Hebrew Patriarchs) very far east in Persia; indeed, at the eastern extremity of that empire. If we take a *Caucasian* mountain, for the Mount *Ararat* of Scripture, where the Ark rested, and consider the progress of population towards the west of those mountains, we shall find a considerable portion of mankind, at various times, probably during several ages, in the habit of migrating from thence toward Syria and Egypt. It will be no wonder then if the fathers of the Hebrew nation followed the stream. Abraham himself did no more than was done by multitudes before him; and was daily accomplished, by his contemporaries: when the proper time came, he also quitted the place of his birth and primary settlement, to inhabit a country, where he also should be the founder of a dominion. We say, that Abraham was not the first who left *Kedem* in confidence of a future establishment;—nor was he the last: he did what he had seen others do, and others did what they had seen him do. But we know that he had authority, Divine authority, under which he acted,—we shall beg leave to say, communicated to him, by means of the great patriarch *Shem*; his venerated ancestor, who himself also visited the same country to which Abraham had been directed.

The object of the following hints is to shew the probability that *Shem* quitted *Kedem*, to travel west; that he actually came into the west, and was there known under the title of the “King of Peace,” or *Melchizedek*; and that, to this patriarch, belongs what Scripture records in reference to that “Priest of the Most High God.” After what we have said in No. DLXXXIX. his progress westward, need not detain us. There is historical evidence of it, but we rather choose to infer it from the same evidence as proves him to be the person known under the name or character of *Melchizedek*. It is necessary to collect what has been reported of this august personage; and to justify its application, in the manner in which we mean to apply it.

The first place is due to an attempt to combine the scattered rays of tradition, which are, for the most part, collected under the Article *MELCHIZEDEK*, in the *Dictionary*.

FIRST TRADITION.

Epiphanius tells us, that the whole land of Canaan fell to the posterity of Shem, according to a division made by Noah, himself; the posterity of Shem enjoyed it a long time, but were dispossessed by the posterity of Ham:—[so far we consider this tradition to be correct; and it is partly supported by the promise made, as we have supposed, by Shem to Abraham, in the name of God, that he would multiply him into a great nation, in a country subject to his jurisdiction, and authority. The following part of this tradition we shall reconsider hereafter.]—Those kings who had subdued the kings of the Plain, and kept them in subjection during twelve years, were the descendants of Shem; and had only ruled, as they were justly entitled to do, over the intrusive sons of Ham. See also Jarchi, in *Gen.* xli. 6. fol. 13. p. 2. col. 2.

SECOND TRADITION. PARENTS OF MELCHIZEDEK.

1. The *father* of Melchizedek was the *Sun*; the *mother* of Melchizedek was the *Moon*. *Epiphanius, Heres. tom i. p. 468.*

2. The *father* of Melchizedek was *Eruclas*; the *mother* of Melchizedek was *Asteria*, or *Astaroth*, *ib. iv. 2.*

3. Melchizedek was born of unclean parents. *Jud. quid. ap. Sixt. Senens. lib. v. Annot. 90.*

4. Melchizedek is “without genealogy,” because the earth had opened its mouth, and had swallowed up all his relations, says Athanasius. *Epiph. Heres. lv. p. 472.; lxvii. p. 711.*

SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF MELCHIZEDEK.

Gen. xiv. 17. And the king of Sodom went out, [from whence? certainly from a place where he had taken refuge: suppose *Salem*] to meet Abraham, on occasion of his triumphant return after his victory over Chedorlaomer, and his associate kings:—the king of Sodom went out to the valley of SHAVEH [the valley of *equalizing*] THAT emphatically called, THE KING'S VALLEY. And Melchizedek king of *Salem*, brought out [the same word in its root, as that used respecting the king of Sodom,] from his royal residence, no doubt, bread and wine. Now, He himself, emphatically, was Priest of the Most High God. And he blessed him—Abraham; and he—Abraham—gave to him—Melchizedek—for consecration, or sacred uses, tithes of all which he, or his people, had taken from their enemies.

Psalm cx. Jehovah hath sworn, and will not retract: Be thou the priest to perpetuity, on my appointment, according to the manner—the Order, of Melchizedek.

Heb. v. 10. Thou art a Priest in perpetuity, according to the Order of the priesthood of *Melchizedek*, who, in the days of his flesh, applied himself with deprecations and supplications, to the Power who could deliver him from death; with strong, efficacious, cryings and tears; and was graciously heard. By reason of his piety, his filial piety, he exemplified obedience. [So the Syriac version reads this passage.] Now this *Melchizedek*, King of Salem, Priest of the Most High God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him: to whom, also, Abraham gave a tenth part of his spoils, being first by interpretation, KING OF JUSTICE, or righteousness; and then again KING OF PEACE; *ἀπατωρ*, fatherless; *μητερ*, motherless; pedigree-less, genealogy-less, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but assimilated to the Son of God; continues a priest perpetually.—Now, consider what a great personage this was! to whom our father Abraham

himself, of whose greatness we are nationally so fond, gave the tenth of all his spoils—and who received them by right of office and dignity. *Levi*, who in the Jewish establishment receives tithes, paid tithes on this occasion. And *Melchizedek*, who has no right by [Levitical, or other priestly] pedigree, not only received tithes, but exercised the most solemn part of the priestly office, by giving an authoritative benediction to Abraham; as being unquestionably Abraham's superior. Now, in the Levitical priesthood, men who are well known to be mortal, receive tithes; but, in that Order of priesthood, he received tithes of whom it is witnessed—believed on general and allowed report, that—he is now living."

From these allusions to the history of *Melchizedek*, we gather, 1. That he had undergone deep distress; had implored the Preserving Power to interfere on his behalf; and had been heard. 2. That he had exemplified great piety and obedience. 3. That he was not a priest by regular official descent, *i. e.* by birth; but by appointment. 4. That he was a King. 5. That the Levitical priesthood is very inferior to his; as,—1. It is comparatively modern.—2. It has not equal dignity, wanting Royalty.—3. It often changes hands; and sometimes is held by persons not very holy. —It concerns only a single small nation: and does not so much as assume to officiate for mankind in general.

We shall now endeavour to shew how far sundry of the particulars which we have stated, may be thought to coalesce in the person to whom we have referred them.

The FIRST TRADITION says, "Canaan fell to the lot of Shem." In No. XIX. we read, that *Satyawan* (Noah) gave, Japhet the North of the Snowy Mountains, and to Shem he gave the South. Certainly, these patriarchs had also the East and West, as inspection of the Map will readily determine; since Europe itself, the acknowledged residence of Japhet's posterity, is west of Caucasus. Japhet's allotment being north, Canaan fell to the share of Shem.

Of the *Traditions which respect the Parents of Melchizedek*, the first and second are the same; for *Eraclus*, the ancient *Ercles*, or *Hercules*, was beyond all doubt, the Sun; but by so many later personages was this glorious title assumed, or received, that the original application of it, escaped even the learned; and certainly the person whom it primarily denoted, was utterly unknown to the generality of those who adored him: even Cicero "wishes they could tell which Hercules it was whom they worshipped." Macrobius says expressly, so does Nonnus, and so does Plutarch, long before, that the *Bel* of Babylon, the *Con* of Egypt, the *Apollo* of Greece, and, in fact, all the deities of the Heathen, terminated in the Sun, or *Helios*.

But we refer these divinities to a person, no less than to a power: and many things said in reference to one of these distinctions, are true of that distinction, only; and may not be applied to *either* indiscriminately. A slight consideration will sufficiently evince that *Helios* is not, restrictively, the solar body.

1. *Helios* was said to have traversed the vast ocean in a boat, which *Oceanus* lent him. [But, this can be true of a person only; not of the orb of day.]

2. Porphyry, *apud Euseb. P. E. lib. iii.* says, the Egyptians, to describe *Helios*, represented a man in a float or ship, supported by a crocodile.

3. Jamblicus says "the emblem of *Helios*, was a man on a lotus, in the midst of the water;—a woman on a lotus, was *Selene*," (the Moon.) The Lotus was emblematical of preservation from a flood; because, in the inundation of the Nile, the broad leaf of this plant rises with the water, and is not overwhelmed—never is *drowned*. Hence the Egyptians placed *Helios* on a lotus in the water; and reported, that he arose on this plant in the form of a newly-born child. [Vide the Medals on

the Plate of Noah's Ark, and those of CORINTH.] These particulars identify *Helius* with Noah; and thereby ascertain in that great restorer of the human race the true father of *Melchizedek*.

The mother of Shem was, 1. The Moon. 2. *Asteria*, or *Astaroth*. It is unnecessary to prove that *Astaroth* is the Moon. It is universally admitted. We have seen that *Selene* is the Moon on the lotus, in conjunction with *Helius*. The crescent typified the ark, the "receptacle of mankind;" hence it was worn by *Isis*, &c. In short, this particular so naturally follows the former, as to need no enlargement.

These traditions, then, mutually confirm each other: it is true, they have been so disguised under the prevarications of mythology, that the learned, startled by their uncouth appearance, have rejected them, at first sight, without attempting to penetrate their true meaning, or to determine their true reference. Nevertheless, they have undoubtedly preserved the memorial of an undeniable fact.

Melchizedek, say the Jews, in our third tradition, was born of "unclean parents."—How this affects his natural descent is not apparent; but if referred to his priesthood, to which he derived no claim by birthright, there is reason to think that the notion is correct; though extremely uncouthly expressed: he was certainly deficient in the Levitical requisitions of parentage. . . . *Athanasius* says, "The earth had opened her mouth, and had swallowed up all his relations:" why then, he must be either Noah, Shem, Ham, or Japhet. Noah, he certainly was not: Japhet was established too far north; that he should be Japhet, is unlikely in the highest degree: Ham he *might* be, by possibility, but very feeble reasons support his pretensions: his character is utterly incompatible with the dignity, royal, and sacerdotal, of this illustrious companion to Jesus Christ. *Shem* is the only remaining personage; and this tradition, thus understood, corroborates reasonings already stated.

We turn to the BIBLE HISTORY of SHEM, a person of conspicuous piety AFTER the deluge, witness his behaviour to his father, Noah, whom Ham, his brother, had exposed. It is natural to infer the same pious disposition of character BEFORE that catastrophe: his name, imposed, apparently prior to that event, signifies *settled*, *steady*; and, as Noah was "a preacher of righteousness" to the Antediluvians, we may think the same of his son Shem, who succeeded in the priesthood.

That dreadful event which was coming on the earth, was certainly foretold to Noah; and if to Noah to Shem, who also assisted in the preparation of the ark. Deeply pious, and earnestly sedate, he could not but look forward with apprehension, and every thing warrants the belief, that both the son and the father would deprecate and deplore the judgment they awaited. In other words—the piety of Shem prompted him, under these trying circumstances, to address with prayers and supplications, with strong cryings and tears, that Celestial Power which was able to save him from death;—in which this Patriarch was the counterpart of our Lord Jesus; who, foreseeing his descent into the silent tomb (as Shem foresaw his inclosure in the floating tomb of the ark,) prayed, "if it were possible let this cup pass from me;"—but, in the issue, as Shem in obedience to the divine injunction entered the ark, so did Jesus enter the grave:—"nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." Shem was saved, and revived:—so was Jesus; one from the ark, the other from the sepulchre.

We have elsewhere, [No. CLV.] explained the allusion of the apostle Peter to the Ark of Noah, in reference to the death of Jesus; and now we find the apostle Paul alluding to the same event, with the same intention. Add to this, the time which Shem lay enclosed in his floating sepulchral confinement:—part of one

year, the whole of the second year, and part of a third : to complete the comparison to Jesus, who (like Jonah in the sea,) lay part of one day, the whole of the second day, and part of the third day, in the heart of the earth.

The Ark we say, discharged its inhabitants on the mountains of *Caucasus* ; whence the patriarch Shem travelled in process of time, to Canaan ; there he was acknowledged as a Royal priest ; being, first, KING OF JUSTICE :—and who could more properly exercise this office ?—To promulgate laws, or to apply them, to direct in matters of jurisprudence, to combine the dignity of the magistrate, with the affection of the patriarch, to promote the welfare of those communities which were his posterity—who could be more suitable than Shem ? He was truly the “ king of justice.”—his tribunal was adjacent to his residence, in “ the king’s valley :” so called, because, here sat the king ; and here, according to the duty of a king, he administered justice in mercy. *q.* “ The royal valley, for dispatch of public and official affairs.”

The other name by which this valley was known, coincides with this character ; for the word *shuah* (or *shaveh*, as our translators write it,) signifies *to equalize, to liken to, to compare, i. e.* to adjudge after comparison made : so we find it used, Prov. xxvi. 4. “ Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou (*teshuah*) be *compared* to him ; and after comparison, be judged to resemble him.” Prov. iii. 15. “ All things thou canst desire are not to be (*ishuo*) *compared* in judgment to Wisdom.” Isaiah xl. 25. “ To whom will ye *compare* me, as an act of judgment, and decision, says the Holy One ? So I am. ii. 13, “ To what shall I *compare* thee—determine thy resemblance, an an act of judgment, O Jerusalem ?” In these places, the word implies—to draw a conclusion, after well considering a subject :—to *compare* for the purpose of determination.

Some Lexicons, however, insist on the sense of *equalizing, to render equal*, for the word *shaveh* : this is not contradictory to the former ; since a person, whose office it is to judge, should consider all applicants as equal : and if any have suffered injury, should *compensate* that injury, till the compensation equals the damages—in fact he should enforce EQUITY ; which implies discrimination, and comparison. This would characterize “ the king’s valley,” as “ the valley of *equitable compensation*,” of rendering equal justice : which is but a variation in sense from the former.

The foregoing sentiments glide very easily into the character of “ king of Peace :” king of the city of *Peace* (Salem) ; but, beside this, peace was his delight.—as a patriarch, as a judge, as a priest, as a king, he inculcated peace : it is probable too, that he neither drew the warlike sword, nor constructed defensive walls ; for, according to all appearances, it was the custom of these great, these venerable patriarchs, not to dwell in cities, *i. e.* walled cities. Abraham dwelt in tents ; so did Isaac and Jacob, and thousands of others ; as thousands, and tens of thousands do, at this day. That Shem lived in tents, we conclude, 1. Because Noah his father did so. 2. Because Noah says “ He shall dwell *in the tents of Shem*”—the handsome, rather—the *official* tents. [*Aheli, vide* No. ccvi.] 3. The migratory life of these patriarchs, spent in visiting, and regulating the different districts of their dominions, rendered tents the fittest dwellings for their purposes. Much has the question been discussed, where this *city* of Salem stood : but the term *city* is not annexed to the Salem of *Melchizedek* ; it might be a district, not a *city*. However, it is generally supposed, that *Salem*, afterwards *Jebus*, and *Jeru-salem*, was the residence of this Sacred Sovereign. The name Jerusalem, denotes the “ vision of peace ;” or, “ the possession of peace :” *q.* the place where peace was expected to be seen. Josephus,

Ant. lib. i. cap. 10. gives this account : but it seems to follow yet more authoritatively from Psalm lxxvi. 2.

The reasons in support of this supposition, are 1. Jerusalem is in the way from Dan towards Sodom, &c. south, which way Abraham was now travelling, toward the homes of his retaken captives. 2. The name of Jerusalem, in the adjacent countries, has been "the Holy City," throughout an antiquity much deeper than our enquiries can penetrate ; which leads to the presumption, that before it became the seat of justice and worship among the Hebrews, it had been recognized as *holy*. 3. This character of holiness, it resumes, without difficulty, as without competition : for Gibeah, Shiloh, &c. which were seats of authority and sanctity, yield to its prior claims. 4. These claims might be well known to Moses, who mentions, twice, at least, "a place which the Lord has chosen to put his name there." Deut. xii. 4. xvi. 11. 5. Something very like allusions to this character of Jerusalem, are introduced by the prophet Isaiah, ii. 3. ; and, what is very extraordinary, the prophet Micah also, inserts the same, *verbatim* ; chap. iv. 2. &c. This remarkable coincidence raises a suspicion, that both drew from the same source ; and that, in this instance, they have preserved an oracle of much deeper antiquity than themselves : besides, the passages become much clearer, if we suppose that they compare past times and events, with succeeding times and events.

And it shall be in the new series of days,
The Mount of the House of JEHOVAH
Shall be chief over the head of the mountains,
And shall exalt itself above the hills :
And all people shall flow unto it !
Even many people shall go toward it,
And shall say,
" On : and we will go up to the Mount of Jehovah,
To the House of the God of Jacob ;
And he shall teach us of his ways,
And we will walk in his paths :
In like manner as from Sion has gone forth his law,
And the decision of JEHOVAH from Jerusalem :
Yea, it judged among great people ;
And corrected powerful people, though remote ;
And they beat their swords into plough-shares ;
And their spears into pruning-hooks :
People, take not the sword against people ;
Nor do they hereafter learn war.
But they sit, each chief, under his vine,
And under his fig-tree, and no one alarms another.
To such effect hath the mouth of the Lord of Hosts decided.

This oracle describes exactly the blessings produced by the judicial interposition of a king of Justice and Peace : it certainly attributes to Jerusalem a character, which combines at once polity and sanctity, over nations, great, yet submissive ; and remote, yet obedient. It is not the only ancient oracle, preserved by the prophet *Micah* : vide chap. vi. 15.

Moreover, this train of reasoning, if admissible, is confirmed, by our statement in No. DLXXII. where, touching on the history of Jerusalem, we supposed, that, alive to an understood sanctity of their town, and jealous of its infringement, the Jebusites denied David admittance ; what else could induce them to refuse the residence of the king ? Nor should we forget, though perhaps not so properly placed here as it

might be, that "the king's valley" was immediately adjacent to *Salem*, if not rather annexed to it, as the place of judgment: now, the current tradition of the East asserts, that in the "valley of *Jehoshaphat*," [the name *Jehoshaphat*, signifies "judgment of the Lord;"] shall be the Universal Judgment; whence, so probably, could this tradition originate, as from its having been *anciently* the seat of general decision among surrounding nations? *i. e.* looking *backwards* and *forwards*, at the same time; an effect we have attributed to the prophecy quoted above. See the **PLATE, PLAN OF JERUSALEM**, at four different periods.

Since then, so many particulars unite, in determining the locality of these places, what has been said may be taken as decisive. From the farther consideration of the history, we learn that, —

The king of Sodom came out—suppose from under the protection of *Melchizedek*, at Salem, whence that sacred magistrate himself came out to meet Abraham in his triumphant return; towards whom, and towards his sacred fane, Abraham on his part, directed his steps, desirous of acknowledging his obligations to Almighty God, for his success; and of paying his homage to the authorized representative of "his shield, his exceeding great reward:"—intent on publicly manifesting that ascription of glory to God, which is at once duty and honour in a warrior.

Informed of this, his great ancestor advances to the boundaries of his station; to his tribunal; there receives Abraham, accepts his homage, congratulates him on his victory, confirms the divine promises or blessings to him, and his, and, with solemn dignity, imparts whatever of benediction an old man's heart could wish. But, not to receive without making suitable returns, he treats Abraham and his followers with distinguished hospitality; bestows refreshments while receiving trophies, and enjoys no less what his guests partake, than what they present. Such is the benevolence of this king of Peace!

This mingled triumph of *Melchizedek* and Abraham, affords other arguments that the Royal Priest was Shem. The character of the invaders whom Abraham had defeated deserves recollection: they were descendants of Ham: — *Hamites*, from east of the Euphrates, or from north of Canaan. As, 1. *Amraphel*, king of *Shinar*: this was the district wherein Babylon stood, and, accordingly, the Samaritan version renders "king of Babel:" a kingdom unquestionably Hamite. 2. *Arioch*, king of *Ellasar*, probably the same as *Tellasar*, Isaiah xxxvii. 12. thought to be in Armenia. 3. *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, *i. e.* Persia. 4. Tidal, king of nations (*goim*,) in the Samaritan version called "Sultan over *el Hamim*," the Hamites. This is in direct opposition to Jarchi: but the authority of the Samaritan version, and the nature of circumstances justify the opposition:—for what can be more natural, than to suppose that Abraham with Lot (and Shem, too) would choose to dwell among their own kindred; that the king of Sodom, where Lot then dwelt, took refuge with *Shem*, because he was his sacred progenitor. Idolatry we know, prevailed among the Hamites; yet from this crime, the character of Shem, the priest of the Most High God, had sufficient influence to preserve his posterity, hitherto. This accounts also, why one (a Shemite) who had escaped, came and told his kindred Shemite, Abraham, the *Oberite*, (*i. e.* who came from *Ober-el-Nahr*,) of what had happened; and it illustrates the promptitude of Abraham to take arms, in conjunction with some fellow Shemites, to attack the Hamites; and, having beat them, to return triumphantly to their great ancestor, by whose ministry to present their acknowledgements to Jehovah, their fathers' God, as well as their own.

This

This not only explains the reason why Abraham visited Shem in triumph ; but also why that patriarch takes so great interest in a victory, by which the country was cleared from these invaders ; why he blesses Abraham, and treats him with such distinction ; why the tithes of the spoils are presented to *Melchizedek* ; why the tribunal in the King's Valley is selected for the solemnities of the occasion ; why Abraham takes nothing from his kindred, the kings he had delivered ; and, in short, why this history is preserved in the Sacred Records, as being one of those remarkable events of which posterity ought not to be ignorant.

These hints lead us to contemplate this venerable patriarch, *Shem*, whom hitherto we have rather considered as a king, in his character of a priest also ; a priest of no ordinary description. Many are his qualifications for this office ; but natural descent must not be enumerated among them ; for the Apostle reports him "fatherless, and motherless," that is, as he immediately explains himself "without pedigree"—genealogy-less. This was an insuperable blemish in a Levitical priest, and incapacitated from priestly privileges ; *vide* Nehem. vii. 65. Beside this, it may be said, in conformity to the import of the tradition, that this priest of the Most High God, had neither father nor mother, in the *post-diluvian* world : he was of the former world, of the former people ; and *now*, pedigree, descent, was reckoned *from him*. I prefer, however, the Levitical idea : and suppose the Apostle adopts priestly terms, to express the absence of claim to the priestly office by descent ; according to another expression of the same sentiment, "he whose pedigree is not reckoned from them (the Levitical orders) received tithes."

We have a similar application of the terms, "fatherless and motherless," to signify one whose parents are unknown, in the *Ion* of Euripides,

ὥς γὰρ ἀμήτωρ
Ἀπάτωρ τε γεγώς, —————
*Nam tanquam incerta matre
Et incerto patre natus, illud, quod me aluit,
Phæbo templum colo. Act i. 110.*

for, like one who motherless
And fatherless is born, he who has nurtured me,
Phœbus, I in his temple serve.—

And again towards the close of the drama,

Ἀμήτορ, αναριθμητον, εκ δόλης ἄγειν.
*Ut eum, qui matrem suam ignorat, qui in nullo numero est,
qui ex aliqua serva
Muliere natus est, ————— Act v. 837.*

Motherless,—not reckoned up as one,—born of some drudging slave.

We know, also, that the principle of respectable descent was so powerful, not only among the Jews but among the heathen, that the most venerated of their sacred personages—the Vestals, for instance, were ineligible to that dignity, unless both parents were unblemished, and both were living at the time of election. Such a virgin is described by Aulus Gellius, *Noct Att.* i. 12. as *patrima et matrima*, or what the Greeks called ἀμφιθαλής, possessing both parents. And this, probably, was one of the most ancient regulations of patriarchal religion : and, perhaps, co-eval with sacerdotal appointments and institutions.

But why had Shem no right, by descent, to the priesthood? since the priesthood appertained to the first-born; and it is customary to put him *first* in enumerating the sons of Noah; for we usually say, "Shem, Ham, and Japhet"—and, in No. XIX. this is asserted, as the proper station of Shem, on the authority of the Indian *Puranas*: but, it really is very remarkable, that we find the same confusion in the Indian records as in the Mosaic; and *Shem* is sometimes spoken of as the *eldest* son of Noah, sometimes as his *second* son. This curious coincidence leads to important consequences, especially in connection with other errors of a like nature. I take the fact to be, that *Japhet* was the *eldest* by birth; whence his name, and his double portion, as befitted his birthright. But *Shem* being appointed to the priesthood, received an official precedence, and in consequence is named (among his own descendants, at least) *before* his brother Japhet. CALMET, says (*Dict. Art. SHEMA*) that Shem was the second son of Noah: and the numerous classes of learning and duty, which the Jews attribute to him, may be seen in that article. They are as well political as sacred.

We have now, considered those particulars which are usually thought perplexing, except that one which is admitted to be the most perplexing of all: What can be intended by—his *perpetual, unchangeable*, priesthood? by—his *still living*? by—the power of an *endless life*? How can one man be a priest to perpetuity? What is this unchangeable priesthood? unchangeable by reason of the continued life of him who possesses it? In what could originate a conception so extraordinary, so contrary to experience? Providence has kindly interposed, to assist in answering this question, also: and when the usual stores of learning are exhausted, has opened fresh repositories to elucidate a subject hitherto impenetrable by its obscurity.

In what sense is it said of Shem that he is living? Observe, the Apostle uses a word which does not imply strict demonstration of this: but a current report, general belief: "it is witnessed,"—not by myself,—nor by any to whom I refer confidence; but, *it is admitted*,—[Fr. *on dit*.] and this may be taken as the fair import of the term.—But how is even this looser sense, this immortality not strict but popular, to be justified?—The question is answered, by producing from the *Puranas* the following extract; the tenor of which no one in our part of the world would ever have imagined.

"ATRI [NOAH] for the purpose of making the *Vedas* [the Sacred Books] known to mankind, had THREE SONS: or, as it is [elsewhere] declared in the *Puranas*, the *Trimurti*, or *Hindu Triad*, was incarnated in his house. THE ELDEST [son] called SOMA, or the *Moon in a human shape*, was a portion, or form, of *Brahma*. TO HIM THE SACRED ISLES IN THE WEST WERE ALLOTTED. HE IS STILL ALIVE THOUGH INVISIBLE, AND IS ACKNOWLEDGED AS THE CHIEF OF THE SACERDOTAL TRIBE TO THIS DAY." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 261.

Every word of this testimony is important, and it agrees with the western reports concerning *Melchizedek*: the comparison is striking, and justifies attention.

SHEM, the eldest son of Noah.
Melchizedek's mother was the Moon.
He was priest of the MOST HIGH GOD.
The land of Canaan fell to the posterity of Shem.
Of him it is witnessed that he liveth.
Consider how great this man was:
—Superior to Levi,—superior to Abraham.

SOMA, the eldest son of ATRI,
Was the Moon in a human shape:
Was a portion, or form, of BRAHMA.
To him the Sacred Isles in the West were allotted.
He is still alive, though invisible.
He is acknowledged as CHIEF OF THE SACERDOTAL TRIBE, TO THIS DAY.

The parallel is exact: it assists us even beyond what appears at first sight. No wonder now, that this patriarch, as “King of Peace,” was a character too sacred to be molested by war: no wonder that Abraham, and in him Levi, paid tithes to this most venerated personage, &c. &c.

The multiplicity of names for the same person in the East is notorious: *Vishnuh* has a thousand: *Siva* also has a thousand: other ancient characters in proportion: so that no doubt on the identity of ATRI'S being NOAH, arises from dissimilarity of appellation. The name SOMA is known as *Sem*, or *Shem*, in other writings: indeed the LXX. constantly write *Sem*, or perhaps, *Sēm*.

This curious history, thus brought to light, from a far country, affords several inferences;—as

1. The Apostle says, many things might be uttered respecting *Melchizedek*; but they were hard to be understood; this hint seems to point at various reports concerning him, which, not improbably, were in traditionary circulation among those Hebrews to whom the writer addressed his epistle:—“it is witnessed”—not by Scripture, but by report, as you know.

2. This may shew the propriety, and the *bearing* of the Psalmist's expression, Psalm cx. 4. “a priest for ever”—to perpetuity—like *Melchizedek*; like him, who is “still alive, though invisible; and chief of the sacerdotal tribe,” though not acting as such now in a public capacity, [but thought to continue his office in heaven itself.]

3. The priesthood of *Shem* being exercised in his person during so long a period as *five hundred years*, suggests, almost naturally, an idea of perpetuity: but, no doubt, it was transmitted from him to a qualified descendant; so that *the sacerdotal character*, itself, the *Order of priesthood*, was professionally perpetual.

4. The access of Abraham to the Divine presence by means of this royal priest, with the communications this patriarch might make to Abraham, must not be allowed to escape notice. When Abraham was divinely directed to quit *Kedem*, was *Shem* the agent?—When he offered up Isaac, was it near the *Salem* of *Shem*?—When Rebekah enquired of the Lord, was it by the ministration of *Shem*? was he the person who prophetically informed her “two nations are in thy womb,” &c.?

Was *Shem* the only person reported to enjoy *endless life*? Were rumours of a translation like that of *Enoch*, or that of *Elijah*, in circulation concerning him? [What could those brethren mean, who reported of the Apostle *John*, that “he should not die?”—What knowledge had they of “witnessings” resembling their report, in any other instance?]

It may be proper to anticipate an objection, not new, indeed, but forcible, were it just, by an observation in vindication of the chronology of *Shem's* life;—that Patriarch lived, by the shortest computation, till Isaac was fifty years of age: but, other computations add forty or fifty years to his life. At the shortest period, however, he outlived his father Noah above a hundred and fifty years: and his son Arphaxad, sixty years; consequently, no chronological difficulty attends the principles adopted as the basis of these arguments.

If it be asked,—Why does not Moses in Genesis, or the Apostle to the Hebrews, call *Melchizedek* by the name of *Shem*? It may be sufficient to answer, that he was much better known at that time, and in that country, under his title, “King of Justice.” He was *better* known:—for though we find him called *Shama*, *Sharma*, or *Soma*, in India, yet that name has not been preserved in the West. *Melech* signifies *king*: admitting this title of office, we observe, 1. Sanchoniatho, a Canaanite, or Phenician writer, places together *Misr* and *Sydyc*; the first is referred to the

father of *Mizraim*—Egyptians: of the second, he says, “*Sydyc* found out the use of salt;” not meaning, it is likely, the *culinary* use, but the *religious* use of salt: for, that salt was used as an oath, *vide* No. CLV. and this *sacred* use of salt, combines perfectly with the character of *Melchizedek*, as king, priest, and judge of all around him. The name *Sydyc* is evidently the Hebrew *zedek*, justice: and Philo Biblius, translating Sanchoniatho, renders *δικαιος*, “the just.” Moreover, Bochart says, p. 784. The Orientals called the planet Jupiter by the name *Zedek*, in honour of *Shem*; as appears by the old Jewish writings. Indeed, that Jewish tradition considered *Shem*, as the same with *Melchizedek*, is evident from the Targums of Jonathan, and of Jerusalem, the Midrash *Agada*, as cited by Rabbi Solomon: and the Caballists in *Baal-haturim*. Now, if this were an article not denied among the Jews, the reason why it needed no elucidation is clear: probably too, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, would have been highly offended, with any doubt on the subject; or any question whether the *Salem* of this king were their own *Jerusalem*. Is there any allusion to the title of this king, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. Isaiah xli. 26. Acts iii. 9. vii. 52. James v. 7.?

The Apostle tells the Hebrews, that he had much to say concerning *Melchizedek*; but it was of very difficult interpretation: certainly, the writer himself understood his subject: but he refrained; because it was too recondite, and could only be comprehended, and relished, by adequate learning, and intelligence. Moreover, if Peter has this passage in view, when he mentions (using the same word as the writer to the Hebrews) “things hard to be understood,” 2 Epist. chap. iii. 16. in the writings of the learned Apostle, which he unites with complaints against those who are “unlearned and unstable”—considering these things, we ought to be very cautious in our *determinations*; but it will not follow that British Christians, who are farther advanced in the doctrines of their religion, than the half-judaizing Hebrews were, may not study with advantage those deeper matters which the prudence of the Apostle withheld him from discussing at large.

It is but fair to apprise the reader, that these principles, if well established, lead to important consequences: for as we have elsewhere supposed the art of Writing to be extant, in ages prior to the Abrahamic migration, and confessedly a priestly study, it will follow, that *Shem* might bring into the West, and communicate to Abraham, and by him, to his family, &c. the then extant parts of that volume which we esteem sacred. He might, indeed, communicate much other information, and many additional predictions; while possibly, only those which referred to the land allotted to Abraham and his posterity, are come down to us: those referring to other nations having been neglected among the Jewish historians. This has great effect on the authority of that system of which Moses was the minister. It supersedes tradition; it allows no interval of time wherein the books written could become obsolete, or so much as difficult to a linguist like Moses, &c. It accounts also for the knowledge diffused throughout Canaan, that this country had been authoritatively, *i. e.* divinely, allotted to the Hebrew nation, in remote ages, &c. &c.

We have seen the kings, *east* of the Euphrates, war against those of the *west*; as in later ages we see Nebuchadnezzar, and other kings of Nineveh, and Babylon, extend their conquests over Egypt, by the same way. Did the ancient *Palli*, or Shepherds of India, also, conquer Canaan and Egypt, [See Nos. DXXIX. DXLIV. *et seq.*] and from this people did that “king arise who knew not Joseph?—Admitting this,

Observe, how it justifies those passages of the Mosaic writings Gen. xii. 6. xiii. 7. which have been thought demonstrative against their being written by Moses, "the *Canaanite* was then in the land;" meaning, the *original* natives of Canaan, not their *conquerors*: and, if the reader will keep in mind, in perusing Scripture-history, that Canaan was peopled by a *mixture* of the descendants of these natives, and of those of their conquerors, at various times, he will find reasons for attributing actions to one of these classes of inhabitants which would be very unaccountable if attributed to another. For instance, suppose *Rahab* the *zoneh* [*hostess*, at most, not *kedeshah*, harlot; Josh. ii.] to have been one of these original Canaanites; see what feelings might induce her to delude the *Palli* king of Jericho: see how her faith relied on the appointment of Canaan to the Hebrews, in which all Shemites acquiesced.—"I know that the Lord hath given you the land," &c. See also why *some* Canaanites (of the original stock) might be left undestroyed in Judea, possibly unmolested, &c. &c.

Observe, how sacrificing the *beee* kind was "an abomination" to the *Palli* Egyptians; that animal is held sacred in India, to this day, and the Brahmins do still professedly abstain from slaughtering beeves, and from eating their flesh. This explains also the respect paid to the river Nile, with its alledged sanctity, assimilated by the new comers to the Indian Ganges; whence also its character as holy, in the Indian accounts of it, yet extant.

Observe, that the *Praw*, or *Parau*, of India, (the *Porus* of the Greek writers) is the same title of distinction as the *Parho*, or *Pharaoh* of Egypt.

This principle sheds considerable light, also, on another passage of Scripture, a passage which has been a very thorn in the sides of commentators, "Out of Egypt have I called my son;"—or, "when Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt."

Observe, the comparison between Israel and Christ. *Young* Israel was sent down from Canaan into Egypt, by Divine Providence; and during his preservation in this country, the *Palli* over-ran Canaan, conquering and devastating all before them: but Israel escaped this destruction; though in process of time the *Palli* conquered Egypt also, whereby Israel became subject to many adversities—to slavery, and to oppression.—In like manner, the *child* Jesus sent by Divine interposition into Egypt, escaped the bloody fury of Herod; being safely sheltered, though certainly exposed to many inconveniences. Israel was brought up out of Egypt, safe, strengthened, undestroyed; so was Jesus: the parallel, therefore, is complete; since both were preserved for future service, according to Divine appointment. What is wanting to justify the Evangelist's *accommodation*?—

As to this conquest of Egypt, by the *Palli*,—

A passage from Captain WILFORD's *Puranic History of Egypt*, seems to describe such an event; "SHARMA-STAN received its name from SHARMA: its descendants being obliged to leave Egypt, retired to the mountains of *Ajagar* (in *Abyssinia*). . . . Forced to emigrate from Egypt, (or, compelled to seek refuge in the mountains) during the reigns of *Sadi* and *Rahu*; they are said to be a quiet and blameless people, to have subsisted by hunting wild elephants, of which they sold the teeth and ate the flesh," p. 66. "*The children of SHARMA travelled, after the building of Babel, from the Euphrates to Egypt.*" p. 68. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. This accounts for the ready journey of Abraham to Egypt, where he sojourned among his own kindred: also, by what means the same language obtained in these countries. The same of Jacob.

It eases, moreover, the suddenness of Joseph's promotion, he being of the same *Shemite* stock. In after ages, it illustrates in some degree, the interest taken by the queen of Sheba, in Solomon's grandeur; with her desire to favour the same worship, &c. she being also of *Shemite* descent. But we cannot enlarge on these incidental particulars.

Observe, also, how this modifies what has been charged on Israel as wanton cruelty toward the population of Canaan; for, not the truly *ancient* Canaanites, did Israel attack, but the same *Palli* nation in Canaan a branch of which in Egypt had so barbarously treated the Hebrews. Since, then, the Egyptian *Palli* had patronized such cruelties, no doubt, their brethren in Canaan practised the same, and were justly punished for them. We have seen the Hamites and Shemites wage mutual war, in the days of Abraham;—the same rancour continued among their posterity; for Israel was a *Shemite* people;—but, the *Palli* were Hamite. Hence one reason, also, for the policy of Pharaoh to reduce the Israelites by destroying their sons; and hence we better understand the conduct of Moses, in “refusing to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter;” Heb. xi. 24. His acquiescence would have been an exchange of his *Shemite* descent, for a Hamite adoption. It illustrates too, on what principles he “preferred before all the riches of Egypt, the reproach of the Messiah,” expected to issue from the sacred family, according to predictions made to Shem, Gen. ix. 27. and to Abraham, Gen. xvii. *et al.* It detects, moreover, that proportion of truth, though mingled with intentional deceit, under covert of which the Gibeonites deluded Israel, by pretending to be from a far country, and exhibiting signs of remote residence, which might well enough have become their ancestors. Josh. ix. x. It shews, too, what, and whence, were the *Philistines* who so long maintained themselves against Israel; not Cretans, not Greeks (exclusively) but descendants of those *Palli*, who, inhabiting the sea-coasts could always be recruited by means of shipping. Nor let us forget, that it farther explains the cause why the deities of India and of Philistia, were the same; though in length of time, Egyptianized, or Grecised, (com. Nos. DXXXVI. *et seq.*) and this adds to what we have elsewhere said, on the expectation that the researches of our countrymen in India will clear many other obscurities, by tracing their causes to the fountain-head of observation.

We may include, also, that this shews one reason of the Jewish hatred to the Samaritans, in later ages; which were a colony of *Palli*, or Hamites, brought from the east of the Euphrates, and settled in a country where the *Shemite* Jews claimed paramount property.

To follow this train of reasoning to its extent, would be too much for this opportunity; what is said, opens so many new appearances, that propriety demands their close examination before proceeding. If on candid enquiry, these ideas be found erroneous, they can have done no harm, as yet; if, on the contrary, they be found agreeable to truth, their veracity will, under the direction of Providence, be investigated, and vindicated; till at length, that information which we have been labouring to communicate, produces its proper effect, in relieving the SACRED ORACLES from a burden of human error, under which sundry parts of them have long been disgraced, if not mutilated, depressed, if not destroyed.

We are not ignorant, that these suggestions are directly opposite to others current among the learned, and in particular to those of the very erudite Mr. BRYANT: that gentleman supposes to be *Shemite* kings, those whom we have taken for Hamites: he supposes the shepherd kings from India (*Palli*,) to have been expelled Egypt before

the sons of Jacob entered that country; but, we presume to think that circumstances accord much better with our own principles than with his. It is not to be expected that in this abstract all accessible authorities, or appropriate observations can be given on subjects so difficult. Much remains to be done, and Providence will engage *somebody* to do it, whether or not that *somebody* be yet known to the public.

In times so long antecedent to what regular histories are come down to us, the services of the meanest assistants, tradition, allusion, hyperbole, hieroglyphics, are not to be contemned: wherever a trace of truth appears, however faint, its aspects however unpromising, thither is the attention, and often the anxiety, of the enquirer, directed. Long, very long, is it before the true sense of such obscurities can be seized or appreciated; that a truth is enveloped under such concealment, is often a persuasion, or even a perception of the understanding, long before the nature of that truth is known, and when the nature of it is fortunately discovered, the application of it to useful purposes remains for protracted consideration; and, who can insure his mind from contemplating truth itself under an obliquity which may render it deceptive? These are but a part of the difficulties which should engage us to accept with candour the labours of those whose efforts have been thus directed; being well aware, that, under the blessing of Providence, the honour of illustrating Holy Scripture, is to be expected only from diligence and impartiality, from a talent given, not for concealment, but for employment; but which nevertheless, though exerted with the utmost care, perseverance, and sincerity, can prefer no pretensions to infallibility.

No. DCLXI. DIFFERENT DURATION OF PRIESTHOODS.

IN consequence of the character given to the Priesthood of Melchizedek, that of being "*unchangeable*," &c. it may be proper to drop a hint at different kinds of Priesthoods, distinguished by their duration, which were known among the ancients. This is not always present to the minds of general readers; it being customary among ourselves to consider the character of priest as indelible; and the title of *Reverend*, annexed to it, is continued, though the person who bears it no longer occupies the station or office.—“Some Priesthoods were annual, others for a term of years. There were also Priesthoods, which were not only for life, but descended to children. In the isle of Lesbos, a priest of *Esculapius Salutaris* was priest, *δια γενεῆς*, *i. e.* *by descent*; and this Priesthood descended down to all his issue. Of this sort also were the *ἱεροποῖναι* at Athens. The same priest of *Esculapius* had a Priesthood *δια βίης*, *during life*.” MONTFAUCON, vol. ii. p. 139. *Suppl.*

Thus we see that several kinds of Priesthoods were acknowledged; some for a short time, only; others for a longer. It should seem, also, as if on occasion, a priest was consecrated merely to serve the present purpose: which may diminish our offence at the Scripture instances of persons not priests, performing the priestly functions, sacrifice, &c. as Gideon, Saul, several of the prophets, and others.

No. DCLXII.

COMBINED OFFICES OF DIFFERENT PRIESTHOODS: PROPHETS.

STILL more remarkable than the foregoing No. is the following information of the same author. “Some persons were priests of several gods at once.” This is so contrary to every thing we hold decorous, that we with difficulty give it that

credit which it deserves. That a man should become priest to a second deity, after having served the time of his appointment to the first, might not appear repugnant: but, to be engaged to "several gods," at the same time, which gods might be in opposite interests, if we may credit Homer, and the Poets, has in it something uncouth, and even painful to the mind. Such however, was Idolatry! We are sure that Melchizedek was priest of one God only; and that the "Most High God," the only true and proper Divinity.

Other characters were also combined with that of priest, among the ancients. "We find in Gruter, p. 326. a person chief of the priests, and at the same time a prophet—"To the gods Manes, Onias, chief priest, and prophet."—These prophets were held in great honour. In Gruter, p. 314. Embes, a prophet, is stiled the Father, and Chief of the *Pæanists*, or singers of hymns to the great god *Jupiter Serapis*. These Pæanists erected a marble bust of this Embes the prophet whom they thus stile "their Father." Under the Article PROPHET in the *Dictionary*, *Add.* the reader has seen that prophets, also, were often temporary; and the office of prediction was sometimes combined with the priesthood, among the Jews, as among the Heathen. This may contribute to our better understanding the occasional power of foretelling future events, which we find exercised by the pious patriarchs of the Old Testament, and by believers, in the New. It may also assist us in forming some conception of the nature of certain spiritual gifts conferred on the early Christians, which several of the learned have thought might consist in the exercise of an inspired ability for a short time, only. The connection of the prophets with the singers of hymns, or among the Christians with psalmody generally, will be readily understood.

No. DCLXIII.

ILLUSTRATION OF AN INCIDENT IN THE HISTORY OF DAVID.

THE establishment of a colony of Jews in Abyssinia, is an event sufficiently vouched for by history; and among other things it has had the effect of preserving in that country many usages of the Jews of Judea, traces of which we find in the historical books of Scripture. The remote situation of this country, with our very imperfect knowledge of it, has rendered what evidence it furnishes obscure, and consequently feeble: nevertheless, we find, occasionally, instances of such close conformity with Scripture incidents, that their resemblance strikes even the least observant. This has been stated in strong terms by Mr. SALT, one of our latest travellers into Abyssinia; and has been found not less remarkable by Mr. PEARCE, who resided there several years. It will be elucidated by the following extracts, which scarcely admit of additional remarks.

"While the army remained encamped on this spot, Mr. PEARCE went out on an excursion with Badjerund Tesfos and Shalaka Lafsgee, and others of the Ras's people, for the purpose of carrying off some cattle which were known to be secreted in the neighbourhood. In this object the party succeeded, getting possession of more than three hundred oxen; but this was effected with very considerable loss, owing to a stratagem put in practice by Guebra Guro, and about fourteen of his best marksmen, who had placed themselves in a recumbent position on the overhanging brow of a rock, which was completely inaccessible, whence they picked off every man that approached within musquet shot. At one time Mr. PEARCE was so near to this dangerous position, that he could understand every word said by Guebra Guro to his companions; and he distinctly heard him
ordering

ordering his men not to shoot at either him (Mr. PEARCE) or Ayto Tesfos, calling out to them at the same time with a strange sort of savage politeness, to keep out of the range of his matchlocks, as he was anxious that no harm should personally happen to them addressing them; very kindly by the appellation of Friends."

On Mr. PEARCE's relating this Incident to me, I was instantly struck with its similarity to some of the stories recorded in the Old Testament, particularly, that of David "standing on the top of a hill a-far off, and crying to the people and to Abner, at the mouth of the cave, Answerest thou not, Abner? and now see where the king's spear is, and the cruse of water at his bolster." [*Vide* 1 Sam. xxiv. xxvi. in which many striking passages may be found applicable to the above mentioned transactions, and Mr. PEARCE might with great truth have said to Guebra Guro, as Saul said to David,—“and thou hast shewed this day, that thou hast dealt well with me, forasmuch as when the Lord had delivered me into thine hand, thou killedst me not.”] The reader conversant in Scripture, cannot fail, I conceive, to remark in the course of this narrative, the general resemblance existing throughout between the manners of this people and those of the Jews previously to the reign of Solomon; at which period the connections entered into by the latter with foreign princes, and the luxuries consequently introduced, seem in a great measure to have altered the Jewish character. For my own part, I confess, that I was so much struck with the similarity between the two nations, during my stay in Abyssinia, that I could not help fancying at times that I was dwelling among the Israelites, and that I had fallen back some thousand years upon a period when the king himself was a shepherd, and the princes of the land went out, riding on mules, with spears and slings to combat against the Philistines. It will be scarcely necessary for me to observe, that the feelings of the Abyssinians towards the Galla partake of the same inveterate spirit of animosity which appears to have influenced the Israelites with regard to their hostile neighbours.

No. DCLXIV. CONJECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF ST. PETER.

THAT there are in the Epistles of Paul “some things hard to be understood,” may freely be granted, whether or not the allusion to Melchizedek, as hinted in a foregoing Number, be one of them; or whether they do not rather refer to the indifference of the Mosaic ritual, no less to Jews than to Gentiles. The reader has seen this suggested in No. DLXXXIX. where, also, we have endeavoured to trace the labours of Peter after his departure from Antioch. Admitting the probability of the propositions there stated, we shall find ourselves under the necessity of allowing several years to the ministry of this Apostle in those provinces. Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, were countries too extensive, and too populous, to be run over in a short space of time, with that effect which we have authority for inferring from what we know of their subsequent history. Bithynia, one of these provinces, we learn from the famous letter of Pliny, who was governor there A. D. 106. was full of Christians, he says—this vile superstition had tainted all ages, both sexes, all ranks of life, the open country, as well as the more populous towns: the (heathen) temples were deserted: the sacrifices found no purchasers, &c. And this had been the case during upwards of twenty years; which brings us to A. D. 86. about twenty years from the departure of Peter.

We know, also, from Lucian's Letter concerning the false prophet Alexander, that

“Pontus was full of Atheists” *i. e.* Christians, [so also, Paphlagonia, and the neighbouring countries] much like Bithynia, no doubt; and, if what we have suggested on the interference of Judaizing teachers claiming authority from Peter, be credible, it contributes to justify our representation of the exertions and authority of this Apostle in the province of Galatia; and especially in a district adjoining, still called Asia. But, this must have been the work of years. It must have been the consequence of long residence in these countries. And observe, that, in proportion as we prolong this Apostle’s residence in these northern provinces, we abridge the time for any progress he might attempt, far south; meaning especially, so far south as Babylon in Chaldea. And yet, we cannot well avoid the inference, that wherever the Apostle dwelt when he wrote his First Epistle, he had dwelt there some considerable time; also, that his Second Epistle was composed in the same place, although several years might elapse between this and the former: which, among other causes might contribute to the merely partial reception of this work, as Peter’s. On the readiness of Mark to accompany Peter, whether northward or southward, no difficulties can be raised; but, on the occasion which called Sylvanus so far south as Babylon,—if this Sylvanus be the same as the Apostle Paul’s Sylvanus—many doubts not easily solved may be tolerated; they are both Chronological and personal.

Is the conjecture absolutely inadmissible, that the First Epistle of Peter might be a kind of response to the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians? It is remarkable, that the tenor of this address is altogether independent of any respect to the Mosaic economy: that is scarcely alluded to; certainly, it is not recommended. Nevertheless, it is evident from the energy of the writer’s expressions, chap. v. 12. “I have written to you, exhorting you, and strongly testifying that THIS IS THE TRUE GRACE OF GOD IN WHICH YE STAND,” that he felt a constraining necessity for clearly stating, as it were, under his hand, those principles which some, in their excess of zeal for legal observances, had confused, not to say impaired. And these persons were known to him: He does not mention them; but he corrects them: neither does he mention Paul; but he supports him. In his Second Epistle, however, he names Paul, explicitly, and reminds his readers that Paul had written an Epistle “TO THEM;” iii. 15. But, we have no evidence of any Epistle written by Paul to Pontus, Cappadocia, Asia, or Bithynia: he wrote to the Galatians; and to them only. No such thing has ever been supposed. It is a hazarded opinion of MACKNIGHT, that “the persons to whom Peter’s Epistles were sent, were for the most part, Paul’s converts.” Surely not. Peter says, i. 16. “We made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ”—and then he alludes to the transfiguration; which he repeats, as what he had heretofore related to them. Paul could not do this.

There is no mark of time in Peter’s First Epistle by which to fix its date. The Second fixes itself to a period not long before the decease of the writer. The interval between these tracts might be longer or shorter. If we assign an early date to the First, we must consider well where Sylvanus, if he were Paul’s Silas, could be, at the time: if we assign a later date, we must find circumstances so adjusted as to allow that Paul should receive, from the Sylvanus of Peter, the satisfaction of perusing Peter’s Epistle, and of seeing corrected the errors of those who were misleading the Galatians. Each of these propositions has its difficulty; and must not be rashly determined on. It is clear, that Peter when he wrote his

Second Epistle, knew that Paul's writings were numerous; though it seems to be most adviseable to take the term *all*—"ALL his Epistles," rather generally, than absolutely; rather loosely than strictly.

No. DCLXV. ON SILAS AND SYLVANUS.

THE whole current of authority, so far as derived from commentators, sets so strongly in support of the proposition that Silas and Sylvanus are but two names for the same individual, that it requires some courage to oppose this current, by doubt. That Silas was not the same person as St. Luke, will appear certain, when we consider that we have no such violation of decorum by any evangelical writer, as is implied in the character given (by himself of himself, in this case) by St. Luke of Silas.

We read Acts xv. 22. that Silas was "a *leading man*, a chief man, among the brethren;" not the believers, at large; but those of Jerusalem, the Apostles, elders, &c. who sent chosen men from among themselves, to Antioch, &c. He was already of great reputation and dignity: a respectable man for a respectable commission. Moreover, Silas was "a prophet," verse 32. which implies a character next in importance to that of an Apostle; and we read that it "pleased him" to abide at Antioch, which seems to imply a command of his time, and perhaps of his property, that was not in every Christian's power. Without affirming, positively, his appointment as one of the seventy, it must be confessed that the thought is not improbable; nor is it improbable, that he was among the hundred and twenty, on whom the Holy Ghost descended in the form of cloven tongues.

Now, Peter, beyond all doubt, must have known this man well: he must have been well acquainted with his qualifications; he must have concurred in his election and designation; he must have entertained the highest opinion of him:—Contrast with this his "*supposing* him to be a faithful brother," 1 Epist. v. 12. the incongruity is striking:—we may, with some surprize, naturally ask ourselves—Can this be Silas? Does his character, after so many years of Christian experience, of labours and sufferings in the cause of the Gospel, rest on a *supposition*? Our feelings refuse to admit this; whatever force may constrain our judgment.

Nor can we give any other sense to the Apostle's term, than that of—a conclusion after reasoning on the question;—an inference after a debate and discussion on the subject. It were desirable, if the structure of the passage would allow it, to attach this inference to the intended journey of Sylvanus, to take the word rendered "briefly"—*δι' ὀλίγων*—for a mark of time, and to include it in the parenthesis. [Observe, the term for "a few words," *i. e. briefly*, Eph. iii. 3. is not *δι' ὀλίγων*, but *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*.] In this case, the import would be "I have written, by Sylvanus, a faithful brother, journeying to you in a short time, as I conclude, after having discussed the question with him." This removes all occasion of offence; and merely asserts that Peter had prepared his letter against the time when Sylvanus should depart on his journey.

Leaving this, without attempting to support it, by additional investigation of the constructive collocation of the passage, we remark, that we find Silas in constant association with Paul after they had agreed to accompany each other from Antioch, through Asia Minor; and, in particular, we know that he crossed over from Troas to Macedonia, and was severely treated, with Paul, at Philippi, whence they pro-

ceeded to Thessalonica and Berea. Here Silas remained, while Paul visited Athens, and went on to Corinth, where they again joined company, about A. D. 51. or 52. If Silas be Paul's Sylvanus, they wrote to the Thessalonians, in conjunction, from Corinth, about that time; and he is again mentioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians, written about A. D. 56. or 57. perhaps from Ephesus. This interval of four or five years is the earliest we can find, in which Silas could possibly undertake so distant a journey as that to Peter, supposing him to reside in Babylon of Chaldea. He might travel from Corinth through Troas, proceeding by the provinces mentioned, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus and Cappadocia; and returning in the contrary order,—which is that adopted by Peter—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia.

This appears to be the most favourable statement that Chronology will bear, in behalf of the notion that the Sylvanus of Peter is Paul's companion, Silas. But, it must be confessed, that we should get rid of these difficulties, if we coincide with the Greeks, who distinguish between Silas and Sylvanus. It is true, that CALMET pointedly condemns this distinction; and if his censure be restricted to the Silas *alias* Sylvanus of Paul, we might incline to agree with him; but, if we should prefer to distinguish between the Sylvanus (Silas) of Paul and the Sylvanus of Peter, this opinion of the Greeks evinces that the conjecture has been thought (anciently?) admissible, by those whose information on the subject should possess a certain degree of authority. We should then, have no occasion to consult the convenience of chronology; nor to embarrass ourselves in attempts to reconcile contradictions of character; the date of Peter's First Epistle would then be left somewhat more at large, though it is most probable, that what we have hinted on this particular, is not very far from the truth.

No. DCLXVI. ON THE BABYLON, WHENCE PETER DATES HIS EPISTLE.

THAT the Babylon whence Peter dates his Epistle, was the famous city of Rome has been the sentiment of many among the learned. On the present occasion, we do no more than call the attention of the reader to the order of the provinces saluted by the Apostle. He places Pontus, and Cappadocia first, certainly, because they were nearest to him; and Bithynia last, because it was the most distant from him. This is utterly inconsistent with his being at this time resident in Rome, which would have prescribed a contrary order. Whether it favours the notion of a Third Babylon, —that mentioned in the Maccabees—must be left to the candid consideration of the reader. Comp. III. BABYLON, in the *Dictionary*.

“The Syrian and Chaldee writers,” says Mr. Yeates, “in the Lives of the Apostles and Martyrs, record of the Apostle Peter, that—“He preached in Syria, and Antioch, and in Asia, Bithynia, Galatia; and other regions.” They say nothing of Babylon. “Elias, bishop of Damascus writes, that...the country of Babylon... was called to the faith by Addeus and Marus, of the seventy disciples, which followed Bartholomew.” And in the Epitome of the Syrian Canons they write, “The fifth seat is Babylon, in honour of the three constituted Apostles; Thomas, the Apostle of the Hindoos and Chinese; Bartholomew, who also is the Nathaniel of the Syrians; and Addeus, one of the Seventy, who was master to Agheus and Marus the Apostle of Mesopotamia and Persia.” Here they say nothing of Peter; who, most assuredly, could not have been omitted in this enumeration, had there been any tolerable pretence for inserting him.

FRAGMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

PERSONAL APPEARANCE, MANNERS, AND ACCOMMODATIONS.

.....

IN No. LXI. the reader has seen an attempt by means of the Dresses at present worn by Arabian Women, to illustrate some of those particulars to which Scripture alludes in reference to the Dresses worn anciently by the Hebrew Women; and in the Notes and Plates annexed to the proposed Arrangement of Solomon's Song, the subject has been farther considered. There remain, however, several passages connected with this enquiry, and various incidental references, which have their importance; these may claim our attention: and the rather, as in explaining and correctly stating these, we may elucidate, at the same time, other particulars, in which the maxims and customs of the East differ essentially from our own; and from whatever previous conceptions we can form of them. The same may be said of other Articles included in this division; they contribute to our better acquaintance with their subjects, although those subjects may have been partly noticed already.

No. DCLXVII. OF FEMALE DRESS, IN THE EAST.

ISAIAH, CHAP. III. VERSES 17—24.

ARTICLES of Dress, especially of Female Dress, are so capricious, that having been used they are laid aside, and being laid aside they are forgotten: we know this to be fact in respect to the fashions of our own country, and much is the most learned British antiquary puzzled to appropriate to their uses the kinds of Apparel, with their parts, which occur in the descriptions of our ancient writers. If this be the case in our native land, there can be no wonder, that we should be more than equally embarrassed when endeavouring to explain and elucidate passages of the Sacred Writings where articles of Dress are mentioned.

As we differ considerably from all commentators who have endeavoured to determine the various parts of Dress worn by a Hebrew lady, as mentioned by the prophet in the passage under consideration, we beg leave to offer our reasons for such differences. The following is the rendering of our Public Version; and underneath, in italics, is that of Bishop LOWTH.

| | |
|---|--|
| | In that day, the LORD will take away the bravery of <i>from them the ornaments of</i> |
| עֲנָסִים <i>Ocasim</i> | 1. Their tinkling ornaments about their feet. <i>The Feet Rings.</i> |
| שְׁבִיסִים <i>Shebisim</i> | 2. And their cauls, [or net-works. <i>Margin.</i>] <i>The Net-works.</i> |
| שְׁהָרִנִּים <i>Sheharenim</i> | 3. And their round tires like the moon. <i>The Crescents.</i> |

..... נטפחות
Nethephut

..... שרות
Sharut

..... רעלות
Rolut

..... פארים
Parim

..... צערות
Tjodut

..... קשרים
Kesharim

..... בתי הנפש
Beti henephesh

..... לחשים
Lechashim

..... טבעות
Thebout

..... נזמי האף
Nezemi heaph

..... מחלצות
Mechaletjut

..... מעטפות
Meathephut

..... מטפחות
Metkephechut

..... חריטים
Charithim

..... גלינים
Galanim

..... סדינים
Sidanim

..... צניפות
Tseniphut

..... רדדים
Radidim

4. The chains, [or sweet balls. *Margin.*]
The Pendants.

2. And the bracelets.
Bracelets.

6. The mufflers.
The thin Veils.

7. The bonnets.
The Tires.

8. The ornaments of the legs.
The Fetters.

9. And the head-bands.
The Zones.

10. And the tablets, [houses of the soul. *Margin.*]
The Perfume Boxes.

11. The ear-rings.
The Amulets.

12. The rings.
The Rings.

13. The nose-jewels.
The Jewels of the nostrils.

14. The changeable suits of apparel.
The embroidered Robes.

15. And the mantles.
The Tunics.

16. And the wimples.
The Cloaks.

17. And the crisping-pins.
The little Purses.

18. The glasses.
The transparent Garments.

19. The fine linen.
The fine linen Vests.

20. And the hoods.
The Turbans.

21. And the vails.
The Mantles.

And instead of a sweet smell, there shall be a stink,
Instead of perfume, a putrid ulcer.

And instead of a girdle, a rent;
Instead of well girt raiment, rags.

And instead of well set hair, baldness,
Instead of high dressed hair, baldness;

And instead of a stomacher, a girding of sackcloth.
Instead of a zone, a girdle of sackcloth.

And burning instead of beauty.
A sun-burnt skin, instead of beauty.

Our endeavour will be, to shew each of these parts of Dress, distinctly:—most of them are still worn in the East; and the certainty of some of them will enable us to judge sufficiently on the nature and application of others.—Each of these words will engage attention in its order, as numbered.

We are rather unfortunate in differing from every translator and lexicon on the meaning of the very first word; which has been universally rendered in reference to the feet, or legs. This might be just, if the prophet, *beginning* at the feet went regularly *upwards*, in describing the Dress: but, having presumed to think, that he begins at the head and goes *downwards* [as observed formerly of the Bridegroom, in *Solomon's Song*] it follows necessarily, in our opinion, that to make him *begin* at the feet, and instantly skip to the very summit of the head, is doing him great injustice, as a poet.

No. 1. OCASIM. The meaning of the root OCES is, *to tie up, to bind*: and for the present the reader will indulge the reference of this word to the *binding* of the hair; to a fillet for tying up the hair in rolls, plaits, or other artificial forms.

No. 2. SHEBISIM. The word signifies *reticula*, net-works. Our translators have accepted the true idea of it, by rendering *cauls*; meaning, net-work for the hair. The reader will see on EASTERN DRESSES, Plate I. No. 16. a specimen of this kind of ornament, as worn anciently at Syracuse: also in No. 17. The reader will observe, too, the natural connection of the band which ties up the hair, the OCES of No. 1. with the *reticula*, or *caul*, of the present number.

No. 3. SHEHARINIM; *lunulæ*, crescents---crescent-like tiaras. This also is a part of the present Eastern Head-Dress. In Nos. 13, 14. Plate I. the reader will find two specimens, copied from Sir JOHN CHARDIN, who considers them as the true *tiara*, or diadem of the queens of Persia. No. 13. is circular downwards (No. 14. is circular upwards) and this I presume, is the *lunula*, it having much of that crescent-like form which is a usual appendage to figures of the *Dea Luna*; wherein the horns of the crescent pointing upward, resemble the horns of an animal. In this shape it is still worn by the women of some countries. This article, then, is clearly a part of the head-dress. In M. LE PRINCE'S "Dresses of the various Nations under the Dominion of Russia," this crescent-like form of the bonnet, or head-dress, is very conspicuous as worn by some women of Muscovy; and particularly, those by which he calls *Femmes Schouvaches*.

No. 4. NETAPHUT; chains,—rather *drops*, or pendants. Mr. LEVI says, "By what I have been able to collect from the Jewish commentators, it appears, that they were a kind of necklace made of pearl beads; hence their derivation, either from falling, or dropping, down the bosom, or from the bead [head?]: for *Kimchi* observes, the *bdellium*, or pearl, is called in Arabic *al nataph*." The word occurs also, Judges viii. 26.—"beside the *Sheharinim*, little moons—*lunettes*, and the *Netaphut*—drops:" now, these *drops*, though they might be necklaces worn by the kings of Midian, yet they might be drops of another kind; [vide Plate IX. BRIDEGROOM, *Solomon's Song*,] for instance, jewels appended to the *tiara*, or turband, for so the passage stands, connecting (apparently) one with the other; and so, I apprehend, it stands in the passage before us; intending ornaments appended to the tiara, which, of course, keeps the prophet's description still in the head-dress.

No. 5. SHARUTH; *bracelets*. Bracelets are ornaments for the arms: but, apparently, we are yet attending to the head-dress; and therefore, as the import of this word is *chains*—little chains, we may suppose them to be a connection of ornament, attached to the tiara, perhaps, a pattern wrought on its front; or possibly hanging *loosely* over it. N. B. If this root denotes a coat of mail, the tiara is equally capable of receiving this kind of *imbrication*, or any other, as ornament to its surface. Vide Nos. 13, 14. *a. a.* Plate I.

No. 6. It is probable the word *ROLUTH*, which signifies *shakings*, denotes some *trembling* ornament; some glittering sprig—of *spangles*, perhaps:—that such an article of jewellery work may easily be attached to the head, needs no demonstration. Possibly, it was analogous to the feathers of No. 13, 14, 15. Plate I. whose tremulous motion is characteristic,—[vide Plate VI. on *Solomon's Song*.] and these were often formed of jewellery work.

No. 7. *PARIM*, are, certainly, what cover the upper part of the head. We have seen the *tiara* in front; but this article belongs to the *upper* part; it is therefore, well meant by the rendering of our translators, *bonnets*. This appears from Isaiah, lxi. 3. “*instead of ashes*—which were strewn on the *upper* part of the head,—*parim*—beauty,” rather, beautiful bonnets:—and especially that part technically called the head-piece, or crown of the bonnet. Vide Plate I. Nos. 13, 14. *b. b.* in which it is seen distinct from the *tiara*.

In revising these particulars, we find, that all hitherto mentioned belong to the Head-Dress; and this implies nearly a poetical impossibility, that the prophet should in the first article intend an appendage to the legs, and in the six following articles refer wholly to decorations of the head. The words stand thus, 1. the ornamental Cinctures for tying up the hair, encircling the head; 2. the Net-work for enclosing the hair, especially that part of it at the back of the head, which would otherwise fall down the neck; 3. the crescent-like Tiara, in front of the head-dress; ornamented with 4. Drops, jewels, or gold; also with 5. Chains hanging *loosely* over it; also with 6. Sprigs, or light feathers, of jewellery, *AGITATED* by every motion of the head; 7. The Crown of the whole Bonnet, or the head-piece, covering the top of the head. These articles follow each other so aptly, and are so strongly connected by propriety, that the mere arrangement of them determines their situation and character.—We proceed to

No. 8. *Ornaments of the legs—Fetters*. Translators have been fond of ornamenting the legs; they began with this intention, and here they repeat it, but, to what effect, if the first word had already accomplished the purpose? Translators also have forgot that the arms were adorned with golden, &c. fetters; were ornamented, no less than the legs, with rings, well worthy, from their size, of the name of *shackles*: and which, says Herodotus, a king of Ethiopia refused to accept, being influenced by such an opinion of them. The word in the original is *tjoduth*: and this we find formed part of the distinguishing *regalia* of king Saul: and is expressly attached to his arm, 2 Sam. i. 10. “the Amalekite brought his crown; and the (*tjodeh*) bracelet which was upon his arm.” Here we observe that the word is *singular*; so that it appears Saul wore only *one* bracelet, *i. e.* on one arm—suppose the right arm; but in our text, the word is *dual*, or *plural*; bracelets,—one for each arm; being worn by women. Plate I. shews these bracelets clearly enough. Nos. 5, 6, 7. A. B. [N. B. They were worn on the upper arm, as well as on the lower.]

No. 9. *KESHARIM,—the Head-bands;—the Zones*. This word signifies *to bind*. I have been inclined to render it belt, or *sash*, for the waist: but, observe that the prophet spoke last of the arm, and may still be speaking of it; also, that Jer. ii. 32. a bride is said not to forget her *kesheri*,—in the plural; whereas, she would not want *two* sashes for her waist. Perhaps this word means *collets*, belts for the neck, to which the following article might be appended, and might hang from it, by chains, &c.

No. 10. *The Tablets—Perfume-boxes*. Here, I suppose, the prophet alludes to the custom of wearing perfumery in the bosom; that this was the mode we learn from

from the thought of the Bride in Solomon's Song, "it—the bag of Perfume—shall be continually in my bosom;" that is to say, the fragrance of the *henna* shall constantly accompany me. *Vide on Solomon's Song.* PLATE I.

No. 11. *The Ear-Rings.*—*Amulets*, The import of the word is, to *whisper*; the *whisperers*; whence the idea of *ear-rings* is attributed to it. It is certain, that we have as yet had no mention of this capital part of an Eastern lady's head dress; and no word more proper to denote this occurs in the description. Certainly, however, if this word describes an ornament for the ear, it does not strictly mean *rings*; but, perhaps, an ornamental composition of gems, pendants, &c. attached to the ear-ring, of which ancient medals present many varieties.

No. 12. *The Rings*;—meaning, I presume, rings for the finger; which being set with gems, and precious stones, have always been considered as an ornamental part of dress. See the instance of Pharaoh; who took the *ring* from off his finger, to put it on that of Joseph. This no doubt was a seal-ring, Gen. xli. 12. Comp. also Esther iii. 19. viii. 2. and No. cclxvi. On SEALS, SEAL-RINGS.

No. 13. *The Nose-Jewels*. It may be thought not absolutely *indisputable* whether this word denotes, in this place, rings worn in the nostril; it may intend a jewel worn on the forehead, and hanging down to the nose; for we read, that the servant of Abraham, Gen. xxiv. 22. put a *nezem* (the word is *singular*) *upon*, or *over* (by) the nose of Rebekah. We can hardly think that if the nostril of Rebekah were not already perforated, that Eliezer perforated it at this moment: he had surely neither leisure for such an operation, nor convenience; and if a ring were already in her nostril, (which may be doubted) how, or why, add another? whereas, if the jewel were a pendant of the nature of that in Nos. 11, 12. Plate I. it might be readily appended, whether in addition or not, to the cap, or the hair, and so *hang down over the nose*. But observe, nothing is hinted of a gem, or precious stone, in it, which seems to be essential to a forehead-jewel. The weight of this ring was half a shekel of gold; whereas, the weight of the arm-rings was twenty times as much;—ten shekels. I doubt whether young women of the better ranks of life wore rings *in their nostrils*. Many translators understand this word as signifying occasionally, rings *for the face*, *i. e.* for any part of the face: which is not denying that it means elsewhere, a ring for the nostril.

These articles we find, then, are decorative jewels, displayed on various parts of the person: as,—8. Bracelets, rings for the arms.—9. Collets, for the neck. —10. Perfume-Boxes, hanging from the collets, down the neck, or into the bosom, of the wearer.—11. Pendants for the ears.—12. Rings for the fingers, studded with precious stones.—13. Jewellery, knots of gems, pearls, &c. for the forehead. The similar nature of these articles connects them very strongly; and leads to a belief of their having been properly understood, and referred, in these instances.

No. 14. MECHALETJUT; *Changeable Suits of Apparel*.—This was the external *surtout*, or robe, put on, and taken off, occasionally. It was worn by men;—so we read, Zech. iii. 4. "take away the filthy garments of Joshua, the high Priest, and clothe him with new outer garments—*mechaletjuth*;" this is confirmed by Judges, xiv. 19. Samson slew men and took their thirty *chalitjuth*,—upper dresses; which he gave to those who had expounded his riddle;—and the prophet, in the passage before us says it was worn by women. The reader will observe some slight changes in these words, though radically the same; no doubt the dress differed for the sexes, and the wearers. We see it to advantage in Plate II.

No. 15. *The MANTLES*.—The nearest resemblance to this among ourselves is, probably, the hood to a cloak, when drawn by the wearer over her head, to shelter her head and face; it is properly rendered, therefore, by our translators, *mantles*,—in modern language, *cloaks*. Lady MONTAGUE says, Letter 29. “No woman of what rank soever, is permitted to go into the streets without two *murlins*; one that covers her face all but her eyes, and another that hides the whole dress of her head, and hangs half way down her back.” This then was a garment put on, and taken off, occasionally: consequently, it succeeds the former with propriety.

No. 16. METHEPHECHUT: *the Wimples—Cloaks*: This is the half-veil of *f*. No. 15. Plate I. [*Vide* No. CLIX.]

No. 17. CHARITHIM, *the crisping Pins—little Purses*: The meaning of this word is, a *bag*; so we read, 2 Kings v. 23. Naaman bound two talents of silver in two *charithim*, bags, or cases made of linen, &c. *envelopes* proper for their enclosure; this, I think, is identically the description of a Turkish lady's *drawers*; which are *bags*, or cases for the legs; and, as drawers are universally worn in the East, and are absolutely indispensable, the prophet could hardly omit all mention of them: and besides, this is the proper place for them, in the order he has adopted; as this is the first-mentioned garment which is *constantly* worn as apparel.

No. 18. *The GLASSES*,—*transparent Garments*: The drawers are worn close to the person, covering the lower parts; next over these is worn a thin *gause* shift, covering the whole of the person; in the upper parts being next to the skin, in the lower parts being *outside* the drawers. This I take, without hesitation, to be the article intended.

No. 19. SIDINIM, *the fine linen—fine linen Vests*. This is apparently the *vest*. In the figures we submit to the reader, Plate II. it is not a *linen* vest, but of embroidered silk; and that this was an *enriched* part of dress, and worn by men of opulence, we learn from Samson's promise of such to his companions, Judges xiv. 12, 13. thirty *sidinim*; not habits of slaves or peasants, but of persons of property. It was worn, then, by both sexes. In confirmation we observe that the girdle is connected with the *Sidin*, Prov. xxxi. 24. “The virtuous woman maketh the *Sidin* and selleth it: and the girdle also she delivereth to the merchants.” Since then these are mentioned in connection, it is fair to presume that they were worn together.

Subsequent observation seems to justify a conjecture that the *Sidin* was of the nature of a Shawl, worn by both sexes, and was, it is probable, named *Sindon*, from the *Sind*, or Indus, river. It appears that *Hindoo*, (India) is written *Hiddu* in the Hebrew of Esther i. 1. and there are other Hebrew words in which the consonant is dropped; as *lapad* for *lampad*; a lamp. The fine shawls of Cashmire, were no doubt, the originals; but they might be imitated anciently, in other countries, as they are at present among ourselves.

No. 20. TJENIPHUT, *the Hoods—Turbands*. This word signifies *to withe—to wrap around*. In this place it means precisely, I apprehend, the *sash*, or waistband, of linen, silk, &c. rolled around the waist; answering to the girdle; an article which is otherwise omitted in this description; surely contrary to propriety. [See this Wrapping Girdle in Plate VI. *Solomon's Song*.] It does not appear in our present figures, as *wrapping around* the waist by folding over it; (except as the two figures of Egyptian Dancing Women wear it) but its place is supplied in the figures on Plate II. by a girdle of a different kind decorated with gems, &c.

No. 21. *The VEILS,—Mantles.* The *radid* we have proved elsewhere, [No. CLXV.] to be a long deep veil, covering the whole of the person. This long deep veil, being an entire external envelope, worn as a beautiful part of Dress, by brides and married women, and indeed being the only part of dress seen by spectators when a woman is walking abroad, closes this description with propriety. Neither of our figures has this veil on, as it would conceal the other parts of the Dress. It may be seen in the Plate to the FRAGMENT, referred to; or, may be conceived of, as a sheet of delicate drapery, wholly enclosing the wearer.

Thus we see, that these articles also, are connected by their nature;—Garments to be put on and taken off occasionally, are, 14. The external Robe, 15. The Hood; 16. The Half-Veil. Garments to be worn continually are, 17. Drawers, 18. Shift of Gauze, 19. Embroidered Vest, 20. Sash. The whole is closed by the Long-Veil, which effectually conceals the person, and is worn only out of the house, being laid aside when at home.

Let us now observe the order, the accurate order, maintained by the prophet in his description; while we endeavour to justify the particulars, by a proper division and association of them, and by reference to our Plates.

THE HEAD DRESS.

1. Band for tying up the hair, *vide* Plate I. Nos. 16, 17.
2. Net Cap, *Reticula*, *vide* Nos. 16, 17.
3. Crescent, *Tiara*, *vide* Nos. 13, 14. *a. a.*
4. Drops, appended to the *Tiara*, *vide* Nos. 11, 12.
5. Loose Chains, *vide* the pattern on the front of the *Tiara*, which is varied according to the taste of the wearer, Nos. 13, 14.
6. Feathers of Jewellery. *Vide* Nos. 13, 14, 15.
7. Head Piece of the *Tiara*, *vide* Nos. 13, 14. *b. b.*

ORNAMENTAL JEWELS.

8. Bracelets, *vide* 5, 6, 7. Plate I. also Plate II.
9. Collets for the neck.
10. Perfume Boxes.
11. Pendants for the ears.
12. Jewellery rings for the fingers.
13. Jewellery rings for the forehead, Nos. 11, 12.

OCCASIONAL GARMENTS.

14. External Robe. Plate II. A. B. This robe is richly lined with fur. [For a figure without this eternal robe, *vide* *Solomon's Song*, Plate V.]
15. Hood.
16. Half-Veil, *vide* Plate I. No. 15.

CONSTANT GARMENTS.

17. Drawers, *vide* Plate I. No. 10. A. A.—The same, Plate II. B.
18. Gauze Shift, *vide* Plate I. No. 10. B.—Plate II. A. B.
19. Embroidered Vest, *vide* Plate II. A. B.
20. Sash.
21. Long Veil.

The order and connection of these articles preclude any considerable doubts on the nature of them, respectively; that we should be able to exhibit the pattern of each as worn in the days of Isaiah, is not to be expected: it is enough, if we approach so near to an explanation of the particulars, as to shew, that this passage of Holy Scripture, hitherto relinquished as inexplicable, may be so far at least explained, as to be relieved from the obscurity which has attended it.

We have trusted entirely to that evidence offered to the judgment and *view* of the reader, which arises from an orderly arrangement, and association of the parts of Dress, with the representation of them in our Plates: to have entered deeply into *verbal* disquisition on a subject like the present, might have bewildered both writer and reader by an ostentation of learning, without communicating that information which is the object of our researches.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

This plate contains, in the uppermost row of figures, delineations of Ornaments which are adopted by the women in the East, for purposes of personal decoration. The first four Numbers are from Dr. Pococke's Travels in Egypt, who thus explains them.

No. 1. The NOSE-RING. "The common women, especially the blacks, wear rings in their noses; into the rings a glass bead is put by way of ornament."

No. 2. The EAR-RING. "They wear on their ears large rings, three inches diameter, that come round the ear, and are not put into it: These are ornamented like the figure."

No. 3. The LEG-RING. "They wear also such things as the figure, round their naked legs, most commonly made of brass among the vulgar."

No. 4. The BRACELETS. "These are commonly a work of wire. There are some of gold, finely jointed; the most ordinary sorts are of plain iron, or brass."

"Whenever the women go out to wash at the river, or to fetch water, they put on all their attire, and appear in full Dress."

The Doctor's delineations being of each article, separately, not as worn,

Nos. 5, 6. Shew the mode of wearing the Bracelets on the arm. These examples have *two* rings; but often four or moer are worn, at the same time. *Vide* No. LXI. and Plate of ARABIAN DRESSES.

No. 7. A couple of Egyptian Dancing Girls, from Mr. DALTON. These girls have rings in their ears, and in one nostril, also. Mr. DALTON observes, "the rings in their nostrils and ears are *very large*." N. B. The ring of one is in the *right* nostril; the ring of the other is in the *left* nostril.

No. 8. Rings, worn on the leg. These rings are single: but often two, or more, are worn together: the jingling they make may easily be imagined.

No. 9. A similar article, from the Antique: forming part of the ornaments of a Venus.

No. 10. The modern Turkish Sandals, which tend greatly to give an appearance of height to the wearer. The drawers A. A. which almost cover the foot, are worn *under* the shift, B. B. which is seen coming over them, and for the most part covering them. [*Vide* Plate V. *On Solomon's Song*.]

No. 11. The head dress of a lady of Persia, from the Hundred Prints of Levant Dresses; it shews—the jewel hanging on the forehead,—ear-rings,—necklace,—embroidered cap, &c.

No. 12. Shews also the jewel on the forehead, the ornamented cap, the necklace, &c. [The figure is given at full length in Plate VI. on *Solomon's Song*.]

No. 13. A head dress, from CHARDIN: it shews the lunulated tiara, with its ornaments—its crown, or head-piece,—the feather,—rows of pearls, adorning the cheek,—the necklace, &c.

No. 14. Another from CHARDIN: it shews the tiara—with its ornaments,—its crown, or head-piece,—the feather, &c.

No. 15. Another from CHARDIN: it shews the half-veil—the forehead-band,—the rows of pearls, adorning the cheeks,—the feather, &c.

No. 16. Shews the ornamental *bandeau* for tying up the hair, the net-work caul, for containing the hinder part of the hair *en masse*,—ear-rings,—and necklace. This is a coin of Syracuse.

No. 17. Another coin of Syracuse: it shews a band tying the hair, also, a net-work caul, or *reticula*, ornamenting and enclosing the hair behind. Possibly these nets were of silver meshes; [Some among the Herculaneum pictures are of gold.]—if so, they are justly enumerated among luxurious ornaments of dress. Comp. Cant. vii. 5.

Some of these articles may bear remark: first, the jewels attached to the nostril and ears. Mr. HARMER has quoted some very strong things said by Sir J. CHARDIN in his mss. which I transcribe.

“Let us now see what the notions of the East are, of which Sir J. CHARDIN has given a large account in vol. vi. of his mss. The import of the Vulgar Latin translation (says this gentleman) is, “I have put ear-rings upon her to adorn her face.” The modern Bibles, such as that of Diodati and others, translate it, (conformably to the Arabic and Persian versions) “I put the ring upon her nose.” It is the custom in almost all the East, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold, and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between, placed in the ring. I never saw a girl or young woman, in Arabia, or in all Persia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril. It is without doubt of such a ring that we are to understand what is said in this verse, Gen. xxiv. 47. and not of those Diodorus speaks of, and which he says the women attached to their foreheads and let them hang down upon their noses. I have never seen or heard speak of any such thing in all Asia. The women of condition there, indeed, wear jewels on their foreheads, but it is a crotchet like those worn in France in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to which they hang on three or five bobs; but these jewels do not descend lower than the forehead. I have many times seen at Babylon, and in the neighbouring countries, women with their ornaments, and have always seen these rings in their nostrils. I have seen some of them with pearls from . . . to twenty-four grains, among the jewels of the greatest princesses of Persia; but nothing like the rings mentioned by Diodorus. We ought also to understand Isaiah, iii. 21. Ezek. xvi. 12. of these nose-jewels; and to look upon this custom of boring the nostrils of the women as one of the most ancient in the world.”

So. Mr. MORIER describes a dancing girl of India;—“Behind her ear was a large bunch of pearls, like a cluster of grapes, and a ring was suspended through one of her nostrils.” *Second Journey in Persia*, p. 19.

It appears, then, that women in the East wear rings and jewels in their nostrils, as Dr. Pococke, Mr. Dalton and later travellers say; but these gentlemen rather confine it to the lower class of women; and it certainly is an ornament adopted, or declined, at the pleasure of the wearer. It does not occur in the Hundred Dresses of the Levant, or in Niebuhr, or in the *superior* Dresses of CHARDIN himself. I incline therefore to think, that though prevalent among "common women," yet it is by no means *general* among women of rank. If this be just, then the word rendered *nose-jewel*, and sometimes undoubtedly, meaning a ring for the nostril, may *occasionally* signify a jewel worn on the forehead, hanging over the nose, as described by Diodorus, and understood by Bishop PATRICK, on Gen. xxiv. 22.

Nose-jewels, or rings for the nose, appear to be hinted at in several places of Scripture. Certainly, a gold ring with precious stones in it—diamonds, for instance, would be ill bestowed on the snout of a swine; the creature would destroy its lustre, by plunging it in filth:—such, says Solomon, is female beauty, when *worn* by indiscretion. Prov. xi. 22.—

As a *nezem*—ring—of gold in the snout of a hog
Is a woman, bedecked, [splendidly ornamented] but starting aside from discretion.

—or, if we adopt the reading of the *keri* (רצה *retzeh*, instead of יפה *ipeh*) "Such is a woman fondled, doated on, won by over-weening favours, but indiscreet."

EAR-RINGS are mentioned in many places of Scripture; and appear to have been worn by both sexes. The prophet Ezekiel, xvi. 12. speaks of putting ear-rings into the ears of a woman, as an act of affection; and Hosea, ii. 13. says of a woman, "she decked herself with her *ear-rings*." This article needs no enlargement; but it deserves notice, that Ezekiel says, he put *circles* upon her ears; meaning, I presume, not drops, nor pendants of gems, but such large rings, as are worn by both our dancing girls, No. 7. [or, by the Egyptian woman, fig. K. No. CLXIV. Plate] which go fairly round the ear, rather than hang in it. Such, I presume, is one distinction; and such are the *ogelim*, "circles for the ears," of the prophet.

For *ear-rings* worn by men, see Judges viii. 24. "they gave to Gideon the ear-rings of the prey—for they (the soldiers taken captive, &c.) had golden ear-rings because they were Ishmaelites." We find also, that among the presents made to Job, chap. xli. 11. were *ear-rings*. And this custom seems to determine the spirit of the wise man's observation, Prov. xxv. 12.

As an ear-ring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold,
Is a wise reprove upon an obedient ear.

This simile would be frivolous, if ear-rings had not been worn by men; since the reprove is not supposed to confine his reproofs to the fair sex.

It is clear, from the allusion, that the Hebrew word *nezem* means an *ear-ring*, a ring worn specifically in the *ear*, in this passage; as it does also in Judges: for rings worn in the nose by men, would be, I believe, altogether singular in Scripture. See also Gen. xxxv. 4. But we must not restrain the import of the word *nezem*, to a ring for the ear, especially when used in the singular; though possibly it may be so intended when used in the plural; for, as *one* ring could not serve *both* ears, so *two* rings would be ill placed in one nostril; and it does not appear that both nostrils are, at the same time, thus decorated. This rather decides against the version of our

Translators, in the history of Abraham's servant, Gen. xxiv. 22. "The man took a golden ear-ring—*nezem*—its weight half a shekel:" this being so expressly singular, cannot mean, as propriety requires, a *pair* of ear-rings; not to insist, as the fact is, that that text is, literally, verse 47. "I put the *nezem* on her *nose*." Whether this ornament were designed for her forehead, whence it hung over her nose, or was put into her nostril, which is not specifically mentioned, may admit of different opinions: that it was one or other, there can be no doubt.

A second remark is, that Dancing Girls, who are singers and dancers alternately, were known in David's time, and in David's court. A company of them usually forms a part of the train of an Eastern monarch; and to this alludes the reflection of Barzillai, 2 Sam. xix. 35. that, at his age, he could no longer enjoy the exertions of singing men and singing women to please their auditors.

It seems to me, that the prophet Isaiah also, chap. xxiii. 15. alludes to the perambulations of dancers and singers; he says of Tyre, "she shall be forgotten seventy years; at the end of which she shall sing as a harlot. Take a harp, go about the city, make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be recollected." This is an exact description of the conduct and behaviour of the dancing girls of the East: and may be thought to hint at solicitations employed by this city to renew her commercial connections in various kingdoms, &c. from which she had been interdicted for a time.

PLATE II.

What remarks we might have made on this Plate, are so interwoven with reasonings on the parts of dress already given that we shall not repeat them.

Fig. A. Habit of the Sultana Queen in the Grand Seignior's Seraglio; we may therefore suppose it to be by no means deficient in elegance, or fashion. The same gauze shift which covers the bosom reaches down to the very toes; the vest is long, richly embroidered; the girdle is set with precious stones: the outer robe is lined with fur.

Fig. B. Is raised on her sandals, though not to the "stature of the palm-tree;" her drawers nearly cover her feet; her gauze shift, which covers her bosom, comes down very low over her drawers; her vest is enriched with embroidery, &c. but is short; her girdle differs from that of the other figure; and her gown, or outer robe, is trimmed only, not lined, with fur. The black ribbon thrown across the neck, the bracelet on the arm, and the head-dress, will not escape the reader's attention.

No. DCLXVIII. RINGLETS OF HAIR, ENSNARING.

ON *Solomon's Song*, Fifth Day, Eclogue I. we ventured to submit a very unusual version of a passage, implying that the king's heart was entangled in the numerous and beautiful Braids of Hair which adorned the head of his spouse. See Nos. ccccxxiv. ccccxxv. also, Plate IV. BRIDE'S DRESS, with the Explanation. The idea seemed plausible enough, from the customs of Oriental females, and the general scope of the passage; but a more particular and applicable authority has subsequently come to hand. It is an Ode of the *Pend-Nameh*, p. 287, 288. translated from the Persian, by Baron Silvestre de Sacy. Paris, 1819.

ODE OF DJAMI ON THE TRESSES OF HIS MISTRESS.

“O thou, who hast entangled my heart in the net of thy Ringlets! the name alone of thy curling Hair is become a snare for hearts: Yes, all hearts are enchained (as in the links of a chain) in the (links) Ringlets of thy Hair, each of thy curls is a snare and chains. O thou, whose Curls hold me in captivity, it is an honour for thy slave to be fettered by the chains of thy Ringlets. What other veil could so well become the fresh roses of thy complexion, as that of thy black Curls [fragrant] like musk? Birds fly the net, but, most wonderful! my never quiet soul, delights in the chains of thy Tresses! Thy curls, inhabit a region higher than that of the moon. Ah! how high is the region of thy Tresses! It is from the deep night of thy Curls that the day-break of felicity rises at every instant for Djami, thy slave!”

The reader will probably, think this rhapsody sufficiently *exalted*: it is, however, a not immodest specimen of the poetical exuberance of fancy and figurative language in which the Orientals envelope their ideas, when inspired by the power of verse, and frenzied by the fascinations of beauty.

No. DCLXIX. ON THE POWER AND IMPORTANCE OF PERFUMES.

IF the poets of Asia have indulged themselves without reserve in the intricacies of metaphor to describe the crisped curls of their mistresses, who, assuredly, were not deaf to the flattery, or insensible to the importance of that branch of personal decoration,—both, the lover and the fair have acknowledged attachment nothing less extatic, to the Fragrance which usually formed a part of the anxious elegance bestowed, in its order, on this natural ornament of the sex. What we have already said, Comp. Nos. CCCLII. CCCXCIV. might be thought sufficient evidence of this; but, as the prophet Isaiah in the passage lately considered, supposes that the Hebrew females carried boxes of Perfume about them, which they distinguished by an epithet of superlative affection, “houses of the soul,” *i. e.* by which the very soul was ravished, another hint on the subject may not be misplaced, here.

Mr. BOUGHTON, in his Versification of “Hindoo Popular Poetry,” translates a stanza of a song describing a beautiful woman moving by moonlight, to this effect:

Lost in the silvery beam, so soft and fair,
No eye can trace her as she moves along;
The winds which fan her heavenly Fragrance bear,
And trace her footsteps to the virgin throng.

And again, in another passage:

As the zephyrs lightly blow,
Mark, her robe, like blossoms rare,
Scatter Fragrance through the air!

This is pretty well; but it is within the powers of possibility: such limitation did not suit or satisfy the ardent genius of Hafiz, the Persian poet: he extends his imagination beyond the grave itself; and in strains the most hyperbolical tells his mistress, in one of his Odes,

Zephyr, through thy locks is straying,
Stealing Fragrance, charms displaying;
Should it pass where HAFIZ lies,
From his conscious dust would rise
Flow'rets of a thousand dyes!

If

If such be the professions of their admirers, can it be thought wonderful that the sex should study the allurements of Perfumes?—that the choice of the most attractive should be solicited, at whatever expense;—and that this should be among the first elegances to be commended in the intercourse of lovers? Comp. Cant. i. 2, 3.

This extravagance, though poetical and hyperbolical in a private individual, may diminish our surprize at the length of time, and the cost, bestowed on this article in the Haram of the king of Persia, Esth. ii. 12. no less than twelve months; “six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours,” &c. certainly, without restriction in price or quality. Perfumes were such an indispensable mark of royal gratification, that they were burnt before the king of Persia, whenever he went abroad, (Compare No. cccclxxviii.) and even when he led his army to war. But, to restrict our enquiries at present, to the personal allurements of the sex: Perfumes were, undoubtedly, employed for this purpose with no sparing hand. So the prophet charges on Jerusalem as a crime of peculiar enormity, “thou wentest to the king with Ointment, and didst increase thy Perfumes.” The word rendered *ointment*, is clearly *fragrant oil*, with which the hair was dressed: that rendered *perfume*, denotes a *mixture*—essences, perhaps in the form of powders, drawn with great skill from various sources, and combined with professional art and dexterity. The allusion is to a meretricious mode of excitement, so utterly unbecoming the city of Jehovah, that it raises the indignation of the sacred writer to that pitch, that he tells her in plain terms—“thou didst debase thyself TO HELL.”—What stronger language could he use? Isaiah lvii. 9.

The reader will easily conceive of the intention alluded to, by the boasting of the harlot, Prov. vii. 16. 17. “I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry; with carved works, with fine linen of Egypt. I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon.” [Here, by the bye, our translation fails: the first word, rendered *bed* is *ORESH*, עֶרֶשׁ, the *duan*, or seat, with its covering, (comp. No. xii.) The second *bed* is *מִשְׁכָּב*, the proper sleeping bed: the distinction should have been preserved, as it much increases the force of the passage.] This bed, says she, is strongly perfumed; and the language that follows sufficiently indicates for what purpose. Those who have had the misfortune to read the *Ovos* of Lucian, in the original, will but too readily recollect the erotic application of Ointment and Perfumes, to the person, among the accompaniments of a voluptuous bed-chamber.

Homer relates that when Juno, intent on beguiling Jupiter, was calling to her aid all her powerful attractions, her first solicitude was to employ a profusion of the most exquisite Perfumes:

The Goddess bathes;—and round her body pours
Soft oils of fragrance, and ambrosial showers:
The winds, perfum'd, the balmy gale convey
Through heav'n, through earth, and all th' aërial way;
Spirit divine! whose exhalation greets
The sense of gods, with more than mortal sweets!
She breath'd of heaven!————— *Iliad*, xiv.

This certainly is a picture drawn from human life, in which the imagination of the poet was but little tried: the intention is obvious; and prepares us for the better understanding of various particulars characteristic of the power personified under the mysterious appellation of **BABYLON THE GREAT**. [*Vide* a following No.]

No. DCLXX. LUXURIOUS MAGNIFICENCE IN LATER AGES.

IF the reader will turn back to No. ccccl. he will see Lady Wortley Montague's description of her own dress, at Constantinople, and that of the fair Fatima. We are not to suppose that these dresses of princesses can be procured by women of the lower rank ; their attire is simple enough. But, the wishes of those removed a few degrees above poverty, certainly take a strong turn in favour of what is considered as Magnificence. The same Lady asserts, in behalf of the Turkish women, that "A husband would be thought mad, who exacted any degree of economy from his wife, whose expenses are no way limited but by her own fancy. 'Tis his business to get money, and her's to spend it : and this noble prerogative extends to the very meanest of the sex. Here is a fellow that carries embroidered handkerchiefs upon his back to sell, and as miserable a figure as you may suppose such a mean dealer, yet, I'll assure you his wife scorns to wear any thing less than cloth of gold ; has her ermine furs, and a very handsome set of jewels for her head. 'Tis true they have no places but the bagnios, in which to display this finery, and these can only be seen by their own sex ; however that is a diversion they take great pleasure in." Letter 42.

The extravagant and heedless are confined to no age or country ; and if the Apostle Peter saw or suspected in his day, any thing like a similar disposition among the women professing godliness, he certainly did right to enjoin a different mode of conduct. 1 Epist. iii. 3. "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel, but, the hidden man of the heart, in that which is incorruptible,—a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price."

It is unwise to suppose that the Apostle prohibits external ornaments, entirely : it is not his object to censure those proprieties of appearance which befit station and respectability : but, he means to reduce them to their true value ; and to raise much higher on the scale of estimation, virtues which neither gleam nor sparkle in the eyes of beholders, yet contribute essentially to personal comfort, to domestic happiness, and to the amiabilities of the Christian character.

Such of our readers as are conversant with antiquities, know that many elaborate works have been written on the Dresses of the ancients ; especially on those of the Roman ladies, who certainly carried their passion for "outward adornings" to the very extreme of extravagance. It is notorious, that the Heathen moralists, themselves, as Seneca, and others, reprov'd with great severity, the unlimited expenses, and the meretricious arts of personal appearance, practised in their day ; while the Christian Fathers, as Tertullian, Clem. Alex. and many more, insisted on the observance of that decorum by their converts, which as one of the distinctions enjoined by the Gospel, became the duty of pious and exemplary Christians.

The Luxuries of Rome were derived from the East ; and Juvenal was right when he described the overflowings of the Tigris as swelling the stream of the Tiber, and Syrian practices as debasing the sons of Romulus and Numa. The silk and the purple of Tyre augmented the Luxury of the conquerors of the world ; and they won, fatally for themselves, the dominion of countries, which eventually seduced them into a worse than slavish bondage. We have seen the Harlot of Jerusalem in ancient days, boast of the decorations of her Duan, or seat for receiving her company : to what sumptuousness these were afterwards carried, may be

learned, *inter alia*, from Athenæus, vi. who refers to what is said by Clearchus Solesis of the excessive Effeminacy and Luxury of a young king of Paphos. "He lay, says he, on a bed, having silver feet, with a carpet richly wrought, of the Sardinian manufacture; (the bed) covered with another drapery of purple velvet, bound also with purple." He adds, "It had three pillows for the head, of silk edged with purple, with which, at regular distances, it was garnished: it had also, two at the feet dyed purple, of the kind called Dorics; and on these he lay in a white garment." The same writer, *lib. x.* speaks of—*Lectus Indica testudine perlucidus, plumea congerie tumidus, veste serica floridus*:—a couch, glittering with inlayings of tortoise-shell, swelled out with stuffings of down, and gaudy with coverings of silk." And Martial, iii. 82. describes one lounging on such a piece of furniture, as,

Effultus ostro, sericisque pulvinis,

Propped upon drapery dyed with murex [purple] and a silken cushion.

Accessions, these, of no small moment to Luxury and Pride, since the days of Solomon! and evidences to be added to what is said under the article SILK, in the *Dictionary*, *Add.* on the common use of that costly material in the days of the Roman supremacy.

To the extravagance of the sex, ambitious of personal appearance, we need no other evidence than the testimony of Pliny on the profusion of gold and pearls interlaced in every part of their costume with emulative ostentation; as for instance, *lib. xxxiii. 3.* he says, *Habeant (aurum) feminae in armillis, digitisque totis, collo, auribus, spiris. Discurrent catenæ circa latera, et inserta margaritarum poudera e collo dominarum auro pendeant.* The women employ gold in their bracelets, on every finger, on the neck, in the ears, in their curls. Their gold chains wander about the side, and, attached to the gold ornament of the neck the ladies hang no small weight of pearls.—Farther describing the Luxury of the Roman ladies, on the subject of pearls, the same writer, ix. 35. mentions among other things, having seen Lollia Paolina, *smaragdis margaritisque opertam, alterno textu fulgentibus toto capite crinibus, spiris, auribus, collo, manibus, digitisque*:—covered with emeralds and pearls, alternately, each glittering, interwoven throughout the whole hair of the head, throughout every curl, in the ears, around the neck, the hands, and also every finger.

Surely, if this be a specimen of the overflowings of the Tigris into the current of the Tiber, the Apostle, writing on the banks of the Tigris, had ample reason for cautioning his fair readers against excess in outward adorning, in plaiting the hair, in wearing of gold, &c.

No. DCLXXI. ON THE APPROPRIATE COLOURS OF GARMENTS.

THE Colours of Garments were, certainly, regulated in early ages,—in some places by law, in others by public opinion. The Athenians had a law, derived from Zaleucus, by which it was ordained that women of good character should wear White Garments, when they appeared in public. Loose and immodest women were at liberty to adopt what Colour they thought most to their purpose. We learn this from Suidas in *Εραιπών*, and in Zaleucus. Athenæus, *lib. xii. 4.* reports a similar regulation established in Syracuse. More anciently still, Hesiod, *Εργ.* 198. de-

scribes the goddesses Modesty and Justice, as retiring to heaven—"their beautiful persons enveloped in *white* Garments—

Λευκοῖσιν φάρεσσι καλυψομένω χροα καλόν.

And those fair forms in snowy raiment bright,
Leave the broad earth, and heaven-ward soar from sight.
Justice and Modesty from mortals driven,
Rise to th' immortal family of heaven.

This distinction eventually became emblematical; and Hermas in his Visions, iv. 2. takes special care to inform us that the Virgin whom he saw in his dream, and who represented the Christian Church, was entirely dressed in white, even her shoes. Says he, "Behold there met me a certain Virgin [comp. 2 Cor. xi. 2.] well adorned, as if she had been just come out of her bride-chamber; all in white; having on white shoes, and a veil down her face, and her head covered with shining hair. Now, I knew by my former visions that it was the Church."—This habit is not accidental but intentional: it is characteristic; as character was estimated at the time.

In a note to his "Description of the Dresses of Sabina," a Roman lady, M. BOTTIGER, has this remark, "When she attended parties of pleasure, she did not scruple to wear coloured dresses, and to imitate the capricious fashions of women who disregarded all rules of propriety. [whereas, "Decorum required that the Roman ladies should never appear in public but in the matron's costume: entirely white, with the exception of the border and trimming."] Ovid and other poets frequently mention the various colours used for women's dresses. But, it must be observed, that they allude to women of loose character, who were included under the denomination of *libertinæ*. Matrons are never referred to. They invariably wore white dresses, and could not appear in any other without degrading themselves."

It is well known that Christians newly baptized, immediately after the rite, put on White Garments, anciently, as symbolical of a new life, to be devoted to holiness and piety. These Garments they wore at least a week, publicly. Hence we read in the Revelations of those who had washed their robes, and made them white;" and of those who should walk with the Lamb, in white, being worthy;" and of being clothed in white raiment, as a mark of having overcome the world," &c. This token of joy and gratulation was familiar at the time; and to a certain degree it is so still. Most virgins when newly married wear white; and that is thought becoming in them, which in a widow who re-married would be deemed affectation.

Whether the "Shepherd of Hermas," be placed a little before or a little after the Revelations, is of no moment to our present purpose: it is sufficient for us, that we may be allowed to consider those works as contemporaries. But, the woman who appeared to John, ch. xii. as a sign in heaven, was not clothed in white: she was not then a virgin, but pregnant, and near delivery. She is, therefore, described as being, clothed with an upper and outer garment, (περιβεβλημένη, clothed around) radiant as the sun; and her inner and under garment, (ὑποκάτω under and lower) descending about and before her feet, was of pure linen, as resplendent, as white, and silvery as the moon, itself. This is the allusion, considered as referring to the parts of dress.

We are now brought to the principal object of the present enquiry.—RED coloured garments were proper to the train of Bacchus: or perhaps, they were rather

crocata, saffron-coloured, as they are called; no doubt, with red intermingled. Such were the usual dresses worn by the frantic Bacchantes. The Bassara [a robe worn by a certain description of priestesses of Bacchus.] was fox-coloured, [still partaking of much red,] Lucian, in *Baccho*, says, that deity was dressed in female fashion and, ἐν πορφυρίδῃ, καὶ χρυσῇ ἐμβάδι, walked about clothed in purple and gold. We assume, therefore, as certain, that scarlet and crimson, and deep lake colour (purple) were proper to the inebriate votaries of the god of wine.

It is not, then, without a specific object, that the writer of the Revelations describes the woman—the prostitute—THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, as arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls—having a golden cup in her hand—and DRUNKEN with the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs.” chap. xvii. His original readers would sufficiently understand what power it was which the merchants of the earth lamented, as no longer purchasing her luxuries—“the merchandize of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and of iron, and of marble; and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and the souls of men. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after—and all things which were dainty and goodly.”—

Much as several previous numbers had prepared the reader to accustom himself to “the pomps and vanities of this wicked world,” this long list of particulars greatly exceeds the extent of his preparation. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to set the proper knowledge of the subject before those who are entirely unacquainted with the antiquities of “the great city that ruled over the kings of the earth.” Modern discoveries have brought to light a thousand confirmations of the charge of heinous Luxury, profligacy, and crime, practised in the seat of empire. The decorum to be preserved, and preserved, too, with the highest respect, among Christians, forbids even allusion to much, which the writers of that day spoke out, in plain terms.

Those who best understand the subject will most explicitly acknowledge the necessity of Reformation; but, they can find in the then established institutions no rudiments, no impulse, no principle of reformation: not in the Political government, for the very emperors, were sunk in debauchery and brutality; and their officers were like themselves; not in the Religion of the state, for whatever could degrade human nature, had, at length, its patron divinity, who delighted in that very degradation, and adopted it into the acts and ceremonies of his worship. In vain were *soi disant* laws enacted from time to time.—“What are laws without manners?”—*Vance proficiunt*, says the Satirist, answering himself. Manners triumphed over laws. The numbers and rank of transgressors suffocated the laws. The enormity, even, of crime, in some instances, overwhelmed the laws. At last, when Hope no longer hoped, a spark appeared, where disdain would least of all have looked for it, and it gradually illumined the whole horizon. The works of darkness fled before it. The common sense, the natural conscience, the popular feeling of mankind, now awakened, stood aghast at what their ancestors had adored; and though this salutary emanation from the Father of Lights, has been, in all ages, too much obscured by the mists of error, and “the deceivableness of unrighteousness,” yet it has produced effects sufficiently powerful, to have rendered us all but incredulous,

when the vices, the excesses, the horrid profligacies of ancient ages, are called up, as it were, to pass in review before us:—and we ask—almost expecting a negative, Could such things really be?

No. DCLXXII. DRESS OF THE POOR.

IT is well known that the Dress of the Lower Classes in the East is extremely simple; the most humiliating contrast to what we have been contemplating. It was so anciently; and there is a strong spirit of compassion in the directions of the Mosaic law, Exod. xxii. 26. “If thou at all take thy neighbour’s Raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it to him by the time that the sun goeth down: For that is his covering only, it is his Raiment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear: for I am gracious.” The reader will observe the hesitating permission—*If thou dost at all take*—implying an expectation to the contrary, or allowing an extreme case: and closing with the observation—*I am gracious*—What then, ought you to be towards your neighbour? The propriety of this injunction in favour of the Poor, will appear from the following notice taken by NIEBUHR, of the services expected by night as well as by day, from the Dress of an Arab.

“The common class of the Arabs wear only two caps, with the *sasch* carelessly bound on the head; some have drawers and a shirt, but the greatest number have only a piece of linen about their loins, a large girdle with the *jambea*, and a piece of cloth upon the shoulders; in other respects they are naked, having neither shoes nor stockings. In the highlands, where the climate is colder, the people wear sheep skins. The scanty clothes which they wear through the day, are also their covering by night; the cloth swaddled about the waist serves for a mattress; and the linen garment worn about the loins is a sheet to cover the Arab while he sleeps. The highlanders, to secure themselves from being infested by insects, sleep in sacks.” vol. ii. p. 234.

The following extracts are from the ms. Journals of the late Major HOPE, who formed part of the English Mission sent to assist the army of the Grand Vizir, acting against the French in Egypt, in 1801. They are among that officer’s observations on the countries and people he visited on that expedition.

13 June. “Note. The Arab Sheiks in general wear a cloak, with a blue-and-white chequered handkerchief negligently twisted round one shoulder and under the other. They commonly carry a long spear.”

24 July. “Remark. The Sheiks are in general armed with a sabre, have frequently a pike, and almost always are mounted on mares, apparently very fleet.

18 September, at Cairo. “Note. The Arab women, in general, are dressed in a shift and a pair of loose trowsers underneath. Their usual way of carrying their infant children is, astride on their shoulders: these unfortunate beings are scarcely ever covered.” Comp. Isaiah xlix. 23.

No. DCLXXIII. OF HONOURS CONFERRED BY DRESSES.

VERY few English readers are sufficiently aware of the importance attached to the donation of Robes of Honour in the East. They mark the degree of estimation in which the party bestowing them holds the party receiving them: and sometimes the conferring or the withholding of them, leads to very serious negotiation,

and misunderstandings. We have already, in No. cxī. paid some attention to this mode of doing Honour; but shall avail ourselves of observations made by Major HOPE, in his Journals, (1801.) and Mr. MORIER, in his *Second Journey in Persia*, to add a few words concerning it.

“Robes of Honour, appear to be of at least three kinds; *Pelisses*, *Benishes*, and *Caftans*: the latter are given to inferior people.”

The number of *Pelisses* and *Caftans* or other Robes of Honour, with presents of stuffs, handkerchiefs, &c. mentioned in Major HOPE's Journal, as being given by the Grand Vizier, must amount to several hundreds. Among others one to himself, valued at 2000 piastres; another to Col. Holloway, valued at 4000 piastres. These officers received *Pelisses* on various occasions. N. B. always at the *close* of a visit. On one occasion they were desired to ride through the streets of Cairo, wearing the *Pelisses* recently received. N. B. “A slight, if not an affront, is shewn by withholding *Pelisses*.”

Mr. MORIER notices various particulars observed in Persia, equally curious and interesting.—“The Prince of Shiraz went in his greatest state to Kalaat Poushan, there to meet and to be invested with the Dress of Honour, which was sent him by the King, on the festival of No-Rouz. Although the day of the festival had long elapsed, yet the ceremony did not take place until this time, as the astrologers did not announce a day sufficiently fortunate for the performance of an act of so much consequence as this is looked upon to be throughout Persia. All the circumstances attendant upon the reception of a Kalaat being the great criterions by which the public may judge of the degree of influence which the receiver has at court, every intrigue is exerted during the preparation of the Kalaat, that it may be as indicative of the Royal favour as possible. The person who is the bearer of it, the expressions used in the firman which announces its having been conferred, the nature of the Kalaat itself, are all circumstances that are examined and discussed by the Persian public. A common Kalaat consists of a *caba* or coat; a *kummer-bund* or zone; a *gouch peeck* or shawl for the head:—when it is intended to be more distinguishing, a sword or a dagger is added. To persons of distinction rich furs are given, such as a *catabee*, or a *coordee*; but when the Kalaat is complete it consists exactly of the same articles as the present which Cyrus made to Syennesis, namely, a horse with a golden bridle, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον; a golden chain, στρεωτον χρυσῶν; a golden sword, ἀκινάκην χρυσῶν; besides the dress, the στολὴν Περσικὴν, which is complete in all its parts. Such, or nearly such, was the Kalaat which the Prince went out to meet; and consequently, he gave as much publicity to it as he could devise. . . . The Prince himself was conspicuous at a distance, by a parasol being borne over his head, which to this day is a privilege allowed only to royalty, and is exemplified by the sculptures at Persepolis, where the principal personage is frequently designated by a parasol carried over him. . . . the road, about three miles, was strewn with roses, and watered; both of which are modes of doing honour to persons of distinction; and at very frequent intervals, glass vases filled with sugar, were broken under his horse's feet. The treading upon sugar is symbolical, in their estimation, of prosperity: the scattering of flowers was a ceremony performed in honour of Alexander, on his entry into Babylon. (Quint. Curt. *lib.* v.) and has perhaps some affinity to the custom of cutting down branches off the trees and strewing them in the way, as was practised on our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem. Mark xi. 5. The other circumstance “the spreading of garments in the way,” is used in the Scriptures as announcing royalty.—See Kings ix. 13.” p. 93.

In another passage Mr. MORIER observes that the Persian plenipotentiary to the signature of a treaty with Russia, “ at first was at a loss how to make himself equal in personal distinctions (and numerous titles) to the Russian negociator ; but recollecting that previous to his departure, his Sovereign had honoured him by a present of one of his swords, and of a dagger set with precious stones, to wear which, is a peculiar distinction in Persia ; and besides, had clothed him with one of his own shawl robes, a distinction of still greater value, he therefore designated himself in the preamble of the treaty as “ endowed with the special gifts of the monarch, lord of the dagger set in jewels, of the sword adorned with gems, and *of the shawl coat already worn.*”

“ This may appear ridiculous to us, but it will be remembered that the bestowing of Dresses as a mark of Honour among eastern nations, is one of the most ancient customs recorded both in sacred and profane history. We may learn how great was the distinction of giving a coat already worn, by what is recorded of Jonathan’s love for David : *And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.* 1 Sam. xviii. 4. and also in the history of Mordecai we read, *For the man whom the king delighteth to honour, let the royal apparel be brought which the king used to wear, &c.* Esther v. 7, 8.” p. 300.

The reader will be pleased with these additional circumstances and authorities : but, perhaps, he will do well to consider the sword, the bow, and the girdle of Jonathan, as *military* appendages, and as peculiarly referring to the *military* exploits of David. The history of Mordecai having taken place in Persia, every custom of that country by which it may be illustrated, is the more strictly appropriate and acceptable.

It should have been added in No. cxi. that M. DE FERRIOL, the French Ambassador, after having received, himself, and sixteen of his suite—Dresses of Honour, was refused an audience of the Grand Seigneur, who had waited for him above an hour, although he was advanced to the very door of the hall of audience, because he insisted on keeping his sword on ; contrary to Turkish etiquette, which forbids any person from visiting the Ottoman Emperor *armed*. He, therefore, retired ; and returned his caftan to the officer of the court, from whom he had received it, and ordered all his attendants to divest themselves of their’s, and to return them, in like manner. They were gathered into two piles, and left on the same benches where they had been received. The story is told at length in the Explication of the Plates of the *Cent Estampes* : and shews that very powerful notions of respect and disrespect, of friendship and enmity, are attached to the offering or declining to offer, to the acceptance or the non-acceptance, of Dresses of Honour, in the East. Perhaps this instance adds to our better acquaintance with the cause of the king’s anger against the man who had not on the wedding-garment : *i.e.* he was an enemy ; having refused the customary acceptance of a present. Matt. xxi. 11.

If the reader be curious to know how this is conducted at present, Mr. HOBHOUSE will inform him, that— “ The Ambassador, and his whole party, . . were conducted towards the third gate of the Seraglio ; . . two common-looking fellows brought two bags full of Pelisses, which were distributed without ceremony to seventeen or twenty of the party, who at the same time *took off their swords* . . Just as we entered the gate, *those who had not Pelisses of fur were pushed away by the attendants.*” *Travels*, p. 998.

No. DCLXXIII. TOWERS, OR KIOSKS,
EXPLANATORY OF PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

I AM A WALL, AND MY BREASTS LIKE TOWERS:

THEN WAS I IN HIS EYES AS ONE THAT FOUND FAVOUR. Cant. iii. 10.

THE character of the Sex has led females to a certain display of their bosoms; and we have seen in our own days, a mode of dress adopted, which did not tend to diminish the amplitude in point of appearance of this part of female beauty. Nevertheless, women in the East are more anxiously desirous than those of northern climates, of a full and swelling breast: in fact, they study the *plumpness*, the *embon-point* of appearance, to a degree uncommon among ourselves; and what in the temperate regions of Europe might be called an elegant slenderness of shape, they consider as a *meagre* appearance of starvation. They indulge these notions to excess. It is necessary to premise this, before we can enter thoroughly into the spirit of the language under remark: which we take the liberty to render somewhat differently from our public translation.

BRIDE..... Our sister is little, and she hath no breasts: *being as yet too young; immature*:
What shall we do for our sister, in the day when she shall be spoken for?

BRIDEGROOM. If she be a wall, we will build on her [*ranges*] turrets of silver:
If she be a door-way, we will frame around her pannels of cedar.

BRIDE..... I am a wall and my breasts like *Kiosks*,
Thereby I appeared in his eyes as one who offered peace [*repose; enjoyment.*]

This instance of self-approbation is peculiarly in character for a female native of Egypt; in which country, says Juvenal, sneeringly, it is nothing uncommon to see the breast of the nurse, or mother, larger than the infant she suckles. The same conformation of a long and pendent breast is marked in a group of women musicians, found by Denon painted in the tombs on the mountain to the west of Thebes: on which he observes, that the same is the shape of the bosom of the present race of Egyptian females.

The ideas couched in these verses appear to be these, "*Our sister is quite young*," says the Bride;—"but," says the Bridegroom, "she is upright as a wall: and if her Breasts do not project beyond her person, as Kiosks project beyond a wall, we will ornament her dress, [*q. head-dress?*] in the most magnificent manner with turret-shaped diadems of silver." This gives occasion to the reflection of the Bride, understood to be speaking to herself, *aside*,—"As my sister is compared to a wall, I also in my person am upright as a wall: but, I have this farther advantage, that my bosom is ample and full, as a Kiosk projecting beyond a wall: and though Kiosks offer repose and indulgence, yet my bosom offers to my spouse infinitely more effectual enjoyment than they do." This, it may be conjectured, is the simple idea of the passage; the difference being, that *turrets* are built on the top of a wall; *Kiosks* project from the front of it. The name *kiosk* is not restricted to this construction; but includes most of what are commonly called summer-houses, or pavilions.

There is another passage, 2 Kings ix. 30:—which is well illustrated by our Plate, "Jezabel painted her face, attired her head, and looked out at a window. . . As Jehu entered the gate—he lifted up his face to the window. . . and said, "Throw her down," &c. If we suppose the window out of which Jezabel looked was one of those in the *kiosk* of our Print, we see how it might be over the gateway toward

which Jehu was driving; how he might lift up his face toward the window over the gateway, which he was now entering; how her blood might be sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses of Jehu's chariot, when she was thrown down; and how he might trample her under foot, *i. e.* of his horses; verse 33. In short, the whole of the story becomes more circumstantial, by connecting with it this idea of the *Kiosk* as the station of the idolatrous queen of Israel on that occasion.

That a *Kiosk*—a *projecting Kiosk*, was a common situation from whence to behold a triumphant entry is implied in the Song of Deborah, who represents the mother of Sisera as looking out of a window, and crying through the lattice, “Why is his chariot so long in coming?” Judges v. 28. Our Print shews these parts distinctly; the window, and the lattice; it shews too, how by its projection from the wall, a structure of this kind commanded a view of a whole street; so that no situation could be more suitable for enjoying the sight of a procession; also, as being in the *Kiosk* apparently implies a place of pleasure, *gala* expectations, this particular renders the understood reverse of defeat instead of triumph, more bitter, more poignant. [Comp. No. LII. the extract from Dr. SHAW.]

“At the upper end of the room there is sometimes a light wooden *Kiosk projecting from the body of a building*, and supported in the manner of a *balcony*. It is raised a foot and a half higher than the floor of the *Divan*, of which it forms a continuation, and is decorated in the same fashion. It is nearly of the same breadth with the room, but the ceiling is lower, and having windows on the three sides it is more airy.” RUSSELL'S *Aleppo*, p. 28. “Some of the *Marubba* [first floor chambers of the women] have handsome *Kiosks projecting* over the shrubbery.” p. 32.

This is something like the bow, or bay, window, of our ancient houses.

No. DCLXXIV. WEDDING PROCESSIONS; WITH A PLATE.

IN No. CLVII. the reader has seen a specimen of the recollections to which the Plate of MARRIAGE PROCESSIONS had given rise; with applications to various passages of Scripture. The greater part of them may be referred with no less propriety to the subjects before us. It is not to be imagined, that the pomp attending the Marriages of the lower classes can be very extensive; although, no doubt, they are nothing backward on such occasions. But, when the Bride is the daughter of a great man, the concourse of people in waiting, in attendance, and as spectators, comprizes almost all the inhabitants of a place; and in cities of magnitude, amounts to many thousands. Comp. No. XLIX. The reader will have the goodness to admire the excellence of the songs, the harmony of the instruments which form the concert; the spirited praises of the Bride, whose good qualities were never before so perfectly well known, together with the rapturous applauses bestowed on her beauty and qualifications, which after having been applied with infinite grace and elegance to the lady and her spouse, on this occasion, will be as fresh as ever, and equally suitable, to all succeeding couples who do honour to the Marriage state, by solemn and joyous Processions, on their entrance into it.

The lower figure on the Plate is copied from a little book of an anonymous author, which “compares the Customs of the East-Indians and the Jews;” published 1705. We quote his own words in explanation of this representation:

“St. Matthew relates a parable, which I think may be explained by a ceremony of the Indians. Speaking of the five foolish virgins, who never thought of getting oil, till the bridegroom was ready to come in, he tells us, “*At midnight there was a great cry made, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.*” Matth. xxv. 6.

“ It appears to be scarcely agreeable to our customs, that a man should go out on his marriage-night, and not return to his house till midnight; and therefore it may be asked, whether there was any law that obliged him to do after this manner, since he arrived in great ceremony at his house, where the women were ready with lamps to go out and meet him, and a feast was prepared for him.

“ ’Tis not difficult to answer this question, if we do it agreeably to the customs of the Indians; for on the day of their marriage, the husband and wife being both in the same *palki*, or *palanquin*, (which is the ordinary way of carriage in the country, and is carried by four men upon their shoulders,) go out between seven and eight o’clock at night, accompanied with all their kindred and friends. The trumpets and drums go before them; and they are lighted by a number of *massals*, which are a kind of flambeaux, the make whereof I shall quickly explain.

“ Immediately behind the *palanquin* of the new-married couple, walk many women, whose business is to sing verse, wherein they wish them all kind of prosperity, as the Greeks and Romans formerly used to do in their epithalamiums.

“ I believe it is of these public singers that the Scripture speaks, when it says in the last chapter of Ecclesiastes, ver. 4. *And all the daughters of musick shall be brought low*, intending by that to give us one sign of a public desolation. The royal prophet also mentions this sort of women, and calls them *juvenalis tympanistras*, Psalm lxxvii. 26.

“ The new-married couple go abroad in this equipage, for the space of some hours, after which they return to their own house, where the women and domestics wait for them. The whole house is enlightened with little lamps, and many of these *massals* already mentioned, are kept ready for their arrival, besides those that accompany them, and go before their palanquin.

“ This sort of lights are nothing else but many pieces of old linen, squeezed hard against one another, in a round figure, and forcibly thrust down into a mould of copper. Those who hold them in one hand, *have in the other a bottle of the same metal, with the mould of copper, which is full of oyl, and they take care to pour out of it, from time to time, upon the linen, which otherwise gives no light.*

“ When the Bridegroom and the Bride are come into the house, the wife retires with the women, and the husband sits down with his friends upon tapistry or mattresses, where their meat is served up to them. The company is always very numerous; and I doubt if among the Greeks there were so many bridesmaids as there are among the Indians.

“ The parable in the Gospel appears plainly to have relation to this custom; and perhaps the Jews, at least in the days of Jesus Christ, used some ceremony that came near it, without which I cannot see that a clear explication can be given of this return of the spouse at midnight, and the feast that followed immediately after his arrival: and yet those who have written of the Jewish traditions, have said nothing of it.

“ It may very well be, that Christ fetched this example from other nations which were near Judea, whose customs and ceremonies the Jews might know.

“ It were in vain to alledge that this is only a parable; for all those which our Saviour made use of, were founded either upon the customs of the Jews, or of the other nations that lay near to Palestine.”

We shall add to this, extracts from travellers, who describe countries not so distant from Judea as India is: they illustrate many of the above particulars, and corroborate the whole. The first is from THEVENOT.

"Whilst I was at *Surat*, the governor of the town married his daughter, to the son of an *Omra*, who came thither for that end. That young lord made his trumpets, tymbals, and drums play publicly during twelve or fourteen days, to entertain the people, and to publish his Marriage. On a Wednesday, which was appointed for the ceremony of the Wedding, he made the usual cavalcade, about eight o'clock at night. First, marched his standards, which were followed by several hundreds of men, carrying torches: these torches were made of *bamboo*, or cane, at the end whereof was an *iron candlestick, containing rolls of oiled cloth, made like sausages*. Among these torch-lights, were two hundred men, women, little boys, and little girls, who had each of them upon their head a little hurdle of ozier twigs, on which were five little earthen cruses, that served for candlesticks to so many wax-candles. These people were accompanied by a great many others; some carrying baskets, rolls of cloth, and *oil to supply the flambeaux*: others carrying candles.

"The trumpets came after the flambeaux-carriers; and these were followed by public dancing-women, sitting in two machines, made like bedsteads without posts, in the manner of *palanquins*, which several men carried on their shoulders. They sung and played on their cymbals, intermingled with plates, and flat thin pieces of copper, which they struck one against another, and made a very clear sound, but unpleasant, if compared with the sound of our instruments. Next came six pretty handsome led horses, with cloth saddles, wrought with gold-thread.

"The Bridegroom, having his face covered with gold fringe, which hung down from a *kind of mitre, that he wore on his head*, followed on horseback; and after came twelve horsemen, who had behind them two great elephants, and two camels, which carried each two men, playing on tymbals; and besides these men, each elephant had his guide, sitting upon his neck. This Cavalcade, having for the space of two hours marched through the town, passed at length before the governor's house; where they continued, as they had done all along the streets where they went, to throw fire-works for some time, and the bridegroom retired.

"Sometime after, bonfires, prepared on the river-side, before the governor's house, were kindled; and on the water, before the castle, there were six barks, full of lamps burning in tiers. About half an hour after ten, these barks drew near the house, the better to light the river; and then at the same time, on the side of *Rennelle*, there were men that put candles upon the water, which, floating gently, without going out, were by an ebbing-tide carried towards the sea.

"The maid was married in her father's house, by a *Moula*, and about two of the clock in the morning was conducted upon an elephant to her husband's lodgings." *Travels in Persia*, p. 22, 23.

The following is an observation of Major HOPE, in Egypt:

11 Sept. at Cairo. "Note. There are frequent Weddings passing, and the Bride is paraded through the city, veiled; with a canopy supported by four slaves, if possessed of them: and richly dressed. Her nearest of kin attend her under the canopy; beside which, she is accompanied by women, and children; with music, and drums beating. The veil hangs down to her feet; and on the top of her head is formed into something resembling a crown, adorned with sequins, and beads, &c."

TOURNEFORT describes a Marriage among the Armenians, not dissimilar in point of ceremonies; but it should be remarked, that these being now Christians, some variations may be expected from their ancient customs.

"They have particular rules and customs in relation to Marriage: a widower can marry but a widow; and amongst them none may contract a *third* marriage, which

would be accounted fornication; and, in like manner, a widow cannot marry a bachelor. There is no great harm hitherto; nay, perhaps, Marriages would be better, and more agreeably managed thus among them, than among those of other religions, if the persons were permitted to know one another before the Marriage. Marriages are wholly managed according to the pleasure of the mothers, who generally consult only their husbands. After having agreed upon the articles, the mother of the young man comes to the house where the young woman dwells, accompanied by a priest, and two old women: she presents her with a ring, in behalf of her son. The young man shews himself at the same time, keeping his gravity as much as may be; for he is not permitted to laugh at the first interview: it is true, this interview is indifferent; because the fair one, (or ugly one) *does not so much as shew even her eyes, she is so veiled*. The day before the nuptials, the Bridegroom sends suits of clothes; and some hours after, goes himself, to receive the present his Bride is to make him. The next day they mount their horses, and take a great deal of care to have very fine ones. The Bridegroom, coming out of the house of his Bride, goes first, *having his head covered with a CORONET, a garland of gold or silver, or with a gauze veil, of a flesh colour*, according to his quality: this veil hangs half way down the body. In his right hand he holds one end of a girdle, which his Bride, *who follows him on horseback*, covered with a white veil, holds by the other end: this veil hangs down to the horse's legs; two men walk by the side of the Bride's horse, to hold the reins. The parents, friends, the flower of the youth, on horseback, and on foot, accompany them to church, with the sound of instruments of music, in Procession, *tapers* in their hands, and without any disorder. They alight from their horses at the church door, and the young couple walk to the steps of the sanctuary, holding the girdle by the ends all the way they go. There they stand together abreast; and the priest, having put the Bible on their heads, asks them if they will take one another for husband and wife?—they bow their heads, to signify their consent. Then the priest pronounces the sacramental words, he performs the ceremony of the rings, and says mass. After that, they return to the Bride's house, in the same order they came. The husband goes to bed first: the wife does not put off her veil till she gets into bed. But, after all, this is no better than, as we say in English, *buying a pig in a poke*. They say there are *Armenians*, who would not know their wives, if they should find them lying with other men. Every night they put out the candle before they take off their veil; *and the greatest part of them never shew their faces all the day*."

The reader is now prepared to understand several allusions to Marriage Ceremonies, which occur in Scripture. Such as—mention of the time of night, *vide* Luke vii. 36.; where uncertainty of the master's return from the wedding-feast is extended to the cock-crowing, and to the morning.—The number of people,—the freedom of access,—the liberty of joining the Procession,—the general notoriety of the event, and many other particulars; not omitting the *crown* worn by the bridegroom, alluded to in the Canticles; nor the *possibility* that the bride, among the Jews, might follow the bridegroom *on horseback*; as may be thought from a passage in that poem.

Our subject has explained very clearly the kind of lamps used on such splendid occasions, with the necessity of replenishing them with oil. The same necessity, of course, attends those vessels which contain oil for this purpose; and thus we have a material, and, to us, a difficult, part of the parable well illustrated. Taking as certain that the lamps in the parable were like those delineated in our Plate, we have copied our upper subject from CHARDIN, to shew that the female attendants

of the Bride carried lights, which, in this instance, are flambeaux. That they are flambeaux, rather than lamps, makes no difficulty; as in effect they might be either. We see, also, that women ride on horseback on these occasions, as appears by those who precede the covered vehicle which contains the Bride: we are moreover to consider this representation as that of a very moderate Procession, and must *multiply* the figures in our imagination, yet keeping them to the same employments, purposes, and characters.

The palanquin of the lower subject is used in India on these occasions, as appears from a print, representing a similar Procession, in SONNERAT: whether such might be used in Judea is uncertain. We have supposed one like it to be described in Solomon's Song. There is no doubt but what neighbouring countries, not to say provinces of the same empire, different ranks in life, and those many variations of circumstances which need no explanation, would occasion departures from strict similarity in these Processions; while nevertheless, their general purport and resemblance would be founded on the same principles, and they would be conducted agreeably to the same maxims and customs.

No. DCLXXV. MOURNING OF THE WOMEN AT RAMAIL,
OVER THE GRAVES OF THEIR CHILDREN.

Extract, translated from LE BRUYN'S Voyage in Syria, p. 256,

"WE have formerly described the great Mournings of the Women of Turkey, on account of the deaths of their husbands and relations. This custom is not so peculiar to them, but what we find it also among other Orientals, as well Maronites as Cophtes, and the other Christian sects. *The women go in companies, on certain days, out of the towns to the tombs of their relations, in order to weep there; and when they are arrived, they display very deep expressions of grief.*

"While I was at *Rama*, I saw a very great company of these Weeping Women, who *went out of the town*. I followed them, and after having observed the place they visited, adjacent to their sepulchres, in order to make their usual lamentations, I seated myself on an elevated spot, from whence I designed the annexed plate. They first went and placed themselves on the sepulchres, and *wept there*; where, after having remained about half an hour, some of them rose up, and formed a ring, holding each other by the hands, as is done in some country dances. Quickly two of them quitted the others, and placed themselves in the center of the ring; where they made so much noise in screaming, and in clapping their hands, as together with their various contorsions, might have subjected them to the suspicion of madness. After that, they returned and seated themselves *to weep again*; till they gradually withdrew to their homes. The dresses they wore were such as they generally used, white, or any other colour; but when they rose up to form a circle together, *they put on a BLACK VEIL*, over the upper parts of their persons, as is endeavoured to be shewn in the Plate." [This took place at *Ramah*, between Joppa and Jerusalem, near Lydda.]

This seems to be the remains of a custom observed in ancient times. We read of Mary's supposed, "*going to the grave to weep there*," John xi. 31.—of "*weeping with howling*," Isaiah xv. 3.—of "*the noise of weeping equalling the noise of joy*," Ezra iii. 13. with other expressions of public and ceremonious weeping, even so early as the days of Abraham, Gen. xxiii. 2. and Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 8. The pre-

sent, however, is not an opportunity to discuss the mode of Weeping, so much as the scene of it. Mountains seem to have been the usual places for conspicuous Weeping and Lamentation: so we read, Isaiah xv. 2, "he is gone up to the high places to weep," whether hills, or temples upon them: and Jer. iii. 23. "A voice was heard on the high places, weeping:"—also chap. xlviii. 5. "in the going up of *Luhith* continual Weeping shall go up." *et al.* We see this custom continued in the extract before us, and I think it may illustrate the metaphor of "Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they are not." Matth. ii. 18. I rather suggest this, because, the Jews insist [and Mr. LEVI, lately] that Rachel is very ill introduced by the evangelist Matthew in reference to the children slain by order of Herod at Bethlehem. They say, that the Lamentation of Rachel referring only to the carrying away of captives to Babylon, and being connected with a promise of their return, it is not of that desperate description to justify the application of it by the evangelist. The passage stands thus, Jer. xxxi. 15.

Thus saith the LORD:
A voice was heard in Ramah,
Lamentation and bitter Weeping;
Rachel weeping for her children,
Refused to be comforted, because they were not.
Thus saith the Lord;
Refrain thy voice from weeping,
And thine eyes from tears:
For thy work shall be rewarded, saith the LORD:
And they shall come again from the land of the enemy,
And there is hope in thine end, saith the LORD,
That thy children shall come again to their own border.

Certainly this passage closes with hopeful and grateful ideas, so far, therefore, as the prophet apostrophizes the tender Mother of the tribes of Joseph and Benjamin, he addresses consolation to her: not so the evangelist; whose metaphorical Rachel deplores her children hopelessly cut off, and departed for ever.

I would wish therefore, to state, on the authority of LE BRUYN,—1. that it is customary for Mothers in the East to seek the graves of their deceased children, in order to weep over them; meaning to infer, that this being a custom in the East at present, it was the same anciently; so that in point of lamentation, *any* Mourning Mother might have answered the allusion of the evangelist as well as Rachel.

2. That, it is probable, high places or hills a little way out of the towns, were usually the scenes of such lamentations, anciently; as we find by passages already quoted:—and that such *weepings* are now maintained in the same places: the same customs, for the most part, prevailing in modern as in ancient times.

3. That, the word *Ramah* signifies high places in general; and that *any* high place, the usual scene of such Maternal lamentation, would have answered the evangelist's purpose, in reference to Mourning Mothers.

4. That Rachel was buried at, or near, Ramah, Gen. xxxv. 9. xlvii. 7. 1 Sam. x. 2. where the Israelites were assembled to be carried into captivity, Jer. xl. 1. This *Ramah* is not that mentioned by LE BRUYN; which is near Lydda: the prophet's *Ramah* is near Bethlehem.

5. That, the same custom of women's weeping for their children was probably maintained in the evangelist's time, at Ramah near Bethlehem, as LE BRUYN found at Ramah near Lydda; *that* Ramah being a high place fit for the purpose, and

such high places being selected as scenes of maternal lamentation; it will follow, that there is nothing forced or constrained in the reference of St. Matthew, chap. ii. 18. to a Mourning of mothers over their children, and refusing to be comforted; since such was [as it still is] the custom of the vicinity. The allusion to this custom would be still more conspicuous, if it were [as I doubt not it was] maintained at *Rachel's* Ramah; and the apostrophe to Rachel would be still more impressive, if those mournings were exhibited in an open and high place, or spot of ground, adjacent to her tomb, or the memorial of it. To call such Mournings Mournings of Rachel [not to say that this name might actually be given them, by the people, in the days of St. Matthew; who, as he wrote in the language of the country, certainly was acquainted with the customs of the country, as well local as general,] from the place in which they were performed; can scarcely be called a poetical licence.

These remarks set in a very easy light the *accommodation* employed by the evangelist; who, certainly, selects Rachel as a mother of the most affectionate character; and instances in her, though long since dead, that grief which living mothers felt, and under which living mothers lamented. This seems to justify also, the expression of the evangelist, "then was *fulfilled* the language of Jeremiah the prophet;" for if Rachel lamented, according to the usage of the vicinity, on account of the departure of her children into captivity;—if, when they were not slain, but only *deported*, she was, as it were, raised by the impulse of poesy, out of her tomb, to grieve, to lead with elevated hands, and plaintive voice, the lamentations of the weeping mothers; surely when her children were *really slain* she might well break the bonds of silence, by loud and bitter cries, expressing those agonies which rent her sympathetic bosom: she might preside over the sorrows, the public sorrows, which such occasion demanded, and which, after similar privations, were expected, according to established usage. In short, if the prophet had any right to raise the dead, on account of a circumstance of temporary, but not hopeless, distress, the evangelist had, at least, equal, not to say greater, right to employ the same metaphor, on occasion of a slaughter, neither alleviated by hope of return, nor by possibility of future restoration; but in every sense fatal: a cruel instance of tyrannical jealousy, and of vindictive anticipation. This was a *fulfilment* of the allusion and intent of Jeremiah, much *beyond* that marked by the prophet himself; it was a *deeper* completion of his words: a more entire termination of his sentiment; founded, like his, on local custom, and, like his, supported by the daily occurrences of time, and place, and by the general manners of the readers for whom his narration was intended.

To conclude, we are justified by the evidence adduced, in assuming—that the mothers of the infants slaughtered at Bethlehem did subsequently, and certainly, visit their tombs, and lament with loud exclamations over the remains of their tenderly beloved offspring. Admitting this, where is the incongruity of imagining, that the mother of the adjacent tribe, though interred many ages ago, should be recalled from that interment, by the poetical imagination of the prophet, to officiate in the distress of her daughters deprived of their children?—and if this be permitted to the prophet, on what principle shall it be refused to the evangelist?

It is impossible to place any dependance on the antiquity of the tomb now shewn as that of Rachel, near Bethlehem. It stands within six or seven paces of the field of Ephrata: about forty paces out of the high road. On a hill a little farther on, to the right, are ruins of a tower and houses; "They told us," says D'Arvieux, "that they were the remains of the little town of *Ramah*, of which Jeremiah speaks in his "Lamentations:" and *where Herod caused the innocent babes to be slain*; as also in
the

the neighbourhood." If this tradition be correct—(and the Evangelist's words rather support it)—then the poetical resuscitation of Rachel, has a closer alliance with the real facts of the history, than has usually been imagined.

* * Mr. BUCKINGHAM has, very lately, published a figure of the structure called Rachel's Tomb, near Bethlehem. What appears of this structure is certainly modern; but, that traveller supposes it may enclose the remains of a pillar, or other ancient monument. It is sufficient if it marks the place of Rachel's interment; so that it could not well be forgot in the neighbourhood. *Trav. Palest.* p. 212.

No. DCLXXVI.

OF THE MILL, OR QUERN, FOR GRINDING CORN: WITH A PLATE.

IN No. cix. the reader has seen several instances of Scripture illustration, connected with the Eastern manner of grinding Corn, and of making Bread: the subject has been contemplated with additional interest, by later travellers, of whose authority we avail ourselves, by transcribing their remarks.

The following extracts are from that intelligent traveller, Mr. PENNANT: nothing need be said in support of their correctness, or of their authenticity.

At *Kinloch Leven*. "Saw here a *Quern*, a sort of portable mill, made of two stones, about two feet broad, thin at the edges, and a little thicker in the middle. In the center of the upper stone is a hole to pour in the Corn, and a peg by way of handle. The whole is placed on a cloth; the grinder pours the Corn into the hole with one hand, and with the other turns round the upper stone with a very rapid motion, while the meal runs out at the sides, on the cloth. This is rather preserved as a curiosity, being much out of use at present. Such are supposed to be the same with what are common among the *Moors*, being the simple substitute for a Mill." *Tour in Scotland*, 1769. p. 231.

In the *Isle of Rum*, or *Ronin*. "Notwithstanding this island has several streams, here is not a single mill; all the molinary operations are done at home; the Corn is *graddan'd*, or burnt out of the ear, instead of being thrashed: this is performed two ways; first, by cutting off the ears, and drying them in a kiln, then setting fire to them on a floor, and picking out the grains, by this operation rendered as black as coal. The other method is more expeditious; for the whole sheaf is burnt, without the trouble of cutting off the ears; a most ruinous practice, as it destroys both thatch and manure, and on that account has been wisely prohibited in some of the islands. *Graddanned* Corn is the "parched corn" of HOLY WRIT. Thus *Boaz* presents his beloved *Ruth* with parched corn; and *Jesse* sends *David* with an *ephah* of the same to his sons in the camp of *Saul*. The grinding was also performed by the same sort of machine, the *Quern*, in which two women were necessarily employed. Thus it is prophesied, *two women shall be grinding at the mill, one shall be taken, the other left*. [Matth. xxiv. 41.] I must observe, too, that the island lasses are as merry at their work of grinding the *graddan*, the *καλπος* of the ancients, as those of Greece were in the days of *Aristophanes*,

Who warbled as they ground their parched Corn. *Nubes*, Act v. Scene ii.

Graddan is derived from *Grad*, quick, as the process is so expeditious."

[Dr. JAMIESON in his "Dictionary of the Scottish Language," corrects this mistake of Mr. P. and observes that the Gaelish *græd-an*, signifies *to parch, to scorch*, from which the name given to parched Corn is evidently formed. He hints also, that

traces of this term still appear in the English *grid-iron*; an instrument for rapidly broiling food.]

“The *Quern* or *Bra* is made in some of the neighbouring counties, on the mainland; and costs about fourteen shillings. This method of grinding is very tedious; for it employs two pair of hands four hours to grind only a single bushel of Corn. Instead of a hair sieve to sift the meal, the inhabitants here have an ingenious substitute, a sheep skin stretched round a hoop and perforated with small holes made with a hot iron. They knead their bannock with water only, and bake, or rather toast it, by laying it upright against a stone placed near the fire.” *Tour to the Hebrides*, 1772. Part I. pp. 321, 322.

In the *Isle of Skie*. “On my return am entertained with a rehearsal, I may call it, of the *luagh*, or, *walking of cloth*, a substitute for the fulling-mill. Twelve or fourteen women, divided into two equal numbers, sit down on each side of a long board, ribbed lengthways, placing the cloth on it. First, they begin to work it backwards and forwards with their hands, *singing at the same time*, as at the *Quern*: when they have tired their hands, every female uses her feet for the same purpose, and six or seven pair of naked feet are in the most violent agitation, working one against the other; as by this time they grow very earnest in their labours, the fury of the song rises; at length it arrives to such a pitch, that, without breach of charity, you would imagine a troop of female demoniacs to have been assembled.

“They sing in the same manner when they are cutting down the Corn, when thirty or forty join in chorus, keeping time to the sound of a bagpipe, as the Grecian lasses were wont to do to that of a lyre during vintage, in the days of Homer. (*Iliad*, xviii. line 570.) The subject of the songs at the *luaghadh*, the *Quern*, and on this occasion, are sometimes love, sometimes panegyric, and often a rehearsal of the deeds of the ancient heroes, but commonly all the tunes are slow and melancholy.

“Singing at the *Quern* is now almost out of date, since the introduction of water-mills. The laird can oblige his tenants, as in England, to make use of this more expeditious kind of grinding; and empowers his miller to search out and break any *Querns* he can find, as machines that defraud him of the toll. Many centuries past, the legislature attempted to discourage these awkward mills, so prejudicial to the landlords, who had been at the expense of others. In 1284, in the time of Alexander III. it was provided, that ‘na man sall presume to grind *quheit*, *maishloch*, or rye, with hand mylne, except he be compelled by storm, or be in lack of mills quhilk sould grind the samen. And in this case, gif a man grindes at hand mylnes, he sal gif the threttein measure as multer: and gif anie man contraveins this our prohibition, he sall tene his hand mylnes perpetualie.’ *Idem*, pp. 327, 328.

These extracts offer abundant matter for consideration.

As to these instruments of domestic employment being found at present in the distant parts of Scotland:—What nation first imported them there? Are they of remote antiquity?—of the Scythian tribes?—of Druidical usage? I incline to think, that many articles of Druidical use are to be found in different parts of our island, by accurate observation; many customs, and peculiarities of our country *establishments*, which pass for good Christian piety, to mere current attention. And why not? When nature or necessity commands such customs, why should Christianity abrogate them? Was Religion intended to supersede nature and necessity? or to change civil and familiar manners? It might regulate and improve them; but those which were laudable before the times of Christianity, are laudable still; and “against such,” we may say with the apostle, very justly, “there is no law.”

This representation furnishes a more correct notion of the application of our Lord's expression, Matt. xxiv. 41. "*Two MEN shall be at work in the field*, one shall be taken, and the other left: *two WOMEN grinding at the mill*.—" In No. cix. these two women were supposed to be grinding "*in an apartment*" of a house; but, from Mr. PENNANT's representation, it is clear, that these women might be grinding *out of doors*; consequently, they form an exact parallel to the men at work *in the field*: the individuals of both sexes being employed in their customary labour. We see, also, that these *Querns* are worked by two women, for speed and for cheerfulness; as singing forms part of the *activity* they demand, *i. e.* to cheer—I had almost said to *cheat*, the labour by vocal amusement. How *close*, how *accurate*! must that providence come which "takes one" of the women in our plate, yet leaves the other!

We may query, also, whether the expression "sound of the millstone," Rev. xviii. 24. must *necessarily* import the rattle of the mill itself:—may it mean the voice of the singing which accompanies grinding? for it seems pretty clear, by Mr. PENNANT's narration, that the voice of the grinders is heard much above and beyond that of the mill, when "the fury of the song rises—to such a pitch—as you would imagine a troop of "female demoniacs" might scream out.

The *Parched Corn* described by Mr. PENNANT, and the manners of parching it, are not merely amusing; they also are instructive; they will remind the reader of many passages in Scripture, where Parched Corn is mentioned; and the different manners of roasting, or parching it, will not escape his notice. Indeed, I would not be certain whether this very distinction is not expressed by the use of different words in the Hebrew original. So we read, Lev. xxiii. 14. "And 1. bread, and 2. (קלי, KALI) parched corn; and 3. (כרמל, CARMEL) "*green ears*," says our translation, "ye shall not eat." This very word *carmel* appears to be derived from כרם *carm*, to cut off, and מל *mel*, to fill; whence it signifies full ears of corn cut off from the stalk. Lev. ii. 14. "Thou shalt offer for thy first fruits green ears of corn dried by the fire, even [rather, and] corn beaten out of full ears," *carmel*. Now, why are these *carmel* put *after* the corn dried by the fire in these passages, unless they also had undergone the action of parching? Had they been in their natural state, they ought to have come *before* that which is mentioned as having been *dressed*; but by being placed after it, they seem to be assimilated to it, and, as it were, ranged under it. Consider, also, 2 Kings iv. 42. "A man brought twenty loaves of barley, and full ears, in the husk thereof." Had he not ["kiln-dried"] parched this corn before he brought it? whereby he rendered it fit for immediate use; yet he had not beat it out of its husks, wherein, probably, it was fitter for *carriage* or for *keeping*, during the conveyance of it. At any rate, as it was ordered to be "set before the people," and eaten directly, it should seem that it was in a state fit for eating, which could be no other than parched, to answer the circumstances of the story; though it is true there might be, and probably were, other modes or degrees of parching, as well corn as other grain. It is pleasing to observe the precision and accuracy of Scripture words, which certainly were not used *originally* without a correct meaning, and a specific application to their subject; whether, or not, it be now perceived by us.

Dr. E. D. CLARKE in his "Travels in the Holy Land," has communicated observations made on the spot, which well deserve insertion.

In the island of Cyprus, says he, "I observed upon the ground the sort of stones used for grinding corn called *Querns* in Scotland, common also in Lapland, and in all parts of Palestine. These are the *primæval* mills of the world; and they are

still found in all corn countries, where rude and ancient customs have not been liable to those changes introduced by refinement. The employment of grinding with these mills is *confined solely to females*; and the practice illustrates the observation of our Saviour, alluding to this custom in his prediction concerning the day of judgment, Matt. xxiv. 41. "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; one shall be taken, and the other left." p. 242.

[Without too closely examining this reference of the learned traveller to the day of judgment,—though, perhaps, we might find it difficult to conceive how any can be "left" at that important period,—we thank him for his information; which he has much improved by his report of what he saw at Nazareth.]

"Scarcely had we reached the apartment prepared for our reception, when looking from the window into the court-yard belonging to the house, we beheld two women grinding at the mill, in a manner most forcibly illustrating the saying of our Saviour, before alluded to. They were preparing flour to make our bread, as it is always customary in this country, when strangers arrive. The two women, seated on the ground, opposite to each other, held between them two round flat stones, such as are seen in Lapland, and such as in Scotland are called *Querns*. This was also mentioned in describing the mode of grinding corn in the villages of Cyprus; but, the circumstance is so interesting (our Saviour's allusion actually referring to an existing custom in the place of his earliest residence) that a little repetition may perhaps be pardoned. In the center of the upper stone was a cavity for pouring in the corn; and by the side of this, an upright wooden handle, for moving the stone. As the operation began, one of the women, with her right hand, pushed this handle to the woman opposite, who again sent it to her companion,—thus communicating a rotatory and very rapid motion to the upper stone; their left hands being all the while employed in supplying fresh corn, as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine." p. 429.

* * The Dr. says nothing of their singing while thus engaged.

No. DCLXXVII. EASTERN ATTITUDES OF DEVOTION: WITH A PLATE.

THIS is one of those Plates which cannot be dispensed with in a work like the present, yet which is rather useful in its application to Scripture in general, than to any specific passage of Holy Writ.

Fig. A. Is an action of entreaty, if addressed to God; or of blessing, if addressed to man: *i. e.* of beseeching God to confer his blessing, on the party in behalf whom the action is exerted.

B. Is one of those Attitudes which servants in the East assume, when in presence of their superiors: the hands folded across, and the head down-looking, are indications of great respect and humility.

C. Is a manner of abstracting the party's self from surrounding objects; while mental meditation occupies his whole attention.

D. Is a kind of meditation, during which the party repeats his prayers: and only uses his raised hands in order to keep his attention from wandering.

E. Is a profound prostration, expressive of the deepest respect and veneration.

F. Holds a string of beads in his hand; of which he slips one through his fingers, at each of his ejaculations, or at each repetition of the name of God, or at concluding a prayer, &c. The beads assist him in computing and marking the number of such devotions.

G. Covers his face with his hands, in order to concenter more efficaciously his thoughts and ideas; that no external object may call off his attention from the subject which occupies his mind.

H. Resembles D. in his Attitude, as sitting on his heels. This Attitude is assumed by servants while waiting on their masters. In this manner they attend and watch every motion of the hand of their superior, for the purpose of receiving orders, &c. which are often given by a scarcely perceptible sign made by the fingers, or hand; of which the different actions and positions answer almost all the purposes of vocal language,

I. Is a kneeling Attitude; one hand laid on the breast, expressing resignation, &c.; the intention of which is very evident, because it is at once affecting and natural.

Mr. HARMER thinks that Fig. H. may explain the action of David, 2 Sam. vii. 18. who after having received a distinguishing promise from God, went in and SAT before the Lord: by way of gratefully returning thanks for this promise.—“Abarbanel, and some Christian expositors, seem to be perplexed about the word *sitting*; but sitting, after this manner, was expressive of the greatest humiliation, and therefore was no improper posture for one who appeared before the ark of God.”

Certainly, I apprehend this *sitting* was an Attitude of worship; nevertheless, conjecture may refer this action to David's sitting on his throne, as at public worship; for such is the usual acceptation of the word used: as Psalm i. 1. he doth not *sit in the scat* of the scornful.” 1 Sam. i. 19. Eli *sat on a scat*.” 1 Sam. xx. 25. the king *sat on his scat* by the wall.” If this word, then, describe sitting *on a scat*, we might be justified in doubting, whether it denotes expressly the Attitude of our figure, how proper soever this Attitude might be. If we add to these hints, the recollection that Naboth was caused to sit on high --Heb. “*at the head* of the people,” perhaps we shall find no impropriety in supposing that David, as king, made a public acknowledgement, or returned thanks openly, for the favour received;—that, as it was in fact a national concern, he was not satisfied with private gratitude, but proclaimed the blessing granted him, in a manner more noticeable than his ordinary course of worship. This is conjecture only; and merely intended in proof, that the word used in the history, is not decisive for this humble manner of *sitting*: which, notwithstanding, may be the correct view of the passage.

It might contribute to our better understanding of this subject, if we knew to what place king David *went in* for the purpose of *sitting before the Lord*. It was at a time when David said, “I dwell in a house of cedar; but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains.” It was when “David *sat* (the same word as in the verse before us) in his house”—palace; yet the tabernacle was the place of national worship and service, the especial presence of God. Certainly, David did not *go in* to the Holy Place before the ark; nor into the exterior Sanctuary; because, the first was peculiar to the high priest, in the performance of his sacred office, annually; the other to the proper priests, in the course of their daily ministration; I presume, he even did not *go in* to the court of the priests, wherein stood the altar, because, all lay-men were excluded from thence: but, if he occupied his usual station of worship, what was analogous to the royal throne of Solomon, afterwards, and to the MUSACH of after ages, the inference would greatly favour our conjecture, that some *observable* act of public worship, grateful but unassuming, is expressed by the term *sitting*—sitting before the Lord. *Vide* the article MUSACH, in the *Dictionary*, and, No. CCXLII.

The manners of our nation, are so different from those of the East, that what was customary there (and still is) would appear extremely unbecoming among us. When the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 25. alludes to a stranger, present in a Christian assembly as, "*falling down on his face* in token of profound reverence, and worship, to God"—he supposes an occurrence, which, though not an expression of ordinary respect, was nevertheless, well known, and common among those to whom his Epistle was addressed. But how would such a sight surprize, and even alarm, a British congregation! Fig. E. shews that this also is one of the Attitudes adopted in Eastern Worship.

The original word, προσκυνεω, used in this passage imports to *crouch* as a dog does at the feet of his master: and though it implies *profound* reverence, yet it does not of itself determine whether such reverence be civil, or sacred. It was used by the Greeks to express the Persian mode of *extreme* respect, amounting to adoration, towards superiors, especially kings: it is employed by the LXX. in translating the second commandment, which forbids every mode of idolatrous worship; whence it should seem to import almost any manner of doing honour, and not strictly prostration, only.

The Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 8. enjoins on Christians "every where" that they should in prayer "*lift up* holy hands, without wrath or doubting." The painted catacombs, or sepulchres of Christian antiquity, exhibit many instances of this; but, in none of them are the hands held *up* as in Fig. A. they uniformly shew the palms of the hands held more level, turned upwards, and the back of the hands downwards; as if at once intreating and receiving. This action seems to have been customary.

Mr. MORIER has lately added farther illustrations on Fig. C. of which he says, when describing the public audience of the British Ambassador at the Persian Court, "We approached the King bowing after our manner, but the Persians bowed as David did to Saul, when *he stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself*, (1 Sam. xxiv. 8.) that is, not touching the earth with the face, but bowing with their bodies at right angles, the hands placed on the knees, and the legs somewhat asunder. It is only on remarkable occasions, that the prostration of the *Rouee zemeen*, the face to the earth, is made, which must be by *the falling upon the face to the earth and worshipping*, as Joshua did, (Josh. v. 14.)"—This is the action of our Fig. E.

In Mr. MORIER's figure the action of Fig. C. is more bending than in our figure; and in the Atlas annexed to M. D'OHSSON's "History of the Ottoman Empire," the action is so much stronger as to be very little short of absolute prostration.

This observation throws considerable light on the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14. where the same terms are used as of David in the former passage: Saul *stooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himself*. It is evident, that any man bowing himself, with his body at right angles, and his face looking to the earth, could see nothing of the figure of a person with whom he was supposed to hold conversation; even admitting that he was in the same apartment; but, if he were in another apartment, he was effectually precluded from obtaining so much as a glimpse of him.

No. DCLXXVIII. EMPLOYMENTS OF SLAVES IN THE EAST.

THE Plate annexed is copied from a design inserted in "A Voyage to Barbary, for the Redemption of Captives." It was drawn by Capt. HENRY BOYD, while in a state of slavery: and therefore may be considered as authentic; if it boast no great elegance of design, no doubt the Captain found it a too correct representation of facts.

It shews the Employments, the treatment, and the condition of those who have had the misfortune to fall into the state of Slavery among the Moors, and is fairly applicable to the whole of Africa. It corresponds evidently, to the circumstances attending the state to which the Israelites were reduced in Egypt; and as such it is offered to the reader.

The chief, or most laborious Employment of Slaves, as appears by our Plate, is, Building, in its various branches: from the earliest preparation of the mortar, as,—attending the furnace, (for the burning of lime, probably, in this delineation)—sifting the materials, mixing them, &c. The mortar is not of that kind which among ourselves is laid between bricks in their courses, being more of a liquid, and flowing nature, to be poured into frames, or caissons. &c.; there to set, and harden, and form the wall itself, [called, case-work.] After the ingredients of the mortar are sifted, they are well beaten together, and intimately commixed, by constant exertion, and labour, continued incessantly, during many hours, and sometimes days, till thoroughly incorporated.

The mixture is then carried in baskets, to those workmen who pour it into the cases for consolidation; these beat it firmly into its place, and when it is hardened, they remove the boards from around it, and apply them elsewhere, as wanted in the continuation of the wall. Others of the workmen are employed in hewing stones, and preparing them for the stronger parts of the building: such as the corners, the entrances, the openings, &c. where they contribute to strengthen the edifice, and bind the whole together.

By attending in a regular order, to the particulars comprised in our Plate, we shall be enabled to understand them with greater distinctness and effect.

A. The FURNACE. This is the only delineation of an Eastern furnace which I have met with. I suppose its construction to be for the purpose of burning lime; because it seems to be unfit for burning brick, or tile, &c.

The Hebrew has three words, all of them rendered by our translators “furnace.”

1. (כבשן) CABASHEN, Exod. ix. 8, 10. where we read, that Moses took handfuls of *ashes of the furnace*, and sprinkled them up toward heaven.

2. (כור), CUR, which should seem to be an assay-furnace. Deut. iv. 20. Prov. xvii. 3.

3. (תנור), TANUR, which, I believe, resembles the broad shape of a frying-pan: or rather, that kind of broad, flat oven, used by our muffin bakers. We may rationally conclude, that the *furnace* in our Print, is the *Cabashen*; as it seems most likely that the ashes, thrown up by Moses towards heaven, should be taken from some instrument of oppression at which the Israelites had laboured, and by means of which they had been ill treated.

B. The SIEVE. There are two words rendered “sieve” in our translation.

1. (כברה), CABURAH. This I take to be the corn van; Amos ix. 9. “I will sift the house of Israel among all nations like as (*corn*) is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least GRAIN fall upon the earth;” the mention of *grain* clearly implies *corn*. It is evident, that the matters sifted in this “sieve” did not pass through it; but the *chaff* was blown away by the wind; while the corn, by its weight, fell into its place, and was preserved.

2. (נפה); NEPHAH. This word [נפת, NEPHAT,] occurs Isaiah xxx. 28. where our translation reads, “to sift the nations with the *sieve* of vanity.” Observe, the word to *sift* is different in these passages [in Amos it is זרע, in Isaiah it is נפה] which clearly denotes different manners of sifting; and as we formerly considered the manner of sifting corn, (See No. XLVIII.) we may conclude, by analogy with our own

customs, that the manner of sifting lime, gravel, stones, &c. was by no means the same. Bishop LOWTH's note on this passage, may set in a striking light the disadvantage of considering only one manner of sifting.

“*To toss the nations with the van of perdition.* The word להנפה is in its form very irregular. Kimchi says, it is for להניף. Houbigant supposes it to be a mistake, and shews the cause of it; the joining it to the ה, which should begin the following word. The true reading is להניף הנגים.

“The Vulgate seems to be the only one of the ancient interpreters, who has explained rightly the sense; but he has dropped the image: “*ad perdendas gentes in nihilum.*” Kimchi's explanation is to the following effect: “נפה is a van with which they winnow corn; and its use is to cleanse the corn from the chaff and straw: but the van, with which God will winnow the nations, will be the van of emptiness, or perdition; for nothing useful shall remain behind, but all shall come to nothing and perish.” So far Bp. LOWTH.

Now, it may be thought, that a rougher manner of sifting would best meet the prophet's idea in this passage; and therefore, that what would suit gravel or stones, &c. will very expressively coincide with this violent sifting of the nations; since they are not to be preserved, (for which purposes corn is sifted,) but to be destroyed, as what *passes through a skreen* is intended to be differently applied from what remains behind. N. B. Though our gravel-*skreen* be nearly the article designed, yet the use of the word *skreen* would be improper in this passage, being liable to an ambiguity; (as would be “riddle,” or, &c.) since *skreen* also imports a shelter, a defence, &c. in our language.

C. shews the manner of beating mortar with a wooden shovel, very different from the corn shovel, the name of which in Hebrew, appears to be RECHAT (רחת): but we read also, Exod. xxvii. 3. xxxviii. 3. of *shovels* for the ashes of the altar (עים) which no doubt were calculated for dispatch in removing those ashes; and to this idea agrees the passage Isaiah xxvii. 7. the hail shall (ע) turn off—shovel away—sweep away—remove quickly—the refuge of lies: *i. e.* shall dispatch it with haste: Vulgate *subvertet*, shall overturn: Theodotion *ταραξει*, shall *disturb*.

D. More shovelling away of mortar. As the shovel of the figure C. seems rather adapted to beating than to shovelling, we only remark the similarity between the shovels of B. and D. which leads us, on the whole, to suppose that these are of the kind mentioned in Exodus.

E. The MORTAR BASKET. This, I presume, in Hebrew is called DUD (דוד); and it seems to be precisely what is intended Psalm lxxxi. 6. When Israel was in Egypt, where he heard a language he understood not, *I removed his shoulder from the burden*, like those of figure F. *and his hands were delivered from the DUD*;” the Mortar Basket, like that of figure E. who carries his basket with both hands. This corrects our translation; where *pots* (the word adopted) is *plural*, whereas, in the original the word *dud* is singular (דוד) though the word “hands” is plural.

F. Mortar carried on the shoulder, from the mixed mass, to those workmen who are to employ it in raising the wall: the passage of Scripture to which this might be applied, is that last mentioned: “*I removed his shoulder from the burden,*” &c.

G. Workmen labouring to construct the cases of boards into which the mortar is to be *filled*; also to deposit the mortar, to beat it, &c.

H. I. Stone-hewers, and Stone-squarers: Their actions are pretty much the same as those of labourers on the same materials among ourselves.

K. An

K. An Officer appointed to oversee the workmen: He is of some dignity, as appears by his umbrella, his guards, &c. perhaps a governor; hardly a king.

L. Guards of the overseer, or governor.

M. Slaves who had been accused, awaiting their sentence from the governor. Observe, the prostration common in the East: that it extends to a very profound Attitude, &c. and is, in fact, nothing short of adoration or worship.

N. The manner of Scourging: which is, by laying the sufferer on his face, with his whole length extended on the ground; his limbs are held forcibly down, while a man with a whip of several cords strikes him on the bare back. This whip having several lashes, I conceive coincides with what the Jews say on the subject of whipping, that it was performed by a whip of three thongs; thirteen strokes of which made thirty-nine lashes; so that they thereby made a provision against the number of stripes exceeding forty, according to Deut. xxv. 3. 2 Cor. xi. 24.

I would query also, whether this kind of whip may not be the "scorpion" of 1 Kings xii. 11—14. 2 Chron. x. 11—14. If so, then, seeing this instrument is employed in the castigation of slaves, there may be a stronger taunt in the words of Rehoboam than is usually perceived; "My father chastised you with whips of a single thong; I will chastise you with whips of many thongs: even with scorpions; He treated you as freemen; I shall treat you as slaves."

O. A culprit advancing to receive his sentence. As this man is naked, as N. is naked also, he is probably, condemned to punishment; whereas, M. not being naked, *may* have received a favourable sentence, and being perhaps acquitted, are returning thanks, &c. for the favour done them. Their Attitude is but in unison with the expression of such a deliverance and acknowledgement, in the East.

It is to be observed, that the *Heads* of all trades and professions, are of some dignity among the Orientals. Even the common executioner has many followers, when he goes his rounds in the discharge of his office, by inflicting punishment.

On the whole, then, this print furnishes an instructive representation of the condition of Israel in Egypt. Exod. v. Here is—the furnace,—the mortar basket,—the building,—the overseer, and—the punishment:—here seems to be the rigour also, and—the slavery; with many particulars, to which allusions occur in the history of the posterity of Jacob, as referred to in other passages of Scripture, beside the immediate detail in Exodus; if the reader will peruse that detail with this Print before him, he will probably perceive in it many points illustrative of the customary labours and situation of Slaves, which need no enlargement here.

At Algiers, the Slaves of the Dey are allowed three small loaves of bread daily; whatever else they may need, they must procure by extra industry. Their labour begins very early in the morning, and is continued, without intermission, during the entire heat of the day, however excessive it may be, till within an hour or two of sun set; so that they suffer all the severity of that torrid climate. On Friday, which is the Mahometan sabbath, they are free to repose. In the camp, these Slaves carry the baggage, and perform other laborious offices: but in time of peace, they are employed on public works; such as, demolishing walls, hewing rocks, drawing carriages laden with materials for building, stones, &c. Some are also loaded with heavy chains. [Before Lord Exmouth's castigation of Algiers, in 1816.]

We have considered it as certain, in the course of our Geographical enquiries, that the Pharaoh to whom Israel was in bondage, was a foreign prince, from a distant country, eastward; in short, almost or altogether a Hindoo: as this prince found the sons of Jacob already in Egypt, settled and respected there, it is probable

he would not add to their servitude by the disgrace of chains; but, in most other respects there can be no doubt, but what their condition was perfectly conformable to that of Slaves destined to labour in the erection of public buildings—*e. gr.* on the Pyramids in Egypt, still extant to prove the exertions of those who erected them. Comp. Nos. DXLI. *et seq.*

No. DCLXXIX. ON THE PALACE OF KING AHASUERUS.

IT may be taken as a general rule, that wherever our translators have inserted a number of words *in italic*, they have been embarrassed to make sense of the passage; and some have been inclined to think, that in proportion to the number of words inserted, is the probability of their having missed the true import of the place. Without adopting this notion, I may venture to ask the reader, whether he has been satisfied with the ideas communicated in the first chapter of Esther?—"The king made a feast to all the people *that were* present at Shushan, the palace; both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's Palace; *where were* white, green, and blue *hangings*, fastened with cords of fine linen, and purple, to silver rings and pillars of marble; the beds *were* of gold, and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble." What are we to understand by all this?—hangings fastened to silver rings,—to pillars of marble?—cords made of fine linen?—beds of gold and silver,—laid on the pavement? &c.

Commentators give very little information on this passage: and it is much better to trust at once to ourselves, than to transcribe their conjectures.

The first thing observable is the CANOPY covering the court: it was of *white* CANVAS (*carpas*, כרפס): the BRACES of it were *blue*, (ותכלת אחוה) *i. e.* the cords, &c. used to support this canopy, and to keep it in its place, properly extended, &c. over head. Secondly, in the court, below, were pavilions, platforms, or *railed divisions* [the word (*chebeli*, חבלי) signifies the railed deck of a ship: *vide* No. CCLXXVI.] of *linen*, [or, hung with linen] and of *aragaman* [calico? fine cotton?] upon railings of silver PILLARS—smaller pillars [*galili*, גלילי] silvered over and COLUMNS of *white marble*; and the *divan cushions*, (*vide* No. XII.) were *embroidered with gold and silver*; these were placed upon MUSTABYS of *porphyry*, (red marble) and *white marble*, and *round-spotted marble*, and marble with *wandering-irregular-veins*."

To justify this description, we shall first consider the Canopy; the reader will judge of its probability and use by the following quotations.

"Among the ruins remaining at Persepolis, is a court, containing many lofty pillars: one may even presume that these columns did not support any architrave, as Sir JOHN CHARDIN has observed, p. 76. *tom.* iii. but we may venture to suppose, that a covering of tapestry, or linen, was drawn over them, to intercept the perpendicular projection of the sun-beams. It is also probable that the tract of ground where most of the columns stand, was originally a court before the palace, like that which was before the king's house at Susa, mentioned Esther, chap. v. and through which a flow of fresh air was admitted into the apartments." LE BRUYN, vol. ii. p. 222.

This idea of LE BRUYN, formed almost on the spot, supports our suggestion of a Canopy covering the court. It is confirmed also by the custom of India. I have been told by a gentleman from whom I requested information on this subject, that "at the festival of *Durma Rajah* in Calcutta, the great court of a very large house,

is overspread with a covering, made of canvas lined with calico; and this lining is ornamented with broad stripes, of various colours; in which (in India, observe) *green* predominates. On occasion of this festival, which is held only once in three years, the master of the house gives wine and cake, and other refreshments, to the English gentlemen and ladies who wish to see the ceremonies; he also gives payment, as well as hospitality to those who perform them." That such a covering would be necessary in hot climates, we may easily suppose; nor is the supposition enfeebled by remarking, that the *Coliseum*, or Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome, has still remaining on its walls the marks of the masts, or scaffoldings, which were erected when that immense area was covered with an awning; as it was during the shows exhibited there to the Roman public. *Vide* the extract from Dr. SHAW, No. cciv. also, the Plate to the Second Part of these Thoughts.

The word rendered BRACE, (رَمْل) signifies to *catch*, to *lay hold of*, to *connect*; it may be thought, that these braces went from side to side of the house; were fastened to proper projections, high in the sides of the building; and, passing under the *white* canvas, *blue* braces must have had an ornamental effect.

In the lower part of the court, the preparations consisted in what may be called a *railed platform* on a MUSTABY: what these were, the reader will understand, by an extract from Dr. RUSSELL's History of Aleppo.

"—Part of the principal court is planted with trees, and flowering shrubs; the rest is paved. At the south end is a square basin of water with *jet d'eau*, and close to it, upon a *stone* MUSTABY, is built a *small pavilion*: or, the *Mustaby* being only railed in, an open divan is occasionally formed on it. [Note, A *Mustaby* is a stone platform, raised about two or three feet above the pavement of the court.] This being some steps higher than the basin, a small fountain is usually placed in the middle of the divan, the mosaic pavement round which, being constantly wetted by the *jet d'eau*, displays a variety of splendid colours, and the water, as it runs to the basin, through marble channels which are rough at bottom, produces a pleasing murmur. Where the size of the court admits of a larger shrubbery, temporary divans are placed in the grove; or arbours are formed of slight latticed frames, covered by the vine, the rose, or the jasmine: the rose shooting to a most luxuriant height, when in full flower, is elegantly picturesque.

"Facing the basin, on the south side of the court, is a wide, lofty, arched alcove, about eighteen inches higher than the pavement, and intirely open to the court. It is painted in the same manner as the apartments, but the roof is finished in plain, or gilt stucco; and the floor round a small fountain, is paved with marble of sundry colours, with a *jet d'eau* in the middle. A large divan is here prepared, but being intended for the summer, chints, and Cairo mats, are employed, instead of cloth, velvet, and carpets. It is called by way of distinction the Divan, and by its north aspect, and a sloping painted shed projecting over the arch, being protected from the sun, it offers a delicious situation in the hot months. The sound, not less than the sight, of the *jet d'eau*, is extremely refreshing; and if there be a breath of air stirring, it arrives scented by the Arabian jasmine, the henna, and other fragrant plants growing in the shrubbery, or ranged in pots round the basin. There is usually on each side of the alcove a small room, or cabinet, neatly fitted up, and serving for retirement. These rooms are called *kubbe*, whence probably the Spaniards derived their *al coba*, which is rendered by some other nations in Europe *alcove*." Page 30.

In another part Dr. RUSSELL gives a print of a *Mustaby*, with sundry musicians sitting on it, on which he observes, “the front of the stone *Mustaby* is *faced with marble of different colours*. Part of the court is paved in Mosaic, in the manner represented in the print.” The view which we have copied in our Print, “shews, in miniature, the inner court of a great house. The doors of the Kaah, and part of the cupola appears in front; on the side, the high arched alcove, or Divan, with the shed above; the marble facing of the *Mustaby*, the mosaic pavement between that and the basin, and the fountain playing.”

This account of Dr. RUSSELL's harmonizes perfectly with the history in Esther; and we have only to imagine that the *railings*, or smaller pillars of the divan [the *ballustrades*!] on the *Mustaby* in the Palace of Ahasuerus, were of silver, (silver-gilt) while the larger, called *columns*, placed at the corners, suppose, (as in our print,) or elsewhere, were of marble; the flat part of the *Mustaby* also being overspread with carpets, &c. on which, next the railings, were cushions richly embroidered, for the purpose of being leaned against.—These things, mentioned in the Scripture narration, if placed according to the Dr's account, enable us to comprehend the whole of the Bible description, and justify every word in it. That the last three words, describe three different kinds of marble, of which the *Mustaby* of Ahasuerus was composed, is evident from the signification of their roots. And as to the *linen* which was appended [in festoons?] to the railings, with its accompanying *aragaman*, we may ask, if this word signifies *purple*, what was the subject of it, silk, worsted, or cotton? Was it the *chints* of Dr. Russell? or was it of the *diaper* kind, *i. e.* *figured* linen? or was it calico? which, on the whole, I think it was.

We have seen in No. DCLXX. the luxurious magnificence of a king in the Mediterranean, whose dominions and power bore no proportion to those of the Persian sovereign; it is easy to infer, that the splendor and pomp of the court of Ahasuerus would greatly exceed, not in magnificence only, but also in the display and abundance of it. Comp. No. I.

NO. DCLXXX. ON THE ALCOVE OF HEZEKIAH'S SICKNESS.

I CANNOT quit Dr. RUSSELL's account of an Eastern *Alcove*, without attempting to apply it to the history of the Sickness of Hezekiah, on which we bestowed a few words formerly. [*Vide* No. II.] We then conjectured, that Hezekiah might lie in a kind of “open pavilion,” in the garden of the inner court of his palace. Suppose we fix his situation in such an Alcove. According to the Dr. it is a highly ornamented building, is named *par excellence*, the Divan, is cool, shady, sheltered, delicious, and refreshing, by reason of the trees around it, and the fountain playing before it. We may safely conclude that the *dial* of Ahaz was placed where the sun beams fell direct on it: we know it stood in the inner court, and Isaiah seems to point to it, as it were, “that shadow, that dial—that before you,—that full in your sight.” Can we find, in the inner court, a situation which unites more circumstances implied in the history, than this Alcove does? If Hezekiah was in this divan, then—though strangers were excluded, as a matter of course, yet the prophet knew where to find the king, without intruding on his secrecy, or haram;—then, the king was in a shady recess, though the dial stood in the sun-shine; and then—the king saw the miraculous retrogradation of the shadow, as it gradually took place; which was what we formerly endeavoured to establish.

No. DCLXXXI. ON THE IVORY HOUSES.

IS this *Alcove* what the prophet Amos intended, when he says, chap. iii. 15. “I will smite the house for the winter, together with (literally UPON) the house for the summer, and shall perish the Houses of Ivory, and shall fail the houses of the great”—beams, columns, construction?

Were these “houses for the *summer*” such shady cool retreats, having a *northern* aspect, as Dr. RUSSELL describes at Aleppo, surrounded by groves, fountains, &c? If they were, then, as they were formed *below*, in the main buildings around the courts of a great house, the destruction of these summer houses would imply the destruction of the main building, also; [the *winter* house; another part of which, having a *southern* aspect, enjoyed the warm beams of the sun during the winter months] and they might be ruined, not only at the same time, but strictly speaking, the great house UPON the smaller alcove. There is no *necessity* then, for supposing that these summer houses, were houses of pleasure, at a distance in the country; though such is the thought of Mr. HARMER; and such in some instances, might, be the fact. I presume also, that the following sentence is *exegetical* of the former: the *houses of ivory* are the same as the summer houses; the *houses of great* construction are the same as the winter houses; if so, then, the alcove the summer house was ornamented with *ivory*:—and this agrees with the decorations said by Dr. RUSSELL to be bestowed on the alcove, at Aleppo.

No. DCLXXXII. ON THE IVORY BEDS.

A *Query* may be added, whether the *Ivory Beds* of this same prophet, Amos, vi. 4. were not the furniture of the Alcoves mentioned in the foregoing No. The *Beds* themselves, *i. e.* the mattresses, &c. could not be made of Ivory; but, that *duan* whereon these coverings were laid (*vide* Nos. XII. XIII.) might be *ornamented* with Ivory; and to this sense the use of the Hebrew word *mitteh* agrees. In this acceptance, there is no repetition in the prophet’s words, when he mentions voluptuaries “lying upon *mithehs*—duans—their frame-work ornamented with Ivory; and stretching themselves (yawning?) upon the *oreshut*—coverings of those duans; meaning carpets, splendid cushions, &c. All these embellishments, these enervating luxuries, the nature, the enjoyments, and the actions of these voluptuaries, agree with the expected delights of an alcove, as described by our very respectable author: they agree also with what has been already collected from those ancient writers who censured the luxury of which they were witnesses, in their time; luxury which, it must not be forgot, was brought from the East, from Persia, from Syria, from the land of silk, of calico, and of canopies.

No. DCLXXXIII. ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE PARALYTIC LET DOWN BEFORE JESUS:

LUKE v. 19. COMPARED WITH THE SAME HISTORY, MARK ii. 4. &c.

IN No. CCIV. we submitted to the reader, an extract from Dr. SHAW, which was intended by that writer and understood by ourselves, to be a fair explanation of, and comment on, Luke v. 19. where we read, that “those who carried the Paralytic in his Bed, κλινης, not being able to bring him before Jesus, because of the croud,—

they went upon the house top, το δωμα, and let him down through the tiling, δια των κεραμων, with his couch, τω κλινιδιω, into the midst, εις το μεσον, before Jesus."

This whole history, and especially the conduct of the four bearers of the sick man, sounds very strangely in English ears; but, adopting a few Asiatic ideas, reduces it to strict coherence.

It should be premised, that, in general, houses in the East are but one story high; so that the men who carried the Paralytic, had not far to mount with him, nor far to lower him down from the roof to which they had ascended. They went up the private stair-case of the *oleah*, or attached building, which was free from the croud, because Jesus being in the interior, was distant from *this* entrance.

In fact, Jesus, was in the MIDDLE COURT of the house; for Dr. SHAW tells us, that the το μεσον, "the midst," of St. Luke, is the *el Woost*, the court allotted for the reception of large companies," [whereas in our version this "in the midst," seems to imply—among the people, in the midst of the croud,] and, that a large company was now attending the discourses of Jesus, is plain from the history. The mention of a *middle* court implies a large house; while the observation that Doctors of the Law and Pharisees were sitting by (who were come from surrounding towns, and even from Jerusalem) agrees with an extensive building, inhabited by a person of consequence, who accommodated these dignified visitors on this occasion;—which some have supposed was an appointed meeting of these great men. Now, to a house of magnitude, a private stair-case always is an appendage; and is next the porch, or street, says the Dr. "without giving the least disturbance to the house." Up these stairs, therefore, the bearers of the Paralytic carried him, and his bed: and so far over the (flat) roof of the house, till they came to the Middle Court;—but, when arrived here, how should they make known their errand?—they could not possibly *shew* the patient to the people (nor communicate with any, not even with Jesus, himself) below them; so they determined on letting him down over the parapet.

Our patient is now on the roof, το δωμα, but this roof was *flat*, and even paved, we must therefore absolutely prohibit the idea of *tiles* covering this roof, which without such prohibition, *will* rise in the mind of English readers. On the contrary, these men lifted up their burden over the parapet, (say two feet in height) and having tied the four corners of the bed with cords, they lowered him down the face of the wall, ALONG THE PAINTED TILES, with which that face was adorned, into the MIDDLE COURT, where Jesus stood, teaching. To establish this representation, we remark, that the word κεραμος, means a tile of a better kind—not a *brick-kiln tile*, but an ornamental, painted, piece of pottery;—*terra figularis, vas fictile*;—a potter's production, which he has taken pains with; like the Dutch-tiles, or galley-tiles, of our old fashioned chimneys. Such is the kind of tile which should be understood in this place; and, that such are used to ornament the faces of the walls of the internal court, we have the authority of Dr. SHAW himself; who not only describes them, but shews them very distinctly in his print. See the Plate of EASTERN HOUSE.

This description of the PLACE where the event happened, excludes at once every possibility of "breaking up tiles, spars, and rafters,"—every possibility, of "Jesus and his disciples escaping with only a broken pate, by the falling of the tiles, and the rest being smothered with the dust:" which is the ludicrous language of a Remarker on the Miracles of Jesus: but with what judicious ideas of this transaction, let the reader now judge: and let the reader judge too on the necessity for accurate information on some *minutiae*, seemingly unimportant, in order to vindicate, correctly and adequately, the miracles of Jesus.

We now turn to the evangelist Mark's account of this event, chap. ii. 4. Say our translators, "And when the men who carried the Paralytic could not come nigh to Jesus for the press [read, *through the crowd*] they uncovered the roof, ἀπεστεγάσαν τὴν στέγην, where he was; and when they had broken it up, ἐξορύξαντες, they let down the bed, κρᾶσσαν, wherein the sick of the palsy lay."

The first action here, as it seems, is,—they UNCOVERED *the roof*, and BROKE it UP: notwithstanding St. Luke says, this occurred in the *middle court* of a great house; which court could have no roof: but Dr. SHAW tells us, and we know from other quarters, that the court was covered by a canopy, as a shelter from the solar rays: and this is clearly expressed by the word *stege*, rendered *roof*, which should have been rendered *covering*, or *shade*, [ΣΤΕΓΩ, *operio, occulto.*] This is the rendering of the Syriac version, *tattilo*, any kind of covering; and the phraseology of the evangelist affords a kind of *paranomasia*, or repetition of the same word: *estegasan* should signify, "they covered by the *stege*," i. e. by placing it; and *apestegasan* should signify, "they uncovered by the *stege*," i. e. by displacing it: which, in English might be rendered, they "unshadowed by removing the *shade*;" taking *shade*, as a noun, in the sense of *shadower*: this being harsh, we might be content to say, "they uncovered the *covering*" of the court; this conveys the idea, though the phraseology is not pleasant,—yet we say, to *roll back the roller*; and I do not know, that to say, "unskreen the *skreen*," is any better. To say simply, "remove the covering," though it marks the action, yet does not convey the relation of the words to each other: but, had this relation of the words been expressed, our translators could never have been understood as meaning "unroof the roof;" that would have appeared preposterous; a labour and a liberty not to be taken by four strangers, who might with strict propriety have waited till the sermon was over. But, if the *braces* of this veil, as I suppose, were fastened to hooks, &c. in the parapet wall, or into the roof, or beams of the building, then these men, by unfastening one of these *braces*, would open the canopy which prevented them from seeing below, and prevented the people below from seeing them; this opening removed the obstruction to the presence of Jesus: and thus they would, strictly speaking, *uncanopy the canopy*: according to the phraseology of the evangelist.

Our translators having mentioned the *roof*, seem to say, "they broke it up." But, this word rather refers to the bed; though whether it signifies *broke up* may be questioned. This word (ἐξορύξαντες) is omitted in the Cambridge MS. and is not regarded in the Syriac version; the Persian version renders, "to the four corners of the bed they attached cords." We find the same word, Gal. iv. 15. rendered, *plucked out*—but, how can that be its meaning in this instance? The answer, becomes easy, after we have considered, that the evangelists use two words, both inaccurately rendered *bed*; the first, *kline*, signifies a truckle-bed, suppose, i. e. a bedstead; or a bed having a frame-work round it: this is St. Luke's word; whereas, St. Mark calls it *krabbaton*, a bed consisting of a single carpet, sacking, or &c. only. Was it *both* these kinds of bed then?—Is here no *contradiction* between the evangelists? None: because, it was both these kinds of bed. Consider, first, that this man was "borne of four,"—which, may safely be taken to imply one bearer at each corner of his truckle-bed, *kline*; but, a truckle-bed was much too cumbersome to allow the bearers to force their way through the passages leading to the middle court, and through the crowd assembled; they therefore carried this *kline* up the private staircase, and having brought it to the parapet next to the inner court, they took out the *sacking* from the bedstead, and this sacking, a mere *krabbaton*, a mere hammock, they let down, with the patient on it, into the court below.

The propriety of using a word which signifies *plucked out*, is now clear; for in fact, they *plucked out* the sacking from the bedstead; and here comes in the idea of the Persian translator, these four men tied four cords to the *krabbaton*, one at each corner, and lowered it into the court, through the opening they had made in the canopy.

Can we avoid reflecting how highly we are obliged to the Evangelists, whose different words, when properly understood, mutually illustrate each other! St. Luke says, Behold, men brought a man in a *bed—kline*: and let him down through (along) the tiling, with his *couch, klinidio*,—LITTLE *kline*; which answers precisely to the *krabbaton*,—the sacking, the hammock, of St. Mark.

Nor is it difficult to arrange these narrations into one: “And behold, for it is well worthy notice, they came unto Jesus, bringing one sick of the palsy, who lying along in a truckle-bed [*kline*, Matt. ix. 2.] was borne by four bearers, one at each corner of the bedstead: and they sought means to bring him in, with this incumbrance of a bedstead, because the poor sufferer was unable to walk, designing to lay him before Jesus, as a remarkable object of compassion. And when they could not find by what way they might bring him in, and could not *even* come nigh him, Jesus, because of the multitude, they took the Paralytic, in his bedstead, *kline*, and went up the private stair-case, by which they entered on the roof of the house, and going along the roof, till they arrived at the inner court, they loosed some of the *braces* of the covering that was extended over that court; which *braces* were connected with the parapet on the roof. And when they had separated the sacking, *krabbaton*, from the bedstead, *kline*, they tied a cord to each of the four corners of the sacking, and let down this diminished bed, or couch, *klinidion*, along the painted tiles, into the middle court, direct before Jesus; close to him, in fact, so that he could not avoid seeing the patient; nor could the people avoid looking up, to see where the disabled sufferer came from.”

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

In No. I. the reader will remark, the *Mustaby*, or raised platform, with a fountain playing in it; the corners of this *Mustaby* are knobs of marble: on a raised platform of a like substance, in the palace of Ahasuerus, were silver-gilt ballustrades, against which were placed embroidered cushions, &c. which were decorated with festoons, hangings, of calico, &c. The *Mustaby* was overspread with carpets, and other coverings, while its superficies displayed the richest variety of marbles of the most beautiful colours.

The *Alcove*, or summer-house, opposite to the fountain will engage the reader's notice: also the ornaments, the cushions, and other furniture of the alcove; among which inlayings of ivory might easily find a place. N. B. Also the shrubbery of aromatic plants, &c.

No. II. Represents the inner court of a great house, according to Dr. RUSSELL, shewing the stair-case ascending out of the court into the gallery, in the sides of which are the private chambers. As it is extremely natural for a person who is engaged in teaching, in speaking to a multitude, to wish to be elevated somewhat above them, in order that he may see all and be seen by all, and be the better heard. I indulge my fancy so far, as to suppose, that our Lord might occupy the head of such a stair-case, speaking to the people; who, *standing*, filled the court (say eight or ten feet) below him; while the Scribes, Pharisees, and Doctors of the law *sat*, as the evangelist notes, on seats, &c. ranged under the colonade, in the gallery, around, or rather on each

each side of Jesus. The bearers of the Paralytic,—having brought him to the edge of the court, and unbraced the canopy over it, raised him over the parapet of the terrace, and let him down the wall, say along the pillar to the right hand, whereby he came direct in the sight of Jesus, who comforted, cheered, and pardoned him; in a manner which was very audibly heard, and understood by the Doctors, &c. who encircled Jesus. Then he healed the man, took him into the gallery, and the patient, carrying the sacking whereon he had laid, walked away; going through the midst of the Doctors, for their closer examination.

To render this perfectly clear at one view, the Plan of a Great House from Dr. SHAW is repeated; where observe—the entrance door A. leading to B. which admits into the MIDDLE COURT of the house, C. Along these passages the bearers of the Paralytic attempted to force their way; but finding that impossible, they went up the private stairs in the porch, *a. b.* till they entered on the roof over D. along this they carried their burden till they came to the middle court, C. the canopy over which they opened, to let down the patient.

No. DCLXXXIV. OF GARDENS BELONGING TO ROYAL PALACES.

IT were very desirable to convey some idea, though imperfect, of the nature and arrangement of the Gardens annexed to Royal Palaces, in the East; for which this would be a proper place. But, to bring the subject within a moderate compass is not easy; and every situation has peculiarities, which do not admit of illustration by comparison, or of application to our present purpose. The Gardens of the Seraglio at Constantinople command an extensive sea view, and are constructed accordingly. Dr. E. D. CLARKE and M. POUQUEVILLE agree that they are far from magnificent, as Europeans estimate magnificence; and may rather be thought wildernesses than Gardens. They abound in fruit trees, in trellages, in fountains, and in kiosks. Their other ornaments are but meagre; and their flowers, which should constitute the chief distinction of a Garden, especially of an Imperial Garden, are but ordinary. In fact, those gentlemen rather apologize to their readers for anticipated disappointment. “I promise, says Dr. CLARKE, to conduct my readers not only within the retirement of the Seraglio, but into the Charem itself, and the most secluded haunts of the Turkish sovereign. Would only I could also promise a degree of satisfaction, in this respect, adequate to their desire of information.”

CHARDIN has given Plates of several Persian Gardens; and from what he says,—which is confirmed by Mr. MORIER,—coolness and shade beneath wide-spreading trees, water and verdure, are the governing powers of a Persian paradise. It might be so, anciently, at Jerusalem; nevertheless, we are still left in uncertainty as to what might characterize the ancient city of David, his palace, and his Gardens. We may safely infer, that they were extensive, since his demesne occupied the whole area of Mount Zion: they afforded a variety of heights, since the Mount was far from level: it rose, also, much above Mount Moriah, on which stood the city of Jerusalem, and consequently commanded distinct views of that city and its environs. The various heights afforded situations for buildings of different descriptions; private kiosks adorned with the utmost magnificence and skill (under Solomon), dwellings for the inmates, the guards, the attendants, the Harem,—and for foreign curiosities also; for specimens of natural history—birds—beasts, &c. Nor was the extent of Mount Zion a rock; for Dr. CLARKE states expressly, “If this be indeed Mount Zion, the prophecy concerning it, Micah. iii. 12. that the plough should pass over it, has been

fulfilled to the letter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived." Here was, therefore, a space (or spaces) of arable land; and this, after so many revolutions of the surface, and so great intermixture of unproductive ruins, derived from the buildings and fortifications upon it, and around it. In its original state, we need not doubt, but what it would admit not only of the growth of shrubs, but of trees; "the thick gloom of cypresses and domes, which, as Dr. CLARKE observes, of Constantinople, distinguish the most beautiful part of that city. How greatly such combinations must have contributed to the general aspect of the Hebrew metropolis, surrounded by barren mountains, we can be at no loss to conceive; and with these Royal embellishments we may connect those which were "planted in the House of the Lord." Psalm cxii. 13. Mr. RICH says, very justly, "We should form a very incorrect notion of the residence of an Eastern monarch, if we imagined it was one building which in its decay would leave a single mound, or mass of ruins. Such establishments always consist of a fortified enclosure, the area of which is occupied by many buildings of various kinds, without symmetry or general design, and with large vacant spaces between them." *Second Mem. Bab.* p. 17.

The reader will recollect that in Psalm xlviii. we have direct reference to the beautiful situation of Mount Zion, the joy of the whole land, the city of the Great King; to her palaces—to her towers—to her bulwarks—meaning, undoubtedly, her fortifications and defences; and this, separately and distinct from Jerusalem: *i. e.* as the residence of Royalty; not of the sacerdotal power, which was, properly, at the Temple on Mount Moriah.

Circumstances seem to imply a considerable elevation, if not of the palace generally, yet of some part, or parts, of it; so David overlooked the privacies of Bathsheba; most likely from some distance. The extent of it admitted of diversified prospects, if our conjecture on certain incidents of Solomon's Song be admissible. It should appear from Jer. xxxix. 4. that Zedekiah king of Judah saw the officers of the Babylonish army with their troops, enter Jerusalem, and *sit in the gate of the city*. He certainly was not in the city at that time; but from some commanding height of his palace he beheld this assembly collecting in the middle gate; and he, with certain followers, quitted Mount Zion by night,—through a private postern that led into the country, *between the two walls*;—either the two walls which fortified Zion on the declivity whereon were the King's Gardens; or, the two walls—one of Mount Zion, enclosing the city of David, the other of Jerusalem, answering to the former, but on the other side of the valley. As the Chaldean army entirely surrounded the city, the king could not choose any gate of Zion—suppose the farthest from Jerusalem;—but would naturally select a passage that was least actively guarded. He, probably, stole along the Valley of the Kidron, in the darkness of the night. Evidently, the history justifies the inference that Mount Zion was not yet under the power of the Chaldeans, though Jerusalem was completely occupied by their troops. In later ages, we know that the Courts of the Temple were overlooked by the garrisons stationed in a fort, or forts, on the W. and N. of the Temple; and this during many years, and repeated attacks, in the time of the Maccabees; and afterwards under the Romans, who occasionally interfered to keep order. No such interference could be dreaded from any watch-tower, however elevated, on Mount Zion; the distance forbade it: but, if we might admit of such a structure, it would much facilitate our understanding of several incidents in Scripture History. Such a *look-out* is maintained in the Seraglio at Constantinople, to give notice in case of fire. [This height of Mount Zion and the Palace, is confirmed by Josephus.]

Without depending on what must be conjecture, and can be nothing better, we yet may gather a few ideas from BRAITHWAITE'S Description of the Palace of Hamet, Bashaw of Tetuan, *Hist. Moroc.* p. 68. "The reader will not expect in Barbary all the beauty, order and regularity of an Italian palace: but for situation, prospect, room, coolness and conveniency, with all the beauties the Moors are capable of giving a building, it did not want. It is situated upon a little rising at the further end of the town: before the house is a handsome parade, and on one side are two Gardens, divided by the road that leads from the town to the house.

"The entrance into the house is by a sort of cloister, which after two or three windings leads into a spacious square, with porticoes all round: In the middle of this square is a marble fountain of water for cleanliness and coolness; the pavement under the piazza and the area are Mosaic work; on each side of the square is one large room, paved with the same: In the angles of the square are four towers, which run up a considerable height above the building; in two of them are staircases that lead to the grand apartment above; in the other two are doors below stairs, that lead to a mosque, the Gardens, the office where he used to meet his secretaries to dispatch business, his kitchens, stables, bagnios, all communicated with this lower square. Above stairs are the apartments where he kept his women, and these are very large, reaching over all the offices below; the gallery above stairs had been railed in by a balustrade, curiously carved and painted, and the sides set with painted tiles: The pavement of the rooms and gallery is the same as the square below. On each side of the gallery were large apartments for the Bashaw's four wives: the chief one consisted of five rooms, one large one with a cupola in the center of four others; through them were doors that led to bagnios for the women, and lodging rooms for the female slaves.

"Over the Women's apartment is a very fine terrace, which overlooks the whole town, valley, river, plain, and a great way into the sea; and above them in each turret is a Miranda, two stories high, with lattices, where the women used to work and see all around them without being seen. In the evening the women walked in the Gardens, where the walks were covered with vines, and an arch was turned under the road to communicate from one Garden to the other: the walls of the Gardens were so high it was almost impossible to overlook them."

No. DCLXXXV. OF EASTERN CHARIOTS, THEIR DISTINCTIONS.

THE history of conveyance by means of vehicles, carried or drawn, is a subject too extensive to be treated of, fully, here.—There can be no doubt, that after man had accustomed cattle to submit to the controul of a rider, and to support the incumbent weight of a person, or persons, whether the animal were ox, camel, or horse; that the next step was to load such a creature, properly trained, with a litter, or portable conveyance; balanced perhaps, on each side, like that shewn on the Plate. This might be long before the mechanism of the wheel was employed: as it is still practised among pastoral people. Nevertheless, we find that wheel-carriages are of great antiquity; for we read of *waggon*s, so early as Gen. xlv. 19. and military carriages, perhaps, for chiefs and officers, first of all, in Exodus, xiv. 25. "The Lord took off the chariot *wheels* of the Egyptians;" and, as these were the fighting strength of Egypt, this agrees with those ancient writers, who report that Egypt was not, in its early state, intersected by canals, as in later ages; after the formation of which, wheeled carriages were laid aside, and little used, if at all.

The first mention of Chariots, I believe, occurs Genesis xli. 43. "Pharaoh caused Joseph to ride (*recab*) in the *second Chariot* (*marecabeth*) that belonged to him." This, most likely, was a Chariot of state, not an ordinary, or travelling, but a handsome equipage; becoming the representative of the monarch's person and power.

We find, as already hinted, Gen. xlv. 19. that Egypt had another kind of wheel-carriage, better adapted to the conveyance of burdens; "take out of the land of Egypt (*עגלות* *ogeluth*) waggons, wheel-carriages, for conveyance of your little ones, and your women; these were family vehicles, for the use of the feeble; including, if need be, Jacob himself: accordingly, we read, verse 27. of the *waggon*s which Joseph had sent to carry him (Jacob,) and which perhaps the aged patriarch knew by their construction to be Egypt-built; for, so soon as he sees them, he believes the reports from that country, though he had doubted of them before, when delivered to him by his sons.

This kind of Chariot deserves attention, as we find it afterwards employed on various occasions in Scripture, among which are the following: *first*, it was intended by the princes of Israel for carrying parts of the sacred utensils; Numb. vii. 3. "They brought their offering—six covered waggons (*ogeluth*) and twelve oxen;"—(two oxen to each waggon)—here these *waggon*s are expressly said to be *covered*; and it should appear, that they were so, generally; beyond question those sent by Joseph for the women of Jacob's family were so; among other purposes, for that of seclusion. Perhaps, this is a radical idea in their name; as *gal* signifies *circle*, these waggons might be covered by circular headings, spread on hoops, like those of our own waggons;—what we call a *tilt*.

Considerable importance attaches to this heading, or *tilt*, in the history of the curiosity of the men of Bethshemesh, 1 Sam. vi. 7. where we read that the Philistines advised to *make a new* covered waggon, or *cart*, (*ogeleh*);—and the Ark of the Lord was put into it, —and, no doubt, was carefully *covered over*—concealed—secluded—by those who sent it;—it came to Bethshemesh; and the men of that town who were reaping in the fields, perceiving the cart coming, went and examined what it contained: "and they saw the *VERY* (*אֵל*) Ark, and "were joyful in seeing it." Those who first *examined it*, instead of carefully *covering it up again*, as a sacred utensil, suffered it to lie open to common inspection, which they encouraged, in order to triumph in the votive offerings it had acquired, and to gratify profane curiosity;—the Lord, therefore punished the people, verse 19. "because they had inspected—*pried into* (*ב*) the Ark." This affords a clear view of the transgression of these Israelites; who had treated the Ark with less reverence than the Philistines themselves; for those heathen conquerors had at least, behaved to Jehovah with no less respect than they did to their own deities; and being accustomed to carry *them* in covered waggons, for privacy, they maintained the same privacy as a mark of honour to the God of Israel. The Levites seem to have been equally culpable with the common people; they ought to have conformed to the law, and not to have suffered their triumph on this victorious occasion to beguile them into a transgression so contrary to the very first principles of the theocracy.

That this word *ogeleh* describes a *covered* waggon, we learn from a third instance, that of Uzzah, 2 Sam. vi. 3. for we cannot suppose, that David could so far forget the dignity of the Ark of the Covenant, as to suffer it to be exposed, in a public procession, to the eyes of all Israel; especially after the punishment of the people of Bethshemesh. "They carried the Ark of God on a new *ogeleh*—"covered cart"—and Uzzah put forth [his hand, or some catching instrument] to the Ark of God,

and laid hold of it, to stop its advancing any farther, but, the oxen harnessed to the cart, going on, they drew the cart away from the Ark, and the whole weight of the Ark falling out of the cart unexpectedly, on Uzzah, crushed him to death—"and he died on the spot, with the Ark of God" upon him. And David called the place "the Breach of Uzzah"—*i. e.* where Uzzah was *broken*—crushed to death.

See now the proportionate severity of the punishments attending profanation of the Ark—1. the Philistines suffered by diseases, from which they were relieved after their oblations.—2. the Bethshemeshites also suffered, but not fatally, by diseases of a different nature, which, after a time, passed off. These were inadvertencies: but, 3. Uzzah, who ought to have been fully instructed and correctly obedient, who conducted the procession, who was himself a Levite,—this man was punished fatally, for his remissness,—his inattention to the law; which expressly directed, that the Ark should be carried on the shoulders of the priests, the Kohathites, Numb. iv. 4, 19, 20. distinct from those things carried in *ogeluth*,—covered waggons, chap. vii. 9.

That this kind of waggon was used for carrying considerable weights, and even cumbersome goods, and (therefore was fairly analogous to our own waggons—tilted waggons) we gather from the expression of the Psalmist, xlv. 9.

He maketh wars to cease to the end of the earth;
The Bow he breaketh; and cutteth asunder the Spear,
The Chariots (*ogeluth*) he burneth in the fire.

The writer is mentioning the instruments of war—the bow—the spear—then, he says, the waggons (plural) which used to return home loaded with plunder, these share the fate of their companions, the bow and the spear; and are burned in the fire—the very idea of the classical allegory, Peace burning the implements of war! [Comp. PLATE, MEDALS of JUDEA, No. 8.]—introduced here with the happiest effect: not the general's *marecabeth*; but the *plundering* waggons. This is still more expressive, if these waggons carried *captives*; which we know they did in other instances; women and children. "The captive-carrying waggon is burnt." There can be no stronger description of the effect of peace; and it closes the period with peculiar emphasis.

Having thus shewn the antiquity and use of covered waggons, which in most instances, perhaps indeed, in all, were drawn by oxen: we proceed to notice Chariots of equal antiquity, but for a different purpose; and among these we may perceive a distinction, as we find two names employed to denote them: 1. the RECAP, 2. the MARECHABEH: the latter evidently a derivative from the former. The first may be thought the inferior, and drawn by two horses, only; the second, was the more splendid, and drawn by four horses.

Joseph, as we have seen, rode in the second state Chariot—*Marecabeth*—of Pharaoh's kingdom:—that this was a handsome equipage, need not be doubted; that it was a public vehicle, appears from the proclamation, and honours, attending the statesman who rode in it. Joseph also, when going to meet his father, rode as Vizier—in his *marecabeth*. We find, moreover, that Sisera, when expected to make his triumphant entry, was equally expected to ride in such a Chariot; for his mother says, "why tarry the wheels of his *marecaboth*?" Judg. v. 28. This vehicle he had also used in battle, chap. iv. 15.

Perhaps this conception adds a spirit to the history of Naaman, 2 Kings v. 9. That hero of Syria came to the prophet Elisha, with his horse and attendants, a

great retinue; but, being in a state of disease, he occupied a humble *recab*; being a leper he was secluded; not so, when he went away healed; then, in a state of exultation, he rode in his *marecabe*: for so says verse 21. he alighted from his *marecabeth* to meet Gehazi; *vide* also verse 26. This kind of Chariot was not omitted by the ambitious Absalom, among his preparations for assuming the state of royalty, 2 Sam. xv. 1. and, that the *marecabe* was a chariot of triumph, or of magnificence, is decided by a passage of the prophet Isaiah, chap. xxii. 18. "the chariots—*marecaboth*—OF THY GLORY shall be the shame of thy Lord's house." See also 1 Kings xii. 18. xx. 33. 2 Kings ix. 27.

It may farther be observed, that these *marecaboth* were used in battle, by kings, and by general officers; so we read 2 Chron. xxxv. 24. that king Josiah was mortally wounded in battle; his servants therefore took him out of that *marecabe* which he had used, as commander against Pharaoh Necho, and put him in a second *recab*, which belonged to him, to convey him to Jerusalem. The same is related of Ahab, 1 Kings xxii. 25. And the king, who was disguised as an officer, was stayed up in his *marecabe* against Syria; but he died in the evening. And the blood from his wound ran into the bosom-BED of his *recab*. That is to say, Ahab had been removed, like Josiah, from a Chariot of dignity to a common litter (for such might be the *recab*, here) for the more easy and private carriage of his body now dead; and the blood from his wound ran into this vehicle,—which therefore was washed in the pool of Samaria, verse 38. and thus mingled with the water of the pool, of which the dogs drank his blood, fulfilled the Prophet's prediction.

That the *marecabe* was drawn by *four* horses, is inferred from the calculation, 1 Kings x. 28. *a Chariot*—meaning a chariot set of horses—*came up out of Egypt, for six hundred shekels; being one hundred and fifty shekels for each horse*; four—and that the word *chariot*, means the horses that drew the vehicle, appears from 2 Sam. viii. 4. "and David houghed all the chariot *horses*; but reserved to himself a hundred chariot *horsès*:" here the *horses* must be the subject of this operation, not the chariots; and so the passage is always understood, though the word *chariot* only is used.

It is not easy to determine when the word *recab* means a wheeled chariot, *drawn* by two horses, or when it means a litter, *carried* by two horses: this is of small consequence; as we may rationally conclude, that vehicles with two horses were prior to those with four; the second pair being added for greater pomp and dignity, &c.

Perhaps, the following may afford some hints on the subject of Chariots drawn by *two* horses. 2 Kings ii. 11. "There appeared to the prophet Elisha a *recab*—chariot—of fire, and horses, *i. e. two horses* of fire." Psalm lxxvi. 6. "in a dead sleep are both *recab*—chariot and *horse*:"—if this be a *single horse*, it must needs be a *wheeled* chariot; which he *draws*; not a litter. Isaiah xliii. 17. "who bringeth forth *recab*—chariot, and *horse*," (singular). 2 Kings vii. 13, 14. "take I pray thee *five* [it should be—a party—a set, *vide* No. I.] of the horses which remain;—they took therefore *two recab*—chariot horses"—*i. e.* the proper number for a *recab*: and, that the rendering *five* is here improper, is evident, because only *two* were sent, yet this was clearly according to the proposal, and fully as much to the purpose as *five*; the mention of *five* is evidently an error, if only *two* were sent.

These passages sufficiently establish a distinction between the *recab*—the chariot drawn by *two* horses, the humble *biga* of the classic authors: and the *marecabe*—the chariot drawn by *four* horses; the classic *quadriga*. The word *recab*—riding—

is of such general import in Scripture, that the difficulty is, to determine when any particular species of riding is intended by it. Very little attention, or rather none at all, has been paid to this, in translation: yet that the distinction is necessary to correctness, the foregoing remarks must be allowed to determine, and perhaps, they may afford some hints for direction in determination.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

In support of the idea that the Philistines treated the Ark of the Lord as they were accustomed to treat their own deities, I submit No. 1. a Medal of Sidon, which distinctly shews the deity, *Luna, Astarte, or Ashtaroth*—the Moon—known by the crescent, adorned with strings of pearls, and other ornaments, sitting in a *covered waggon*, i. e. a waggon having a canopy, supported by four pillars, around which the curtains for enclosure, might be hung; but these are removed by the medallist, in order to shew the figure of the goddess: for indeed, if they were close-drawn, the divinity within the vehicle could not be distinguished. It is clear, however, from this medal, that the Sidonians in their processions, carried *Ashtaroth* in a *covered waggon*.

No. 2. Another Medal of the Sidonians; in which the *covered waggon* is shewn, compleatly, with its canopy, adorned with branches.

Remark, 1. that the wheels of both these carriages are not *solid*, but have spokes: 2. that only *two* wheels appear to each carriage.

No. 3. A Roman Medal, shewing how superbly this kind of carriage was ornamented on some occasions. The use of such equipages was granted as a privilege, to empresses, and to deities; and this medal shews, that *Agrippina* had received, after her death, a kind of consecration; such honour being implied in the use of the *Carpentum*. That this was bestowed after death, we have many instances, as *Julia Augusta, Domitilla*, and others. The carriage has only two wheels; it is drawn by mules. This vehicle is so completely closed up; that the person carried in it cannot be seen.

No. 4. A single-horse Chaise, from an ancient monument; given in order to shew, that what is hinted above of single-horse chariots, in the prophets, is not impossible: [though probably the words “horse and chariot”—are to be taken generally, not particularly, in those passages.]

No. 5. As we have attributed to the *ogeleh*, or waggon, the office of conveying prisoners we have copied from the Antonine Column a carriage of this kind, drawn, like other *ogeluth*, by oxen; with a female prisoner of some distinction sitting in it. We are not to suppose, that all female prisoners were thus indulged; nor are we to conceive of this kind of waggon as no larger than that before us; but, occasionally, of any magnitude. This vehicle has four wheels; wherein it differs from others on our Plate. There are several of these four-wheeled carriages heavily laden, on the Antonine Column.

No. 6. A Coin of a Persian King, but struck in Palestine, [probably, at Sidon, by Artaxerxes Ochus] it represents the king in a car, drawn by two horses; whether this is a *triumphal car*, must be left doubtful; but, I presume that,

No. 7. Being drawn by four horses, is certainly a Car of Triumph; for the monarch is driven by a person who is directing the reins of the horses; and is followed by another, who holds up in one hand, what is probably a kind of horse tail, such as is seen in the ruins of the palace of Persepolis, where it occurs as an attendant on royalty.

This coin deserves special notice: the Phenecian letters on it, *o r c*, denote that it was struck at *Arca*, a city of Phenecia, between Byblus and Heliopolis. There can be no doubt but what it represents correctly the car of the Persian Monarch. Having four horses, it may be considered as the *marecabel* of the East; and therefore of the kings, &c. mentioned in Scripture. Observe, 1. it is driven not by the king himself, but by an attendant: So we read, 1 Kings xxii. 35. Ahab said to his charioteer—the driver of his *marecabel*—“Turn thine hand, for I am wounded.” The driver is called *recab*; and so speaks Haggai, ii. 22. I will overthrow the *marecabel*—the state chariots, and those who conduct them—(*recabi* רֶכָבִי). This gives a different idea, to the exclamation of Elisha, when losing Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 12. “My father! My father! the *recab*—conductor of Israel, as of a chariot, and of his horsemen!” One who has had [*under the king*] as much solicitude for the guidance of Israel, as the driver of a chariot has for the safe conduct of his vehicle, when a monarch is seated in it.

This is analagous to the notion of *Philo Judæus* (*de Profug.*) respecting the Logos. Speaking of the Cherubim on the Mercy-Seat, he says, “The Divine Word is above these; of whom we can have no idea by the sight, or by any other sense: He being himself the *Image of God*, the eldest of all intelligible beings, *sitting nearest to Him who is truly THE ONLY ONE, there being no distance between them*: and therefore, he (God) says, *I will speak unto thee from the Mercy Seat, between the two Cherubim*; thereby representing the Logos as the charioteer by whom the motion of these powers is directed, and himself, who speaks to him, as the person carried, who commands the charioteer how he is to manage the reins.”

On the strength of this passage, partly, and, as illustrated by our medal, may we venture to determine the vision of the cherubim, in Ezekiel, chap. i. to be that of the Chariot of Deity: of prodigious height and magnitude! Also, that the four cherubim, like the four horses in this car, stood *together*, not one on each side; as formerly enquired [No. CLII.] As we know that Ezekiel lived in Persia, and as we find the figure of the Cherub still extant in Persia, these ideas connected, become evidence that however sublime and poetical the prophet's description may be, yet to its original readers it was free from that obscurity, which has embarrassed western interpreters,—almost beyond hope of illustration.

We might confirm the foregoing statement by appeals to classic authors: but, shall only remind the reader, that the Chariots in Homer have constantly these two persons, the driver, and the warrior: “one of these was called *Hemiochos*, because he *governed the reins*, which in those days was not a servile or ignoble office, but frequently undertaken by men of quality; for we find Nestor, though a king, also Hector, and several others of dignity, employed in it; and that, not on extraordinary occasions, but frequently, some of them even, constantly. Moreover, that the war-chariots though usually drawn by two horses, sometimes had four, appears from the speech of Hector, to *Xanthe*, *Podarge*, *Aithon*, and *Lampe*, his horses; *Iliad* viii. Homer also compares the swiftness of the Pheacian ship to that of a chariot drawn by four horses. *Odyss.* xiii.

The reverse of this medal, shews a capital galley, with a tutelar deity in front, to protect the vessel from danger [*Vide Ship of Tyre*, No. ccxvii.]

Nos. 8, 9. Are Triumphal Cars of Roman emperors, drawn by four horses each. The reader will observe, that whereas the car of the Persian king, in the former number, was *square*, these are *round*, in front, especially. They are open at the end: and they have only two wheels.

The

It seems remarkable enough, that no *side traces* to horses occur in antiquity : *we* should think we lost at least half their strength, by such omission. The same occurs in the Persian vehicle. Perhaps in chariots of state this loss was disregarded.

A passage in the second part of Dr. E. D. CLARKE'S *Travels in Greece*, &c. throws additional light on the construction of the Ancient Chariot. That traveller says, p. 112.—“ The women of the place (the hot springs, at Bournabashi) bring all their garments to be washed in these springs, not according to the casual visits of ordinary industry, but as an antient and established custom, in the exercise of which they proceed with all the pomp and songs of a public ceremony. The remains of customs belonging to the most remote ages are discernible in the shape and construction of the wicker cars, in which the linen is brought on these occasions, and which are used all over this country. In the first of them, I recognized the form of an antient car, of Grecian sculpture, in the Vatican Collection at Rome : and which, although of Parian marble, had been carved to resemble wicker work : while its wheels were an imitation of those solid circular planes of timber used at this day, in Troas, and in many parts of Macedonia, and Greece, for the cars of the country. They are expressly described by Homer, in the mention of Priam's litter, when the king commands his son to bind on the chest or coffer, which was of wicker work, upon the body of the carriage. *Iliad* xxiv. This wicker chest being moveable, is used or not, as circumstances may require.”

This particular formation did not escape the notice of Dr. SIBTHORP, when at Troy : He says, “ The wains were of a singular structure, and probably of very ancient origin, and had received none of the improvements of modern discoveries. A large wicker basket eight feet long, mounted on a four wheeled machine was supported by four lateral props, which were inserted into holes or sockets. The wheels were made of one solid piece, round and convex on each side.” WALPOLE, *Trav. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 114.

The passage is erroneously and imperfectly rendered by Pope : who, not having the advantage of translating Homer *in Asia*, as he wished, could do no better :

The sons their father's wretched age revere,
Forgive his anger, and produce the Car.
High on the *seat* the *cabinet* they bind :
The new made Car, with solid beauty shin'd ;
Box was the yoke, emboss'd with costly pains,
And hung with ringlets to receive the reins ;
Nine cubits long, the traces swept the ground ;
These to the Chariot's polished pole they bound,
Then fixed a ring the running reins to guide,
And close beneath the gathered ends were ty'd. —————

The *seat* of Pope, is the “ body of the carriage” of Dr. CLARKE ; and his “ *cabinet*” is the wicker “ chest or coffer,” that was *bound* on the body.

Does not this give a new aspect to the command given by Joram, 2 Kings iv. 21 ? “ And Joram said, *Make ready*”—literally, BIND : and his Chariot was *made ready*,” literally, BOUND : *i. e.* not meaning, “ bind *the horses* to the chariot ;” as we usually understand it,—but, bind *the body of the chariot* on to its carriage. This chariot was a *recab*. It is possible, that other allusions to the Chariot in both its states, of mounted, and dismounted, may occur, in Scripture ; but, none, probably, to which the distinctions stated, do not apply.

No. DCLXXXVI. OF FEMALES ATTENDING THE ARMY.

THE appearance of the Female Captives on the chariot in the Plate of EASTERN CHARIOTS, No. 5. affords an opportunity for noticing a somewhat singular request made by Barak, the general of the Israelites, to Deborah, the prophetess, Judg. iv. 6. Deborah commanded him in the Name of the Lord, to encamp on Mount Tabor, with ten thousand men. "And I will draw unto thee, to the river Kishon, Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, with his chariots and his multitude; and I will deliver him into thine hand. And Barak said unto her, *If thou wilt go with me, then I will go: but, if thou wilt not go with me, then I will not go.*" Modern warfare would much rather decline the company of "a woman of splendors," who, under the circumstances stated, was little other than commander in chief. But, we learn from Xenophon, *Cyrop. lib. iv.* "that most of the inhabitants of Asia are attended in their military expeditions by those whom they live with at home."—"The Army brought chariots which they had taken;—some of them *full of the most considerable Women*, [as in the chariot on our Plate]. . . . for to this day all the inhabitants of Asia, in time of war, attend the service accompanied with what they value most: and they say, that they fight the better when the objects most dear to them are present."

Herodotus, *Polhymnia, cap. 39.* narrates the following history: "Pythius the Lydian, had highly honoured King Xerxes by contributions, entertainments, &c.—whom he thus addressed, "Sir, I have five sons, who are all with you in this Grecian expedition; I would entreat you to pity my age, and dispense with the presence of the eldest. Take with you the four others: but leave this to manage my affairs."—Xerxes in great indignation made this reply: "Infamous man! you see me embark my all in this Grecian war; myself, MY CHILDREN, my brothers, my domestics, and my friends;—how dare you then presume to mention your son, you who are my slave, and whose duty it is to accompany me on this occasion,—with ALL YOUR FAMILY, and even your WIFE?"

We may now form a better notion of the policy of Barak, in stipulating for the presence of the prophetess who judged Israel, with his Army. She was a public person; was well known to all Israel, and her appearance would no less stimulate the valour of the troops, to "fight the better for an object most dear to them," than it would sanction the undertaking determined on and executed against an oppressor so powerful as Jabin king of Canaan.

Perhaps, we may extend this notion somewhat farther; for Deborah in her triumphant song supposes that Sisera's mother attributed the delay in his return to the great number of captives—female captives—taken from the enemy—"to every man a damsel, or two;"—families of the warriors of Israel, taken prisoners in their camp, equally with seizures made in the villages and towns.

Whether this be correct or not—(no striking objection seems to oppose it)—we are sure that the presence of Women of rank in the camps of the Orientals, was not uncommon. Every body is acquainted with the generosity of Alexander in the tent of Darius; when the Royal family of Persia became his captives; and the story of Panthea is so beautifully told by Xenophon, *Cyrop. lib. v.* that if it be already familiar to the reader, he cannot be displeased with its repetition. The generosity of Alexander might emulate, but it could not excel, the generosity of Cyrus.

"When we first entered her tent (that of Panthea) we did not know her; for she was sitting on the ground, with all her women-servants round her, and was dressed

in the same manner as her servants were : but, when we looked around, being desirous to know which was the mistress, she immediately appeared to excel all the others, though she was sitting, with a veil over her, and looking down upon the ground. When we bid her rise, she, and the servants around her, rose. Standing in a dejected posture—her tears fell at her feet.” &c.

Will this idea of Women attending soldiers, contribute illustration to a verse in that sufficiently obscure effusion, Psalm lxxviii. 12 ?

Kings of armies did flee, did flee,
And she who tarried at home divided the spoil.

To this rendering it may be objected, that the spoil was divided among the soldiery *before* they arrived at home : consequently, it could not be divided after each man arrived at his family and dwelling. But, if we might be allowed to consider certain Females as accompanying the Army, and remaining where the troops took post overnight, (the soldiers going out to battle in the morning) then the sense would be

Kings of armies did flee, did flee,
And she who rested in the tents divided the spoil.

This she might do, either by coming forward to plunder after the enemy was put to flight ; or, by assisting in dividing the spoil after it was brought by the victors into their camp.

To this acceptance of the terms there can be no objection : the term *נח*, rendered *resting*, signifies a *sheep cote*, 2 Sam. vii. 8. and *the place where sheep couch* in the open field, Psalm xxiii. 2. and perhaps, it is used expressly for a military post, or flying camp of soldiers, Isaiah xxvii. 10. The defenced city shall be desolate, and the *out-post* forsaken ;” under this view of it the latter member of the passage becomes a parallel, by contrast, with the former member, the defenced city. The term *בית*, which signifies a *den for wild beasts*, Job xxxix. 6. and a *nest for birds*, Psalm lxxxiv. 4. may well signify a temporary lodging for soldiers in the field ; in modern language, possibly, a *bivouac* ; though I rather connect with it the notion of *tents*, in the passage before us. Comp. the pursuits of Saul after David. 1 Sam. xix. *et seq.*

No. DCLXXXVII. FARTHER DISTINCTIONS IN EASTERN VEHICLES.

WE have endeavoured to shew that the *recab* was a chariot drawn by two horses only ; while the augmented term, *murecabeh*, imports a chariot drawn by four horses ; but, when we say *drawn*, we are by no means to consider this term as universally applicable to vehicles ; for it would be much more descriptive of the major part of Eastern Vehicles, to say they were *carried* by two, or by four horses, or camels ; which would contribute essentially to a better understanding of many places of Scripture.

Neither am I sure whether we ought not to correct what has been said relative to the *second* chariot of Josiah, and of Ahab, by admitting that conveyance to have been rather a *litter*, than a chariot. This vehicle (the *litter*) was certainly well known to the Hebrews, and would have been called by them *recab* ; but in what passages of Scripture this should be accepted, rather than any other, must be the subject of conjecture. As conjecture, therefore, simply, and in no other character, are the following thoughts submitted. Let us first state our authorities,

“There are Vehicles in the East used for sick persons, or for persons of high distinction,” says MAILLET, *Lett.* p. 230. and PITTS observes, in his account of his return from Mecca, that, “at the head of each division, some great gentleman, or officer, was carried in a machine made like a horse-litter, borne by two camels, one before, the other behind, which was covered all over with sear-cloth, and over that again with green broad cloth. If he had a wife attending him, she was carried in another.” This is the Vehicle in our print; on which Pococke, from whom fig. B. is copied, observes, “When the caravans go to Mecca, some women of condition ride in *tartavans*, or litters carried by camels, as here represented; the labour of the camel that goes behind being very great, as his head is under the litter. Some go in a smaller sort, on the back of one camel only.”

Mr. MORIER, p. 113. describes a *Takhteravan*, or litter, in which the nurse and the Ambassador's infant were conveyed. It consists of a cage of lattice work, covered over with cloth, borne by two mules, one before, the other behind; and conducted by two men, one of whom rides on a third mule in front, and the other generally walks by the side. Perhaps this may resemble the vehicle called *Armamaxa*, in which the children of Darius and their attendants were carried. Quintus Curtius, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 3.”

Now, if sick persons, no doubt for their ease, and as the mode of conveyance east incommoded by motion, adopt these vehicles, then it is but natural to suppose that king Joram, when at Jezreel to be healed of his wounds, 2 Kings ix. 15. would prefer a vehicle of this description; yet we learn, verse 21. that Joram said, “Make ready;” and they made ready his ‘*recab*,’ (literally, “bind;” and they bound his *recab*.) The second *recab* of Josiah, into which he was removed from his *marecabe*, was probably similar, as affording the most easy carriage for a person desperately wounded; and I think we may infer, from 2 Kings xxiii. 30. that he was carried in *recab* (רֶכֶבָּהּ), when dead, from Megiddo to Jerusalem: which is also what we have supposed of Ahab, 1 Kings xxii. 35.

We pass at once to a passage which in the general opinion greatly requires illustration; and probably, it may be illustrated, on principles under consideration, Isaiah xxi. 7. “Let a watchman declare what he seeth;—and he saw a *hariot* (*recab*) with a couple of horsemen; a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels.” So says our translation: the original is—“a *recab*, a pair of ridings, *recab* of an ass, *recab* of a camel;”—meaning, a pair of animals used for riding, in a general sense (literally, *straddlers*: in French *montures*), but now harnessed to this *recab*: one of these animals is an ass, the other is a camel: an association altogether extraordinary!

Observe, this pair of animals is called *pareschim* (פָּרֶשִׁים); and the Persian empire is called *paresim*: we may be allowed to suppose, that under a word so closely allied in sound, the reference of this prophecy could hardly be misunderstood by those who heard it in their native language. But why *an Ass* and *a Camel*?—because Cyrus, whom this allegory prefigures, was a Mede, by his mother Mandane, but, by his father he was a Persian: on which account, as we learn from Herodotus, Nebuchadnezzar foretold this Sovereign under the notion of a mule, *i. e.* a mixture of parentage. This kind of vehicle, then, being used by the great, by princes, &c. the prophet alludes to such an one, very unusually equipped, approaching against Babylon, and raising great expectation, &c. Consider the different heights, the different paces, the different dispositions, &c. &c. of an Ass, and a Camel: the

combination would produce motions sufficiently incompatible; in fact, scarcely bearable. That this refers to a single person riding in it, is clear from verse 9. "Behold here cometh the *recab* of THE MAN, (שׂא) the *chief* man—by excellence, [*vide* No. cclxv. *Sol. Song*,] conveyed by a pair of animals for riding, &c. And he said, Babylon is fallen"—Cyrus has conquered all before him. This is very different from Bishop Lowth; whose note I insert, to shew the extreme difficulty of the passage.

"*And he saw a chariot with two riders; a rider on an Ass, a rider on a Camel.*"] This passage is extremely obscure, from the ambiguity of the term (*recab*) רכב, which is used three times, and which signifies a chariot, or any other vehicle, or the rider in it; or a rider on a horse, or on any other animal; or a company of chariots, or riders. The prophet may possibly mean a cavalry in two parts, with two sorts of riders; riders on asses, or mules, and riders on camels; or led on by two riders, one on an ass, and one on a camel. However, so far it is pretty clear, that Darius and Cyrus, the Medes and the Persians, are intended to be distinguished by the two riders, or the two sorts of cattle. It appears from Herodotus, 1. 80. that the baggage of Cyrus's army was carried on camels. In his engagement with Cræsus, he took off the baggage from the camels, and mounted his horsemen upon them: the enemy's horses, offended with the smell of the camels, turned back and fled."

"*a man, one of the two riders.*"] So the Syriac understands it; and Ephraim Syr."

The instances adduced, with the nature and form of the chariot, as already described, agree perfectly with such circumstances as we might expect to find adverted to, and foreseen by the prophet.—Our principles will, I think, also explain another passage, which his Lordship considered as nearly desperate; for he thus speaks of it, in his notes, chap. xxii. 6.

"—*the Syrian.*"] It is not easy to say what רכב אדם, *a chariot of men*, can mean. It seems, by the form of the sentence, which consists of three members, the first and the third mentioning a particular people, that the second should do so likewise; thus רכב אדם ופרשים, "with chariots the Syrian, and with horsemen:" the similitude of the letters ד and ר is so great, and the mistakes arising from it so frequent, that I readily adopt the correction of Houbigant, אדם instead of אדם, which seems to be extremely probable. The conjunction ו prefixed to פרשים seems necessary, in whatever way the sentence is taken; and it is confirmed by five mss. (one ancient) and three editions. Kir was a city belonging to the Medes. The Medes were subject to the Assyrians in Hezekiah's time. See 2 Kings xvi. 9. and xvii. 6. and so perhaps might Elam (the Persians) likewise be, or auxiliaries to them."

Let us now attempt to explain this difficulty. "And Elam, *i. e.* Persia, whose inhabitants were excellent archers, even from childhood, as Herodotus informs us, took the quiver (with the bow, no doubt), and slung it over the shoulder, while they, each of them, rode in a *recab* of a single man (the word is not here, as before, שׂא AISH, but, אדם ADAM), placed on an animal for riding:" which elsewhere we shall see is a very correct description of a class of vehicles. If we accept the *vau* ו, we may read, "And Elam took his quiver in his single-man vehicle, *and* on his riding-animals." This acceptation of *perashim* as animals for riding, seems very applicable. So Isaiah, xxx. 1. "Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses, and hope in *recab*—chariotry, because they are great, and in animals for riding (*perashim*,) cavalry, because they are strong," &c.

That the Persians were, as they still are, excellent horsemen, we have the testimony of all ancient writers of history; but, on the present subject it may not be improper to remind the reader, that modern warfare also has adopted the Camel, or Dromedary, as a *monture* for troops. The practice was copied from the Arabs by the French, in Egypt. Sir ROBERT WILSON in his account of the action of March 21. 1801. before Alexandria, informs us, that the French "Colonel Cavalier, with his Dromedary corps, did all that could be done, and more than could be expected: as he completely carried the first battery, with one piece of cannon, killing or taking every man which defended it,"—Sir R. adds, in a note, "It must not be supposed that this corps acts as cavalry. The Dromedaries are only used for the speed of conveyance; and the men dismount when arrived at the scene of action. The idea did not originate with the French, but was the custom of the Mamaloukes and of all Africa." In fighting with the bow and arrow, as anciently practised, there could be no occasion for the soldiers to dismount: this animal, the Camel, therefore, may safely be reckoned among those trained for military purposes, by the Orientals.

N. B. Litters are often, for the sake of state and magnificence, when used by Bashaws, &c. carried by *four* horses: though this should seem to be an appendage of authority and power. Another appendage of authority and power, is a golden ball on the top of this carriage; by which (admitting the foregoing supposition) the *recab* seen by the prophet's watchman, would easily be distinguished, as belonging to a CHIEF man. This kind of vehicle is called in Arabic *Takht Revan*, "Moving Throne," and is (with such distinctions) peculiar to princes, or to others expressly privileged by the sovereign. *Vide* FRAZER'S *Nadir Shah; et al.*

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

The upper Figure on our Plate is copied from Mr. DALTON'S Representations of Egyptian Costume; it is the travelling equipage of the superior ranks of life, such as Bashaws, and other great men; or their wives.

The lower Figure is copied from Dr. Pococke's *Travels in Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 187. That traveller thus explains it:

"Some go in a smaller sort of carriage, on the back of one camel, as may be seen at B. People of condition ride on a saddled camel, as is represented at D. The most extraordinary way of conveyance is a sort of round basket on each side of the camel, with a cover made at top, as may be seen at F. There is a cover over the lower part, which holds all their necessaries, and the person sits cross-legged on it." [This "saddled camel" is, clearly, the vehicle of a single man.]

No. DCLXXXVIII. CAMEL'S FURNITURE.

AMONG those passages of Scripture which demand a knowledge of local peculiarities to render them intelligible, we may justly reckon Genesis xxxi. 34. where we read, that Rachel purloined the *teraphim* of Laban, her father, "and put them in [or into] the Camel's Furniture (בִּכְרֵי *becur*, allied to the Latin *currus*, or to our *cur ricle*: or *becar*, allied, perhaps, to our words *car*, *cart*, *carriage*,) and sat upon them," [or, over them] *i. e.* upon the Camel's Furniture, which contained them; and she apologized to her father for not rising in his presence, by a plea, which deterred Laban from completing that scrutiny in which he had previously persevered, without exception of place, or of person.

Mr. HARMER, vol. i. p. 446. thinks this *Camel's Furniture* was “the *hiran*; a piece of serge, about six ells long, laid upon the saddle; . . . it is used as a mattress when they (travellers) stop for the night in a place, on which they lie, and their wallets serve for bolsters.” This he confirms by Sir J. CHARDIN'S MS.

Had that ingenious author adverted to the etymological signification of the word here used, he would have perceived, that *car* signifies any thing round, or of a roundish form; and therefore, that the *coune* mentioned in his text, and sufficiently well described by him, as being a hamper like a cradle, carried on the back of a Camel, one on each side of the animal, having a back, head, and sides, like a great chair, (*vide* THEVENOT, *Part* I. p. 177.) was much more likely to be the *CAR* of this passage in Genesis, than any wrapper formed into a roll.

To justify this assumption, our Print represents one of these *CARS*, as it is seen on one side of a camel; and the reader will suppose that another resembling it is placed as a counterpoise, on the other side of the animal. This is copied from Mr. DALTON'S Prints of Egyptian Figures. His description of it is as follows:—

“In this print is shewn the manner of travelling of aged or infirm pilgrims, in double wicker-work seats, placed so on the back of a Camel, as to be equally poised, each side being alike, as another person sits in the same manner on the other side; with the store hampers under each seat, so filled as to preserve the even balance. Oft-times four persons go on one camel, in similar shaped seats, two on a side, sitting fronting each other.”

Dr. Pococke describes them in the same manner, comparing them to “an uncovered chaise, or chair, which is more convenient [than some kinds of litters are] as a traveller can sit, and extend his legs, if there is only one person in it. Under the saddle of each Camel is a coarse carpet to cover them by night.” Vol. i. p. 188. This coarse carpet is the *hiran* of Mr. HARMER.

Mr. MORIER relates a ludicrous instance of the attention paid to preserving the balance of this kind of conveyance:—

“The English servant maid, who rode in the *kejaweh*, or hamper, wanted to get out and to walk up a steep place; but her Persian conductor would not let her, for he drove his mule up the dangerous path, exclaiming, “Yes, indeed, if I were to let you out, what would there be to balance the boxes on the other side?”

The reader will observe in our Print, 1. the *hiran*, or length of coarse carpet, cloth, or serge, placed on the back of the Camel. 2. The round basket which projects over his side, the cover of which shuts down close over it, and is fastened by a strap or buckle, inserted into it. This basket contains the necessaries of the person travelling. 3. The person seated, in much the same manner and attitude, as is usual on the *divan*; or as he might be seated, if at home; so that his usual posture is little or nothing varied during his conveyance. 4. The covering over all, which like a kind of roof, keeps off the rays of the sun, excludes rain, &c. The whole is made of wicker-work, for lightness.

This subject gives rise to several reflections, as,

1. The riding in vehicles of this kind, is, according to MAILLET, (*Lett.* p. 230.) a mark of distinction: for, speaking of the pilgrimage to Mecca, he says, “ladies of any figure have litters; others are carried in chairs made like covered cages, hanging on both sides of a Camel: and ordinary women are mounted on Camels, without such conveniences, after the manner of the Arab women, and cover themselves from sight, and from the heat of the sun, as well as they can, with their veils.”

2. If Rachel journeyed in such a vehicle, then, she was treated with some distinction; and though not like a person of the very first consequence, yet, not like one of the ordinary Arab women, or of the lower class: but, as circumstances would justify, in a medium state, with respect to accommodation. We may readily suppose that Leah, and perhaps Jacob's other wives also, had conveniences of the same kind. N. B. This supposition has its influence on the meeting of Jacob and his family with Esau; on which occasion it should seem, that all Jacob's family, without reserve, were on foot, as appearing before their superior; *i. e.* the *acknowledged* elder brother of the family, Gen. xxxiii. 5, 6, 7.

3. In reference to the circumstances of the history. This basket is always understood to contain those personal necessities which the traveller may need during his journey; such as linen, refreshments, with articles of a lighter kind, and, when women are the travellers, those conveniences which are adapted to their conditions. If then, we consider the condition assumed by Rachel, and compare the import, and inferences, in the law, Lev. xv. 26. xx. 18. *et al.* which pronounces unclean, set apart--separated from domestic intercourse, as well the person, as her conveniences, "whatsoever she sitteth upon," "whatever she has touched," &c. we shall comprehend the propriety of Laban's suspending his scrutiny, and preserving a proper distance, not only from the person of Rachel, but also from every part of that vehicle whereon she was seated. No doubt, also, that while journeying, this situation was the utmost privacy—"separation," which Rachel could well assume; the utmost seclusion and concealment, wherein to secrete her theft, and to hide both herself and her unsuspected acquisition. As Rachel died in child-birth, Gen. xxxv. 16. while on a journey, was it not in one of these conveyances, [which, with proper attention are capable of being rendered very *private*] so that the vehicle that had been the scene of her prevarication, became also that of her punishment?

[I presume that Rebecca, Gen. xxiv. 64. travelled in one of these cars; though it be not so specified in the text; but only, "she lighted off her Camel."]

4. The size of this car, or basket, furnishes an inference in regard to the size of the images, *teraphim*, which it concealed; certainly, they were not so large as to fill the whole of it, themselves only: neither were they put in *openly* by Rachel, in the sight of her family; but were doubtless, wrapped and folded closely in many *envelopes*, for their better secretion, and security. This consideration, implies that they were small; of dimensions which permitted them to be *slipped* in undetected, and with other things in their company *adroitly*, into the car, and when shut up in it, to be safe from suspicion, whether occasioned by their weight, or their magnitude. This contributes essentially to justify our statement in reference to the *teraphim* of Michal, which, if they resembled the *teraphim* of Rachel, as is likely, were neither of a size, nor proportion, to be mistaken for a living man. *Vide* Plate, TERAPHIM.

5. A word which appears to be only the duplicate form of this under explanation, car, is employed by Isaiah, lxvi. 20. and is unluckily rendered by our translators, and by others, "*swift beasts*:" they shall bring your brethren...on horses... and in chariots, and in litters, (*tilted* carts) and upon mules, and upon [*lit. in*] *swift beasts*—(בכרכרות *becarcaruth*)—now this word is employed by the prophet in the duplicate form, because, as we have observed, these cars are double, and are swung, one on each side of a camel, and being duplicate, a word in the duplicate form best denotes them. Moreover, it is said, they shall be "brought for an offering,"—exactly then, as pilgrims now go to Mecca;—from one of whom our Plate is taken. Hence we conclude, that vehicles of this form and construction, were used in religious

gious processions, in the days of Isaiah; as they now are, in the countries, and among the people, to which he refers.

N. B. This justifies the idea of *VITRINGA*, against Mr. HARMER.

By way of showing the size of the *Teraphim*, which we have supposed to resemble the *Dii Penates*, we have given from a gem, a group of *Enæas* carrying his father *Anchises*, who holds in his hands the box in which he conveyed away his household gods, or the *Palladium*: this box is not large. And farther, we have given a caricature delineation of the same subject, from an ancient picture in *Herculaneum*, wherein *Enæas* and his family are represented as dogs; in this also the *lararium* is but small; and might easily be furtively conveyed away, among other things, in a *CAR*.

There are two gems in the Florentine Gallery, Vol. ii. Plate xxx. which relate the same history, the flight of *Enæas*, with so nearly the same figures, that I doubt not, but they are taken from some famous group of statuary, representing this incident: from one of these our Plate is copied. The reader will recollect, that the Romans derived their origin from *Troy*, whence *Enæas* is carrying off his father, with his divinities. In fact, *Enæas*, and *Anchises* his father, were deemed little, if any thing, short of protecting deities at *Rome*; and therefore the caricaturing them under the form of *dogs*, though it shews that the ancients took liberties with their deities, yet is not the worst character into which they might have been metamorphosed; as the dog was a proper emblem of the *Penates*-gods; and the figure of a dog was a customary allusion to their offices. *Vide* the Plate of *TERAPHIM*, with its illustration; *Virgil's Æneid*, &c. as there referred to.

Apuleius mentions a practice not unlike this contrivance of *Rachel*; he says, p. 72. "It is my custom, let me go wherever I will, to carry with me among my boxes, (or trunks) the image of a deity." It is clear that these images could not be large. Moreover, we well know, that figures of protecting deities were worn about the person; whence *Arnobius*, *contra Gentes*, lib. vii. takes occasion to say, "Do not imagine that every little image is a Divinity." We read, also, that the *Rhodians* went out in a body to meet certain small images, which they placed on cushions; not the least wonder of which procession was, the great veneration paid to such petty objects. *Nihil hac memoriâ felicius, quæ tantum venerationis in tam parvulo ære possedit.* *Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 10.*

The cabinets of the curious abound with ancient idols of diminutive dimensions; and these were certainly cast at less expense of skill and labour, than larger statues; when the metal was costly, as silver, and especially gold, the value of the material was, also, an object of consideration. But, even the idols of earth (baked clay) are usually small, in which the value of the material could be nothing. This is notorious among the antiquities of *Egypt*, and also of *India*. In fact, the idolatrous images buried by *Jacob*, *Gen. xxxv. 4.* were mere jewels, as they were (some of them, at least) insculpted on ear-rings: and we know that idolatrous devices were hung round the necks of children from their earliest infancy; a custom to which it is more than possible *St. John* alludes, when he says, 1 *Epist. v. 21.* "Little children, keep yourselves from Idols."

FRAGMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

DOMESTIC UTENSILS, AND IMPLEMENTS.

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No. DCLXXXIX. OF ANCIENT CENSERS, &c.

IT appears from numerous instances, that the services of Divine worship, under the Mosaic dispensation, resembled those usually addressed to Monarchs and Sovereigns among the Orientals; and there can be little doubt, but what the Hebrews directed them to a person *understood* to be resident in the Sanctuary, before which, and in which, they were performed: 'This notion of Jewish services was so strong among the heathen, that we find they reported the object of worship in the Temple at Jerusalem to be an *old man with a long beard*. That report might possibly originate in the description of the *Ancient of Days*, by the prophet Daniel. However that might be, it is generally concluded that the attendants on the Temple were nearly similar to the attendants on royalty and dignity in general; and many external acts of worship were of the same appearance and import.

We have no custom of burning perfumes, as a mode of doing honour; and though the Church of Rome has adopted the use of the Censer, and fumigation, yet it is as a part of *sacred* worship, not of *civil* gratulation. On the contrary, in the East, fumigation forms a part of *civil* entertainment; and is never omitted when it is intended to compliment a guest. Being thus general, and indeed indispensable, in Asiatic manners, it was received anciently into Divine worship; and the priests in their ordinary service, as well as the High-Priest, in the most solemn acts of his public ministration, used Incense—a cloud of Incense, in approaching to the more immediate presence of God.

Little is known on the form and nature of the ancient Hebrew Censer. What Censers have been received from heathen antiquity, and those used in the Romish worship also, being suspended by chains, they give, not infrequently, erroneous ideas of this sacred utensil, as employed among the Jews.

The Hebrew has two words, both rendered *censer* in our translation. The first, (מַחֲתָה *mechateh*, or, מַחֲתֶת *mechatet*), describes the Censers of Aaron, and of Korah and his company, Lev. x. 1. Numb. xvi. 6. It appears, that these were of brass [or copper]; also, that after the death of those who had presumptuously used them, they were beaten into *broad* plates for a covering to the altar. From this application of them, we infer that they were not *cast*, nor of *great thickness*, nor made of small pieces: but they were thin, and their plates were of considerable surface. This term continued to denote a Censer under the monarchy; for we read, 1 Kings vii. 50. and 2 Chron. iv. 22. of *censers* (מַחֲתוֹת *mechatut*) of gold, made by Solomon.

Nevertheless, we learn from 2 Chron. xxvi. 19. that king Uzziah attempted to burn incense in the house of the Lord, having a *censer* in his hand." The word is different from the former (מקטרת *mekatheret*), and seems to import an implement of another shape. This kind of Censer was probably of a *circul*, if not a profane (*possibly*, of an idolatrous) nature: for, Ezekiel says, viii. 11. that the seventy apostate Jews engaged in idolatrous worship, had every man his Censer, *mekatheret*, in his hand. The same may be inferred from 2 Chron. xxx. 14. where it is recorded, that Hezekiah and his people took away the idolatrous altars that were in Jerusalem; with all the altars for incense -- *mekatherut*. However, it must not hastily be concluded that this article was *wholly* idolatrous, for we read, Exod. xxx. 1. "Thou shalt make an altar (מקטרת קטרת, *mekathar katheret*) to fume with perfume, *i. e.* to burn incense thereon:" so that this kind also was legally adopted in Divine worship. It deserves notice, that those who used these *mekatherut*, are described as holding them *in their hands*: so Uzziah had *in his hand* and the seventy men in Ezekiel had each *in his hand* -- his *mekatheret*: but this position is not, that I recollect, ascribed to the *mechatet*, or Censer of Aaron.

These hints lead us to conclude that the *mekatheret* may be considered as a kind of Censer, carried in the hand; not alone; as the heat arising from the burning embers it contained would be disagreeably great; but in a kind of dish, which dish [with the Censer in it] was placed on the Altar of Incense, and there left, diffusing a smoke, morning and evening, during the trimming of the lamps, &c. Exod. xxx. 7, 8. Apparently, this was regarded as an inferior kind of Censer, appropriate to the priests, and common to them all: but whether the other kind, the *mechatet*, was peculiar to the High-Priest, is not clear: we find it used by the sons of Aaron, Lev. x. 1. but that was an irregularity, and was punished as such; it is mentioned also as being employed by two hundred and fifty of the associates of Korah; but that was in rebellion, and proved fatal to the transgressors.

Somewhat of a similar distinction of Censers is observed in the New Testament; for the twenty-four elders (Rev. v. 8.) had golden *vials* full of odours (φιάλας);—but, chap. viii. 2. the angel had a golden *Censer* (λιβανωτοῦ). These *vials* were not small bottles, such as we call *vials*; which idea rises instantly by association in our minds; but, they were of the nature of the Censers and dishes, in our plate (compared by Dr. DODDRIDGE to a tea-cup and saucer):—this gives a very different idea to chap. xv. 8. xvi. 1. &c. of the same book; where the vials having the wrath of God, are *poured out*; for if they contained *fire*, that is a fit emblem of wrath; and burning embers may be described as *poured out* from a Censer, with great propriety. Nothing can be more apparent, if we suppose, for instance, the covering of the Censer No. 2. on our Plate, to be wholly removed; in which state the bowl of it, perhaps, may be that described by the Apocalyptic writer as a *vial*; and it might conveniently contain the fire to be *poured out* from it. This is perfectly agreeable to its form and services as a Censer, and to the nature and use of ancient *mekatherut*.

We ought also to remark, that bearing Censers is an office of servants, in attendance on their superiors;—the same office anciently, in the Temple, no doubt, denoted waiting on the Deity—being occupied in his service—in attendance on him. This action, therefore, demonstrates the *devotedness* to false gods, of those who worshipped them, by bearing Censers to honour their images: especially, when it is recollected, that offering incense was connected with addresses and prayers;

as appears from Numb. xvi. 47. Psalm cxli. 2. Isaiah lx. 6. Jer. xi. 12. Matt. i. 11. Luke i. 10. Rev. v. 8.

Our Plate shews the fashion of Censers in the East.

No. 1. Is from Pococke. It consists of a Censer, properly speaking, with its dish, in which it stands. This dish is certainly, a preservative to the hand of the bearer from the effects of the fire enclosed in the Censer itself.

No. 2. A Censer used in Arabia, from Niebuhr; who says, "This Censer is of wood, and its covering is of plaited cane; its form as shewn in the print;" but he also remarks, "The sprinkling vase and the Censer are sometimes of silver, and very neatly worked" with ornaments. One should suppose, indeed, that metal would always be employed in Censers, which were designed to furnish fumigation during any length of time: however wooden Censers and plaited cane coverings might be employed on occasions of service which required only a few minutes; and the action of a moderate degree of heat.

No. 3. Is from De la Motraye, and exhibits a Censer with its dish. The distance of this Censer above its dish, from which it is separated by the intervening legs, effectually prevents the heat of the inclosed fire, from scorching the bearer.

No. 4. Is from a print representing the reception of a French ambassador (drawn at large from the same figure as No. 7.) by the Grand Vizir; from a picture in the collection of the late Lord Baltimore. This also is a Censer standing in a broad dish; so that, in these instances, how unlike soever be the form of the Censer, we find that a dish, not less differing in shape, is its regular accompaniment. It is evident, that to a Censer, full of burning coals, intended to be left on a wooden altar, such a broad pan was necessary for safety. The Censer from Niebuhr is distinguished, by having no dish, equally as by being of cane, instead of silver. Observe also, that these are carried in the hands of the attendants. These circumstances, taken in connection, support the conjecture, that these Censers resemble the *mekatherut* of Uzziah, and those of the seventy idol-worshippers in Ezekiel.

No. 5. The Vase, or Bottle, containing perfumed water, which is to be sprinkled on the guests, by way of salutation; as customary at the close of an Eastern visit. To this ceremony we have supposed an allusion in Isaiah, li. 13. [*Vide* No. xiv.] "When a stranger rises to depart, the master gives a sign to his servants to bring the rose-water and perfume. The rose-water is sprinkled on the departing guest, and the perfumed smook is directed to his beard, his large sleeves, and whatever part of his dress may retain it. The beard will retain it for a long time. This fumigation is among the greatest marks of honour and personal compliment in the East."

No. 6. The figure of a Female Servant, in De la Motraye's print of a Turkish *harem*: she is bringing in the sprinkling-bottle of perfumed water, and the Censer, containing burning perfume. The Censer is the same as No. 3.

No. 7. The figure of a Turkish Servant, in the picture of the reception of the ambassador, already mentioned. His office is to bear the Censer; and he waits for orders to employ it on the person to be honoured. This Censer is the same as No. 4. These figures shew the mode of carrying this kind—either in the hands; or—on the arms.

No. 8. An Ancient Censer; from Montfaucon, *Antiq. Illust.* vol. ii. p. 140. It is the only one he knew of. It is of heathen, and probably of Roman, origin.

No. 9. A Box, in which incense was kept: from the same volume, and coming under the same remark.

We read in Leviticus of various utensils adapted to the service of the Temple, such as *pans*, snuffers, &c. As the forms of these Instruments are not come down to us, nothing can be affirmed concerning them, beyond their probable and necessary application. But, we may be permitted to hint, that could the forms and construction of those, and of other sacred utensils, be recovered, there is every reason to believe that their propriety, elegance, and even dignity, of appearance, as well as of materials, would be such as might both interest and gratify the taste of the most distinguished *amateur*. We have no reason to conclude that any *frivolous* or unnecessary commands were given originally, or were left on record for the direction of after-ages. The idea, alone, that the Instruments ordered were of the best kind, and such as were employed in the service of sovereigns and princes, justifies the sacred writer in preserving the particulars of their description: since it amounts to a prohibition of inferior kinds; which, otherwise, some inconsiderate or indifferent worshipper might substitute: and it is at least a perpetual memorial, that even in minor matters to serve God with our best, is a point of honour and conscience.

No. DCXC. OF EASTERN LANTHORNS, AND LIGHTS.

THIS subject though of the most familiar nature, yet has its difficulties, and its variations. It is evident, that Lamps intended for the interior of dwellings, for what may be described as “chamber use,” are likely to be very different in construction in form, and in management, also, from those which are expected to meet the impulse of the open air, the evening breeze, and, occasionally, the ruder blasts of stronger winds. The necessity for proper distinction appeared urgent to Mr. HARMER, whose sentiments the reader will find below: that ingenious writer, here refers only to the New Testament, for instances of the application of his remarks; there is at least an equal necessity for ascertaining the kinds mentioned in the Old Testament, nor less propriety in distinguishing them, and in maintaining that distinction, according to their application.

The following Extract is from Mr. HARMER's Observations, vol. ii. p. 429.

“Captain NORDEN, among other particulars he thought worthy of notice, has given some account (Part I. p. 83.) of the *lamps* and *lanterns* that they make use of commonly at Cairo, “The lamp,” he tells us, “is of the palm-tree wood, of the height of twenty-three inches, and made in a very gross manner. The glass, that hangs in the middle, is half filled with water, and has oil on the top, about three fingers in depth. The wick is preserved dry at the bottom of the glass, where they have contrived a place for it, and ascends through a pipe. These Lamps do not give *much light*; yet they are very commodious, because they are *transported easily* from one place to another.

“With regard to the *lanterns*, they have pretty nearly the figure of a cage, and are made with *reeds*. It is a *collection of five or six glasses*, like to that of the Lamp which has been just described. They suspend them by cords in the middle of the streets, when there is any great festival at Cairo, and they put painted paper in the place of the reeds.’

“Were these the *lanterns* that those that came to take Jesus made use of? or were they such *lamps* as these that Christ referred to in the parable of the Virgins? or are we rather to suppose that these *lanterns* are appropriated to the Egyptian

illuminations, and that Dr. Pococke's account of the Lanterns of this country, will give us a better idea of the *lanterns* that were anciently made use of at Jerusalem?

“ ‘By night,’ says that author, (*Descript. of the East*, vol. i.) speaking of the travelling of the people of Egypt, ‘they rarely make use of tents, but lie in the open air, having *large lanterns*, made like a pocket paper lantern, the bottom and top being of copper, tinned over: and instead of paper, they are made with linen, which is extended by hoops of wire, so that when it is put together, it serves as a candlestick, &c. . . . and they have a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by means of three staves.’

“It appears from travellers, that Lamps, Wax-Candles, Torches, Lanterns, and Cresset-Lights, (a kind of moveable beacon) are all made use of among the Eastern people, (THEVENOT, *Part II.* p. 35 and 37. NORDEN, *Part I.* p. 124. HANWAY.) I think also, that there are only three words in the New Testament to express these things by, of which *λαγχρως* seems to signify the *common lamps* that are used in ordinary life, [see Luke xv. 8.] which, according to NORDEN, afford but little light.

Λαμπρας, which is one of the words made use of, John xviii. 3. seems to mean any sort of Light that shines brighter than common, whether torches, blazing resinous pieces of wood, or Lamps that are supplied with more than ordinary quantities of oil, or other unctuous substances; such as that mentioned by HANWAY, in his Travels, vol. i. p. 223. which stood in the court-yard of a person of some distinction in Persia, was supplied with tallow, and was sufficient to enlighten the whole place, as a single wax-candle served for the illumination of the room where he was entertained; and such, I presume, were the Lamps our Lord speaks of in the parable of the Virgins, which were something of the nature of common Lamps, for they were supplied with oil; but then were supposed to be sufficient for enlightening the company they went to meet, on a very joyful occasion, which required the most vigorous lights. (Sir J. CHARDIN, in his MS. note on Matt. xxv. 44. informs us, *that in many parts of the East, and in particular in the Indies, instead of torches and flambeaux, they carry a pot of oil in one hand, and a Lamp full of oily rags in the other.* This seems to be a very happy illustration of this part of the parable. He observes, in another of the MSS. that they seldom make use of candles in the East, especially among the great; candles casting but little Light, and they sitting at a considerable distance from them. Ezek. i. 13. represents the light of Lamps accordingly as very lively.)

“The other word, which occurs in John xviii. 3. is no where else to be found in the New Testament; and whether it precisely means *lanterns*, as our translators render the word, I do not certainly know. If it doth, I conclude, without much hesitation, that it signifies such *linen lanterns* as Dr. Pococke gives an account of, rather than those mentioned by NORDEN, which seem rather to be machines more proper for illuminations than for common use; and if so, the Evangelist perhaps means, that they came with such *lanterns* as people were wont to make use of when abroad in the night; but lest the weakness of the light should give an opportunity to Jesus to escape, many of them had *torches* or *such large and bright burning lamps* as were made use of on nuptial solemnities, the more effectually to secure him. Such was the treachery of Judas and the zeal of his attendants!”

The remarks introduced in explanation of the Plate of MARRIAGE PROCESSIONS [the Indian subject, Comp. No. DCCLXXIV.] have furnished materials for a correct judgment on the nature and form of the Lamps used in evening perambulations, on such public occasions. Mr. HARMER is more happy in referring those described by

Sir JOHN CHARDIN to the Parable of the Virgins, than in some other of his conjectures. To do this subject justice, it might be considered under several distinctions: as, 1. **MILITARY LAMPS**, those intended to meet the exigences of night, in the external air, when the breeze is lively, or when the wind is high. 2. **DOMESTIC LAMPS**, those intended for service in the interior of a dwelling, or to be carried about, into all parts of it; but not powerful enough to resist a gale of wind in the open air. 3. **LAMPS FOR RELIGIOUS USES**; those hung up in temples, or deposited in the sacred recesses of edifices, public or private, &c. We shall, however, attend only to the distinction between Lamps for the exterior, the open air; and Lamps for the interior, for domestic purposes.

It is the more necessary to institute a distinction of this kind, because Scripture uniformly maintains it, by employing two very different terms to express artificial Lights; as well in the Old Testament as in the New. We might add, because SCHLEUSNER has been somewhat too liberal in his definition of the term *Lampas*, of which he says, “*generatim omne, quod lucet, notat.*” But, whatever shines, is not a Lamp, in Scripture; as may appear from comparing certain passages.

NO. DCXCI. OF LAMPS FOR EXTERNAL USE.

WE meet with the Hebrew term לָפִיד *LAPID*, properly *Lampid* (whence the word *Lamp*) first of all, I believe, in that truly remarkable history of the “smoking furnace, and the *burning Lamp*,” which ratified the covenant made with Abraham, Gen. xv. 17. where the text observes, that, 1. it was after the sun was gone down, 2. when it was dark, that what is rendered a furnace, passed, and this is expressly noted as 3. smoking. Whatever light, or splendor, overcame the darkness of the evening, with the much greater darkness occasioned by the density of the smoke by which it was immediately surrounded, and in the center of which it blazed, was certainly not feeble, or dim, but lively, vigorous, and even powerful. The action took place in the open air; and this *lamp* described as *burning*, was competent to resist, and more than resist, every impulse of the atmosphere.

With this we may compare the appearances at the giving of the law, Exod. xx. 18. where we read, verse 21. of “the thick darkness” where God was; of the “mountain smoking,” and of the “thunderings” [thunders imply the concussion of *dense* clouds.] but, notwithstanding these powerful impediments to the passage of light, yet the *lampadim*, less properly “lightnings” than glowing flames, distinguished themselves by the intensity, and the continuance of their effulgence; to the great terror of all the people.

The impropriety of rendering *lampadim* by “lightnings,” is evident, on considering a passage where the two words meet, and *must* be distinguished, in the description of a majestic person, Dan. x. 6. whose countenance had the brightness of *lightning* (בָּרָק, the regular term for the flashes of this meteor) and his eyes were as *lampadi* of fire;” *i. e.* glowing, clear, steady, conspicuous flames: not vibrating, not blazing, but compact and still. It would manifest a deplorable deficiency in taste and propriety, to compare an earthly production with these celestial appearances; but, whoever has contemplated a great body of *gas* lights, purposely combined, as some were, on occasion of certain public illuminations in London, will at least, be prepared to admit the overpowering effulgence of a brightness very different from that of lightning.

We must now descend to the humbler walks of humanity. We read, Judges vii. 16. that the inventive Gideon gave to his soldiers, at his surprize of the Midianites, by night,—“pitchers, and *lamps* within the pitchers.” There can be no doubt but what this hero would adopt the most powerful lights he could obtain. Weak rush-lights would not answer his purpose. His intention was, to make the most tremendous noise possible, with his trumpets; and the most terrific display of blazing brightness by means of his Lamps, suddenly beaming with malignant splendor, in several parts of the Midianite host, at the same moment. They were, therefore, *strong* luminaries. We may say the same of the *lampid* of Samson, Judges xv. 4. it was a burner not to be extinguished by the rude blast of night. Moreover, the *lampid* is made an object of comparison, Isaiah lxi. 1. I will not hold my peace - till the salvation of Zion go forth as a *lamp that burneth.*” Comp. Ezek. i. 13 Zech. xii. 6. *et al.* Certainly, these comparisons imply a vehement, or at at least, a glowing, brilliant, Illuminator.

There is a passage, Job xiii. 5. which should be illustrated in the present article: but the critics are by no means agreed on its import; and, to say truth, we cannot flatter ourselves with a complete removal of its uncertainty. However, the attempt to explain it is honourable, even though it fail.

Our translation reads, “*He that is ready to slip with his feet, is as a Lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease.*” Mr SCOTT renders,

Contempt pursues the fall'n, exalted ease
With scornful eye unhappy virtue sees.

Mr. GOOD takes a liberty with the text, and transfers the first word of this verse to the end of the foregoing: he reads,

The just, the perfect man, is a laughing stock to the proud,
A derision, amidst the sunshine of the prosperous,
While ready to slip with his feet.

The dissimilarity of these versions is proof enough of the difficulty of the place. To me, it seems to suggest a comparison between the superabundant splendors of the interior of a wealthy man's dwelling, and the dark, dismal, night wandering of a way-worn traveller. To add a Lamp, however brightly burning, to what Mr. GOOD calls “the sunshine of the prosperous,” were to render that lamp a contempt, a ridicule, whereas, the man who strays amidst mire and clay, in outer darkness, would rejoice to profit by its lustre. A travelling Lamp, though its light be vivid, would be laughed at amidst the various elegant illuminations in the interior of a house fitted up with great taste by a man of fashion: nevertheless, however awkward, coarse and clumsy, it may be, the man who is falling into a quagmire would be extremely thankful for its assistance. This acceptation of the sentiment demands no dislocation of any word in the text: but, whether it completely dissipates the obscurity of the passage, the reader must judge.

The LXX. have constantly rendered the Hebrew term *lampid* by the Greek *lampas*; which we shall find employed in the New Testament as well as in the Old, to signify a light for exterior service. Having somewhat considered the effulgent appearances attendant on celestial powers, descended to earth, we shall be excused for calling the attention of the reader, in the first place, to a like phenomenon in heaven, Rev. iv. 5. “Out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings, and voices; and there were seven Lamps of fire, *ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρός*, burning before the throne,

throne, which are the seven spirits of God." This appearance is sufficiently explained by comparison with what has been said on Exod. xx. 18.

Again, chap. viii. 10. There fell from heaven a great star, burning as it were a Lamp, ἀστὴρ μέγας καίόμενος ὡς Λαμπάς;—the comparison implies a flame sufficiently vigorous to resist the effect of the velocity with which the meteor travelled, to resist the extinguishing powers of the atmosphere, incalculably increased by that velocity.

The allusion is, probably, to a comet, said to fall to the earth. Comets were reckoned among stars, by the ancients; and PARKHURST observes that the Romans "sometimes called a comet, *fax*, a torch, or *fax celestis*, a heavenly torch." I think however, the term *lamp*, adding the notion of a long train of fire streaming behind it, is more appropriate in this place, than that of torch.

The parable of the Virgins, Matt. xxv. can give us no trouble, after what has been said: the allusion is, plainly, to Lamps of sufficient strength to retain their flame however agitated, whether by the bearer, or by the wind. And the same we must conceive of the Lamps, not "torches," of John xviii. 3. where we read, "Judas having received a band of men and officers, from the Chief Priests and Pharisees, came with Lanterns, and torches, and weapons"—μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων. The term *phanos* certainly means a *light-holder*, i. e. having the light within it: the term *lampas* certainly means a luminary, having the light on the outside. Mr. HARMER's conjecture on the nature of the Lanterns, that they were the same as figured by Dr. Pococke, has every probability in its favour. Mr. MORIER has lately represented and described them, as made in Persia, with still greater particularity; we, therefore, avail ourselves of his description.

He says, "They are worthy of notice from the singularity and convenience of their contrivance. The top and bottom are made of copper, and let into each other. The former, which is generally ornamented with small figures, devices in Persian, &c. is pierced with small holes, and has a handle. The latter is made to contain the socket for the candle, and between the two there is a serpentine wire, which when extended makes the Lantern a yard long, more or less, according to its circumference; and over this they fix a *pirahaun*, or shirt of white wax cloth, which reflects a considerable light when a candle is placed within." This description of the Persian Lantern agrees precisely with that of Dr. Pococke of the Lanterns in Egypt; but the Dr. adds—"they have a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by means of three staves, in the manner that large scales are hung, for the purpose of weighing heavy goods."

Such we may conceive were the Lanterns carried by these agents of the Chief Priests and Pharisees.

It is not easy to fix on the form of the *Lamp* alluded to by the Evangelist. If this band of men and officers were *Roman* soldiers, the *Lamp* might be the same as the Romans employed in their armies; one of which is carried among other necessities attending the army of Trajan, at the commencement of his military expedition across the Danube, represented on his memorial pillar, at Rome. It is a square pot (of iron, no doubt) fixed on the end of a tall pole: it is close on the sides, and open only at the top, in which it differs from implements used for the same purposes by modern inhabitants of the East. Says Major HOPE, "A Turkish camp is lighted up, at night, by a kind of large Lanthorns, formed of iron hoops, and fastened on long poles. Several of these Lights, in which rags impregnated with grease, oil, or resinous substance, are burned, are placed in front of the tent of each of the Pachas." [The greater number implies the greater dignity.]

Baron du TOTT, P. iii. 114. describes the means used by the Turks to surprize their enemies, as passing strange. "The High Treasurer, commanding a detachment in the night, was lighted by the flame of resinous wood, burning in iron chaffing-dishes fixed to long poles. He therefore, got the surname of *the Blazer*."

If the detachment sent to seize Jesus were *Jewish* guards, rather than Roman, it might be thought, that open *cages*, as HILL calls them, or chaffing-dishes, as Baron du TOTT describes them, were the *lamps* they carried; but, the term does not, that I perceive, determine their form, or construction. We have repeatedly suggested the probability of guards, properly Jewish, being enrolled in the service of the chiefs of the nation, distinct from the guard of priests which kept watch in the Temple; and it is expressly said, that Judas received this band from the Priests and Pharisees; therefore not from the Romans. Submitting these hints to the candour of the reader, we shall now quit these powerful Lights for Exterior use; and direct our attention to luminaries properly Domestic.

No. DCXCII. OF LAMPS FOR INTERIOR SERVICE.

A LAMP for Domestic use is called נֵר, נִיר, נֹר, *Ner, Nir, or Nur*, in the Hebrew. The word is frequently rendered "candle" in our public version. It imports a weaker kind of light; and the distinction should be observed. Mr PARKHURST is, therefore, too general, in defining it as "*somewhat capable of giving light*," unless to this definition be added "for the Interior of dwellings." So we read of the industrious woman, Prov. xxxi. 18. "Her *candle* (נֵר) goeth not out by night." Whether the term "candle" be unexceptionable here, might be questioned; but, certainly, the busy housewife's light is understood to be in the inside of her house. Candles, among us, are columns of solid tallow, wax, &c. surrounding a wick; but, in countries where oil is plentiful, and especially in hot countries, the preference will naturally be given to small, portable oil Lamps; and perhaps, it were to be wished that our language afforded a diminutive to express this piece of domestic furniture: --as in Spanish, *Lampara, Lamparilla*.

When we read of the "Golden Candlestick," in Exodus and Leviticus, we naturally connect with it the idea of a stand, or &c. for holding *candles*: whereas, we find directions for trimming and filling the *lamps* which furnished the lights, and consequently, its utility. In the Revelations (of which, hereafter,) this conveys completely fallacious ideas.

This restriction of the term *Ner* to an Interior Light, corrects the usual acceptance of a passage in Job, xix. 3. which is commonly understood of the benefit derived from the light of a Lamp, by a man who is walking abroad in a dark night: thus rendered in our English translation;

When his (God's) candle shined upon my head,
And when by his Light I walked through darkness.

But, Mr. SCOTT saw the application of this to a domestic incident: "*his candle*, or rather his *lamp*, is probably an allusion to the Lamps which hung from the cieling of the wealthy Arabs." He adds, "the latter phrase, *by his light I walked through darkness*, refers, it is likely, to the fires, or other Lights, which were carried before the caravans in their night travels through the deserts." [such as we have already

noticed.] Mr. PARKHURST concurs in this explanation of the term *ner*; and Mr. GOOD, slightly changing the tense of the verb, reads,

When he suffered his Lamp to shine upon my head,
And by its light I illumined the darkness!

“The reference is very probably to the mode by which the palaces and mansions of the great were illuminated in ancient times, of which we have an excellent description in the following verses of Lucretius, well known to have been afterwards closely copied by Virgil:

What though the dome be wanting, whose proud walls
A thousand Lamps irradiate, propt sublime
By frolic forms of youth, in massy gold,
Flinging their splendors o'er the midnight feast,
Though gold and silver blaze not o'er the board,
Nor music echo round the gaudy roof;
Yet, listless laid the velvet grass along,
Near gliding stream, by shadowy trees o'er arch'd,
Such props we need not. ————— *De Rer. Nat.* ii. 24.

The reader will compare the extract from Homer, in No. cclxxv. But, I think, Mr. GOOD's change of the agent has the air of an imperfection in this passage: after the action, or supposed action, of Deity, the party honoured should be perfectly quiet: he should not affirm “*I illumined the darkness.*” Job means to say, “I was admitted to *the interior of his residence*, his splendid abode; and Lamps for interior illumination enabled me to pass through those approaches to his presence, which, without such irradiation were absolute darkness.” This differs something from Mr. SCOTT's conception of the latter verse: yet, if the *lights* of that verse be referred to those which stand before the tents of Turkish grandees, as already stated, the difference would disappear: such luminaries would direct the person who approached, however dark the night might be.

A similar conception verifies the import of another passage, Job xviii. 5, 6.

The Light of the wicked shall be put out,
And the spark of his fire shall not shine:
The Light shall be dark in his tabernacle,
And his candle shall be put out with him.

“In his tabernacle”—rather, in his most splendid tent, *הֶחָדָר*, that of his dignity and grandeur. “His candle,” rather his *lamp*, *נֵר*, which is hung high over him in the ceiling of his tent, even *that* shall be extinguished.” The term, here also, preserves its import, as marking an Interior Light. Mr. SCOTT's note on the passage, is characteristic of the manners of the country. “These metaphors denote, in general, the splendor and festivity in which such men live. There is, however, an allusion, I think, in the fifth verse, to what an Arabian poet calls the *fires of hospitality*. These were Beacons lighted on the tops of hills by persons of distinction among the Arabs; to direct and invite travellers to their houses and table. Hospitality was their national glory; and the loftier and larger these fires were, the greater was the magnificence thought to be. [*Vide* Pocock. in *Carm. Tograi*, p. 111.] a wicked rich man therefore would affect this piece of state, from vanity and ostentation.

“Another Arabian poet expresseth the permanent prosperity of his family almost in the very words of our author; “Neither is our Fire, lighted for the benefit of the

night stranger extinguished." *Hamasa*, p. 473. It is but just to call the attention of the reader to his choice, between this illustration and that we have suggested from Major HOPE, in the foregoing Article.

This term occurs so frequently, that much time might be spent in tracing it; but, what has been said is sufficient to justify the analogy that derives from this Domestic Lamp the metaphor of Life, and of renewed life, rather than from the External Lamp, though that were much more powerful. So when we read, 2 Sam. xvi. 17. that David's servants forbade his exposing himself any more in battle—that thou quench not the Light—the *lamp*, נֵר, of Israel," this allusion to the King's Life is, with the greatest propriety, drawn from the Domestic, the Family Lamp. Again, 1 Kings xi. 36. God says, And unto his son will I give one tribe, that David my servant, may have a Light - נֵר, a Domestic *lamp*,—always before me in Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen to put my name there." This certainly implies the continuance of David's family; but, when the ten tribes were broken off from his regal descendants, the simile would have been without resemblance [in fact, contradictory] had it referred to the splendid blaze of the more conspicuous Illuminator, the greater Lamp. Hence arises somewhat of difficulty to distinguish whether the term be used literally, or metaphorically, in certain passages. When we read, that the Light—the Domestic Lamp—of the wicked shall be put out, we are not always sure that it means a luminary: it may mean posterity—his family shall fail; or, on the contrary, what seems at first sight to imply posterity, may refer to the light, the Lamp of the tent, tabernacle, or dwelling.

When endeavouring to explain the term *Ner*, in the compound word *Ner-gal*, [Comp. No. CCXI.] we adverted to the passage, Numb. xxi. 30. submitting its import to this effect:

The *Lamp* is extinguished from Heshbon to Dibon,
Devastation hath spread from Nopha to Medeba!

The late Dr. GEDDES ventured to adopt a version so very different, that it affords an occasion of insisting on the importance of maintaining the relation between the Literal Lamp, that for Domestic use, and the Metaphorical Lamp, that of Life, or rather of renewed life, in personal issue; which is our present subject. The Dr. reads, "*Their fair fields Heshbon destroyed, unto Dibon; their fallow fields, unto Nopha by Medeba.*" In his 'Critical Remarks,' after complaining of previous translations as, to him, unintelligible, he adds, "Let us see what light can be derived from the ancients. Sep. Καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπολυταὶ Ἐσιβὼν, εἰς Δαιβὼν· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες [αὐτῶν] ἐπὶ προσέξεκανσαν πυρὶ ἐπὶ Μωαβ. This at first sight, appears a very singular version; but it admits a consistent meaning, and can be plausibly defended. . . σπέρμα [seed] I suspect is here to be taken for the *seed of the field*; or the *corn-fields* themselves: . . . in the remaining part of their version— I think they made some mistakes: they took נָשִׁים to be a single word, meaning *wives*, αἱ γυναῖκες: they took עָ before רִבְּקָה for a conjugation: they read with Sam. דָּנָפָה and אָשׁ; made the former a verb in the singular with a nominative plural, and אָשׁ its objective: and, lastly, they with Sam. read עַל after אָשׁ, and מֵאֵבָה for מִדְּבָרָה. Their version then might, in English, be rendered thus: "*Their corn-fields as far as Dibon, they [that is, the Heshbonites] destroyed; and their women fanned the fire against Moab.*" — That this learned critic failed for want of sufficient conjectures cannot be affirmed, in the face of so many "takings" and "mistakings:" but, had the simple analogy between the Domestic Lamp and the Metaphorical Lamp (posterity) occurred to him, he

would have perceived that the LXX. had given the real meaning of the original; but, had dropped the metaphor, for the sake of perspicuity. Their version may be thus understood: —το σπέρμα, *their seed, i. e. their children, Heshbon destroyed, to Dibon; and their wives and daughters were burnt to ashes in the fire of Moab.*"

This rendering is surely very consistent with the general import of the previous verses, which are thus rendered by the Dr. himself: "Woe to thee, O Moab, thou art undone, people of Chamosh! His sons he suffered to be fugitives, and his daughters to be led into captivity, by Sihon, a king of the Amorites!"—Then say the LXX. *Their posterity was destroyed by Heshbon, to Dibon; and their women were burnt up in the fire kindled against Moab.*" The fire here referred to is that of verse 18. "from Heshbon went forth a fire, from the city of Sihon a flame." Hence it appears, that we have the authority of the LXX. for taking the term *lamp* in the sense of *posterity*; and, if the distinction they have preserved between the sexes be closely adhered to, we find that by this *lamp*, they understood *sons* as distinct from daughters; this is certainly the meaning of passages already quoted;—"that David my servant may have a *lamp* always before me in Jerusalem" i. e. a *son* to sit on his throne: which is coincident with 2 Chron. xxi. 7. "The Lord would not destroy the House of David, because of the covenant that he had made with David, and as he promised to give a *light*—(a domestic *lamp*)—to him and to his sons for ever."

We come now to the consideration of the representative of this Domestic Lamp, in the New Testament, where, I believe, there is no instance of the word *Lampas* being applied to an article of interior use. Λύχνος, a *Light*, whence λυχνα, a *light-holder*, badly rendered in the English version, a *candle*, and a *candlestick*, imports an illuminator proper to an apartment; and when we read Rev. i. 12. &c. of the "seven golden candlesticks," and of "one walking in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks," we should by no means conceive of loose, isolated candlesticks, like those in use among ourselves, but, of the seven-branched Lamp-stand, a principal article of furniture in the Mosaic tabernacle. Comp. No. CXXXIII. with its PLATE. So we read, Matt. v. 15. Neither do men light a *candle*—λυχνον, a *Lamp*, and put it under a baskel [a measure less than a peck] but put it on a *candlestick*—λυχναν, a *lamp-stand*,—and it giveth light to all in the house." [This passage would read more correctly "Neither do they light the *lamp* and place it under a small measure, but on the *lamp-stand*, and it is competent to give light to all in the residence."] It should seem to import the customary Lamp of the family, and one, only; like that of the poor widow, Luke xv. 8. who having lost one piece of silver out of ten, lights the *lamp*, λυχνον, [which she carries about into all parts of her residence, searching every creek and corner, &c.] The simplicity, not to say, the poverty of this family, is very expressive in this simile; they surely would not conceal the ONLY lamp they had. A more wealthy establishment had many Lamps, Luke xii. 35. Let your loins be girded about, and your Lights,—οἱ λύχνοι, the *lamps*,—brightly burning, καιομενοι, because fresh trimmed,—like servants expecting their lord's return from a wedding-feast, that at whatever time of night he come home, they may open to him instantly; and he may find all things in order.

These passages prove sufficiently that *Lychnos* denotes a household implement, a Domestic Lamp; a Lamp that shineth in a dark place, 2 Pet. i. 19. a Lamp, the services of which may be dispensed with in the heavenly Jerusalem, Rev. xxii. 5. for, there shall be no night there; and they need no *candle*—λυχνος, lamp: No, the Lamb is the *lamp*, ὁ λυχνος, thereof. xxi. 23.

I am not ignorant that the description given of John the Baptist may seem to militate against this notion: He was a *burning* and a *shining Light*, John v. 35. properly, he was **THE lamp**—ὁ λυχνος, the burning and shining:” also, he certainly was much in the desert, and at no time very domestic.

As to the term *burning*, καιομενον, CAMPBELL dissents from the opinion of those who would make it refer to the ardour, zeal, or power of John’s example: he observes, very properly, that a Lamp is used, not for warming people, but for giving them light. And certainly, the good servants, Luke xii. 35. are not expected to have their Lamps *burning* for the purpose of warming their lord, but, for enlightening the apartments, or the passages to the apartments, and giving him an honourable reception. Moreover, since the days of CAMPBELL, we are able to give a farther account of John, whom his followers boasted of as **THE LIGHT, THE APOSTLE OF LIGHT, &c.** Comp. No. DCXVI. *et seq.* insomuch, that the Evangelist found it necessary to say explicitly, **HE WAS NOT THAT LIGHT**; but came to bear witness, &c. Since, then, the phrase was current among the Jews, concerning John, our Lord takes it in their sense and application, implying splendor, brilliancy; but we may well question with CAMPBELL, whether it implies heat, or any thing beyond the brightness of which a Domestic Lamp is susceptible. If this be correct, the other part of the objection falls, of course.

Another metaphorical use of this Lamp respects the eye: the light—*lamp*, of the body is the eye, Matt. vi. 22. but, as the eyes of some have been compared to burning Lamps, *lampadin*, should not the same comparison be maintained here? I apprehend, not; because, this Lamp is understood to illuminate only the body, itself; not beyond it; and as a domestic lamp may enlighten all parts of a house, being properly directed, so may the eye be directed to all the members of the body, and inspect them all in succession; which it is not the intention of the comparison employed by Daniel, and in the Revelations, to express.

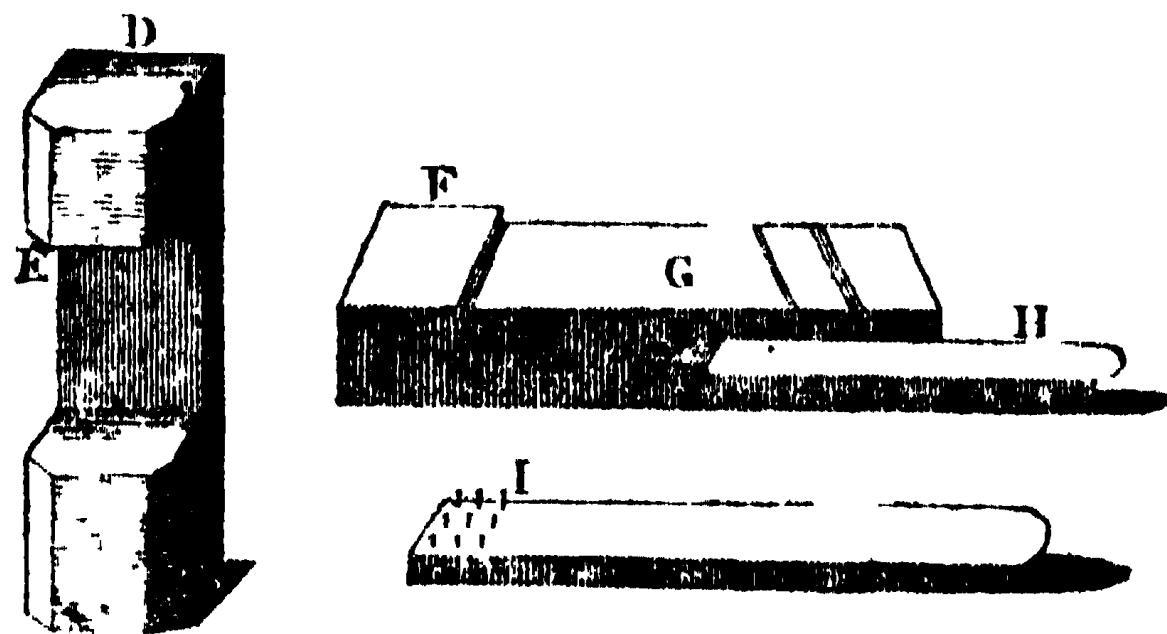
No. DCXCIII. OF LANTHORNS OF OTHER KINDS, AND TORCHES.

WE are so much accustomed to the use of glass for transparency, in every form and application, that with some difficulty we conceive of a light-holder, or Lanthorn, as complete without it. Nevertheless, we should not forget the *horn* Lanthorns used by our carriers, ostlers, watchmen, &c. horn being much safer, because less brittle, than glass. And though it is certain that the ancients had glass equally perfect with our own, yet we are at a loss to prove that they used it in the construction of Lanthorns. That they employed a transparent substance of some kind, is evident, from a ship’s Lanthorn, hanging from the aplustrum of a vessel in which Trajan is voyaging. It seems to distinguish the ship of the commander in chief; as the vessels in company have it not. See Trajan’s Pillar, plate 59. No. 233. The annotator says of it, “*Lanterna, e faci denotano il tempo notturno.*” This could be of no use in a fleet, if the transparency were obscure, or the light were feeble at a distance.

The *Torches* of antiquity were of all sizes, from a foot in length to six feet: and the largest of these were employed not only in military affairs, for signals, &c. but also in religious processions.

It may be questioned, whether *lights* of either of these kinds are really mentioned in S. S. but, as commentators have inclined to find both *Torches* and *Lanthorns* there, they could not well be passed over by us without notice.

No. DCXCIV. LOCKS OF DOORS.



I ROSE TO OPEN TO MY BELOVED; AND MY HANDS DROPPED *with* MYRRH, AND MY FINGERS *with* SWEET SMELLING MYRRH, UPON THE HANDLES OF THE LOCK.

MY BELOVED PUT IN HIS HAND BY THE HOLE *of the door*, AND MY BOWELS WERE MOVED FOR HIM. *Canticles* v. 4.

THE following remarks are from Mr. HARMER, *Observ. Scrip.* vol. i. p. 207.

“The curious have remarked, that if their gates [in the East] are sometimes of iron and brass, their *locks and keys* are often of *wood*; and that not only of their *houses* but sometimes of their *cities* too. Russell, I think, makes this remark on the houses of Aleppo, as Rauwolff did long before him. As to their cities, Thevenot, speaking of grand Cairo, *Part* 1. p. 143. says, “all their Locks and Keys are made of *wood*, and they have none of iron, no not for their *city-gates*, which may be all easily opened without a key. The keys are bits of timber, with little pieces of wire, that lift up other pieces of wire which are in the Lock, and enter into certain little holes, out of which the ends of wire that are in the key having thrust them, the gate is open. *But without the key*, a little *soft paste* upon the end of one’s finger *will do the job as well.*” Rauwolff, p. 23, 24. does not speak of the Locks and keys of wood in those terms of *universality* that Thevenot makes use of; he only says, their doors and houses are *generally* shut with wooden bolts, and that they unlock them with wooden keys. Probably it was so anciently, and that in contra-distinction to them we read of cities with walls and *brassen bars*, 1 Kings iv. 13. and of breaking in pieces *gates of brass* and *bars of iron*. Isaiah xlv. 2. And according to this there may be something more in the emphasis of the following passage than has been remarked. “A *brother* offended is harder to be won than a *strong city*; and *their* contentions are like the *bars of a castle*,” not merely hard to be removed on account of their size, but on account of the materials of which they were made, as not being of *wood*, but of *iron*, or *brass*.

“What Thevenot observes, of the ease with which their Locks are often opened without a key, puts one in mind of those words, Cant. v. 4. “My beloved put in his hand by the hole, and my bowels were moved for him.” He attempted, that is, apparently, to open the door by putting in his finger at the key-hole, according to some such method as that described by Thevenot; he attempted,—but it did not open,—my heart was then greatly moved. But what a strange explanation does Bp. Patrick give of those words, “*He put his hand by the hole, i. e. at the window or casement; as if he would draw her out of bed:*” &c. How unacquainted was the good Prelate with some of the customs of the Levant, or at least how inattentive to them in this place,—not to say how indelicate!”

We find the same kind of *lock* applied to one of the gates of the city of Jerusalem, Neh. iii. 3. "The fish-gate... the doors (דלת) thereof, and the Locks (מנעל) thereof, and the bars (בריר) thereof." The same should appear also to have been used to the summer parlour of Eglon, king of Moab, Judges iii. 23. where we are told that Ehud carefully "shut the doors of the parlour upon him, and locked them" (נעל). This deceived his servants till "they took a key (מפתח) and opened them." This was probably an instrument of the same nature as that on our Plate; and thus we may gather the Hebrew names of both its parts; the Lock, (מנעל) Fig. D. E. F. and the KEY, (מפתח) Fig. I.

EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURE.

D. an Egyptian Wooden Lock: it is nailed on to the door-posts, and has in it certain holes at G. It is fastened to the door at D. and, at E. are wires, so placed in holes corresponding to the holes in G. F. that falling down they go into them, and the door is locked: there is a hole for the Key, H. to go into it; to this key counter-wires are fixed, which enter the holes at G. where they thrust up the wires at E. and the door is unlocked. These wires are shewn, in this handle, or key, more distinctly at I.

From this Figure the reader will easily conceive that a rattling must be made by any one who attempts to open the door. In what sense the *myrrh* dropped on the Lock, has been considered in No. ccccxix.

Since this of Dr. Pococke, the French artist and antiquary, Baron DENON, has published a similar article, in four figures of it. He appears to have been struck with the simplicity of the contrivance: and his opinion ascribes to it very great antiquity.

"The Egyptian Lock," says M. DENON, "fastens the gate of a town, the door of a house, and that of the smallest box or drawer. I have placed it among the antiquities, because it is the same as that which was used in Egypt four thousand years ago. I found a representation of one sculptured among the bas-reliefs which decorate the great Temple of Karnac. Simple in contrivance, easy of execution, no less safe than any other kind of Lock, it might serve to secure all our country fastenings."

The commendation given by this ingenious Frenchman, derives additional weight from the remark that an implement used four thousand years ago in Egypt, and still used there, might also be known in Judea, at the same time, and subsequently. Speaking of the antiquities at Karnac, he says, "I saw also delineated the gate of a temple, with two folding doors, shut by exactly the same kind of Wooden Bolts that are at present made use of."

If, for this *gate of a temple* we substitute *gate of a city*, it may bear a question, whether this Lock with its bar, were not precisely that to which the men of Gaza trusted for the capture of Samson, who was, apparently, completely taken in the toils:—in the toils of his unhallowed connection, and in those of the city defences and their fastenings. Judg. xvi. 3. As the Israelite hero had no key—certainly not the right key—for opening this Lock, he lifted off—the door-posts,—the doors themselves [folding doors]—the bar, (הבריר) which was fastened by the Lock; in short, all the wood-work, and carried them away with him, by means of his wonderful strength. This exploit could not but produce an excessively mortifying disappointment to the Gazaites, if, as there is every reason to think, they boasted of their town as
being

being the *Key* of Palestine, on the side of Egypt; and adopted the insignia of a *Key* as the arms of the place, on that account. The medals of Gaza, (struck, it must be observed, long posterior to the time of Samson) exhibit this device; of which the learned have never been able to explain the nature, or to imagine the reason. It occurs on every one of the Numbers in our Plate MEDALS OF GAZA; and, therefore, should seem to be a popular, public and fixed article, retained from age to age; not a temporary one, or one used on a special occasion. See the EXPLANATION of that Plate.

The number of pins, or wires, go up from one to fifteen. As it is impossible to ascertain the number, by guess, or the order of the holes for receiving the pins, so it is equally impossible to open the Lock by means of a key having a wrong number of pins, or pins in a wrong order. It is evident to every reflecting mind, that the numbers from one to fifteen admit almost unlimited changes of position. DENON says "a thousand forms;" but this is speaking at large. Later travellers of our own country, have been greatly struck with this remnant of ancient ingenuity.

No. DCXCV. OF LOTS, AND THE LOT-VASE. WITH A PLATE.

THE LOT IS CAST INTO THE LAP, BUT THE WHOLE DISPOSING THEREOF IS OF THE LORD.
Proverbs xvi. 33.

THE subject of the gem on our Plate has been variously explained. It forms part of the collection in the Florentine Gallery; where GORI has referred it to the action of Achilles presenting to Nestor the "double bowl," ("goblet," Pope) in honour of Patroclus, *Iliad* xxiii. But the circumstances of that story do not agree with this representation. COWPER thus translates the passage:

... the phial still
Left unappropriate Achilles bore
Across the circus, in his hand, a gift
To ancient Nestor.....
He said, and *placed it in his hands.*

It may rather be considered as an instance commemorating the manner of drawing Lots among the Grecians; and the history it refers to is, that of the three heroes who, having conquered three cities, agreed to draw Lots, which of them each should possess. Accordingly, the name of each city was written on a pebble, (of ivory, marble, or bone) and put into a Lot-Vase; but one of these chiefs wishing to receive a particular city, wrote the name of that city on a pebble-like lump of clay, (not on stone, ivory, or &c.) and poured water into the Vase, which he knew would dissolve the clay. Then he complimented his confederates with the *favour* of letting them draw their Lots before he drew his Lot; the consequence was, that they drew out the pebble-lots of ivory, &c. inscribed with the names of the *other* cities, which therefore fell to them; while the city which he desired, was safely left for him, at the bottom of the Vase.

In the text prefixed to this article the Royal Sage observes, that "the Lot"—pebble - "is cast into the *lap*"—(לֶבַח, into the *chik*) or *bosom*, i. e. of an Urn, or Vase; and a Vase of this nature, I presume, is what we have on our gem. This certainly leads to a very different idea from *lap*,—the lap of a person: yet, had our translators used the word *bosom*, which is a more correct, and frequent import of

the word, they would have equally misled the reader, had that *bosom* been referred to a person; for it does not appear that the *bosom* of a person, *i. e.* of a garment worn by a person, was ever used to receive Lots—Lot-Pebbles.

This leads to a correction of what is said by CALMET under the article Lots, in the *Dictionary*,—that they were “cast into some person’s *bosom*.” Moreover, the action attributed to SIMON *the Just*, of drawing out the Lot “*for the Lord*,” with his right hand, and that “*for Azazel*” with his left hand, has something rather indecorous in it, if supposed to pass in a person’s bosom, or in the bosom of a garment; not to say, that in such case, his *always* drawing them out in this order, might be attributed to management. It certainly would have at least, the appearance of greater solemnity, that these Lots should be drawn from a Vase proper for the purpose. In confirmation of this notion it might be remarked, that we have in Cicero the phrase, *In Hydriam sortes conjiciuntur*. *Sors* was the chance or hazard of the action. *Sortes ad sortem paratas in Urnam conjiciebantur, antequam sortitio fieret*. Vide Dumesnil’s *Latin Synonyms*. But, probably several modes of drawing Lots, or of casting Lots, were practised on various occasions.

In support of this remark it should be observed, that the same word is not always used in the Hebrew to express the event of a Lot. In Lev. xvi 8, 9, 10. the Lot is said to *ascend*, עלה. Says our translation, “Aaron shall bring the goat on which the Lord’s Lot *fell*”—No; on which the Lot *ascended*—*went up*—the direct contrary to falling. “But the goat on which the Lot *ascended*—*went up*—to be the ‘scape-goat,’ &c. This obliges us to dissent from the explanation of the action, by PARKHURST, Art. גרל. who says “The stone or mark itself which was cast into the urn or vessel, and by the *leaping out of which* (when the vessel was shaken) before another of a similar kind, the affair was decided.” This is completely inconsistent with the action attributed (very credibly) to Simon the Just, of *drawing out* these Lots: but, it may well enough describe what passed in the instance of Haman, Esth. iii. 7. *they cast Pur, i. e.* the Lot, before Haman, from day to day, and from month to month.” They “*cast*”—rather perhaps, *they caused to be cast*, הפיל פור, which is very different from *drawing out*. Also, the manner of *casting* Lots on Jonah, chap. i. 7. פילו, they *cast* Lots, and the Lot *fell*—was cast, on Jonah.” It cannot well be supposed that these mariners had on board their ship the proper Vase, with its accompaniments, for performing this action with suitable dignity; but, more probably, something of the nature of our dice-box was sufficient to answer their purpose.

We are now brought to a more accurate examination of our text, in which neither of the words just noticed occurs, but a very different one, יטל. The root of this word, correctly, means to *cast out*, rather than to *cast in*: but, it is taken sometimes, to express a casting in all directions. In Nos. CLXXII. CLXXIII. the reader has seen a description of those wandering pillars of sand, which are not uncommon in the East, called by Mr. BRUCE, *whirlwinds* of moving sand.” The particles of these meteors are extremely fine, having been driven about for thousands of years. To such minute atoms there is an allusion, Isaiah xl. 15. the nations are as the dust on the balance: the islands are—still more minute—grains of sand which have been *whirled about* till they are extremely small, כדק יטל. Hence we infer the intention of the Royal preacher to express an action of the person who holds the Lot-Vase, *i. e.* strongly shaking it, for the purpose of commingling the whole of its contents, to prevent all preference for one Lot over another, to the hand of him who is to draw:—Literally, *In a Lot-Vase the Lots are shaken in all directions; nevertheless, from the Lord is their whole decision*—judgment.

We may take occasion from our subject, to correct, or rather, to complete, those reasonings, whereby we formerly endeavoured to distinguish among the Jewish coins that Vase which represented the pot of manna. We inferred, from our enquiries, that it was of capacious body, but of narrow neck. We have on those coins *two* Vases which answer that description: but, observe, that one is closely stopped up, and confined by a mouth-piece; the other is open: that which is open corresponds in form to the Lot-Vase represented on our gem; except, that it has two handles at the neck, instead of one. The reason of which is evident, because the Lot-Vase when used by the High-Priest (as in the case of the 'scape-goat) was held up to his hands by proper assistants: whereas this Vase stands on the ground.

It should appear every way reasonable, to suppose, that the Vase which contained the manna was closed as strongly, as *hermetically* as possible, in order to prevent evaporation, and to effectuate the preservation of the substance confided to it: but no such care could be required on the subject of the Lot-Vase; that might remain unclosed. If this be just, then we have recovered the forms of two Vases used among the ancient Hebrews; the *Tjenjenet*, which contained the manna, Exod. xvi. 33. and the *Chik*, or Vase employed in the drawing of Lots. We find the custom of drawing Lots used from the earliest times,—by Joshua, chap. xviii.—by the High-Priest, Lev. xvi. 8.—by Saul, 1 Sam. xiv. 14. &c. &c. to the days of Zechariah, Luke i. 9. and, such as were drawn solemnly, or as we may say, *sacerdotally*, were certainly drawn, by putting the hand into a Vase. *Vide* the Article AZAZEL, in the *Dictionary*.

Query, whether this manner of drawing Lots is alluded to Ezek. xxiv. 6. “Woe to the bloody city,—to the pot whose scum is therein. .bring it out piece by piece” —as Lots are brought out, one by one,—“let no *Lot* fall upon it:” *q.* let no portion of it so small as a pebble, or Lot, fall back again into the pot, to remain there safely.

The Lots which we have, remaining from the days of antiquity, are of the nature and size of our Die: and the casting of a Die, is analogous to the drawing out of a Lot, from the Lot-Vase.—N. B. These were sometimes *thrown*, as dice; they were also used as pastime and games, especially by females. In the first volume of the *Antiquities of Herculaneum*, several women are represented casting up small *bones*, as Lots: this might be thought, perhaps, to render the expressions of Ezekiel, somewhat less singular.

The Medals placed beside the principal figure on the Plate, shew different kinds of Vases used among the Hebrews; and serve the purpose of comparison with that to which we have attributed the character of an ancient Lot-Vase.

No. DCXCVI. CRUSE OF WATER: WATER VESSELS. WITH A PLATE.

OUR translators have rendered by the word *Cruse*, no less than three words, which are offered by the Hebrew; and which, no doubt, describe different utensils; though perhaps, all may be taken as vessels for the purpose of containing liquid.

The first occurs 1 Sam. xxvi. 11. David, when in Saul's tent, would not smite him; but carried off his spear, and, his *Cruse of Water*, (צֶפֶתַח הַמַּיִם, *tjerhachat hiamim*). That this was a small vessel, not a capacious cistern, is evident; that it was a *personal* appendage to Saul, appears from its being readily recognized as belonging to him. Probably, as the spear was *royal*, so was this Water-Vessel. However, certainly it was not large.

We read also, 1 Kings xiv. 3. "take in thy hands. . . a *Cruse* of honey;" but here the word is different (בִּקְבֵּק דֶּבַשׁ, BAKBAK DEBASH) because, honey not being, by a great deal, so fluid as water, a different vessel might contain it; this should, most properly, be rendered *jar*; or *pot* of honey.

In 1 Kings xvii. 12. the widow said to Elijah, "I have but a little oil in a *Cruse*"—in a *tjephachat*, the same word as in Samuel: so that the *tjephachat* was used for holding either oil, or water. At the head of Elijah lying in the wilderness, stood—a *tjephachat*, *Cruse*, of water. 1 Kings xix. 6.

In 2 Kings ii. 20. Elisha says, "Bring me a new *Cruse*" (צֶלַחִית TJELACHIT);—this vessel is described by a word different from either of the former; and one which, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. appears to denote a vessel wherein the sacrifices were boiled; but, elsewhere, a vessel—a *dish*—brought to table, containing food, 2 Kings xxi. 13. Prov. xix. 24. xxvi. 15. Perhaps, this might answer to our BOWL, skillet, or PORRINGER. See the following Number.

Now, it seems to be most probable, that as king Saul (like Elijah) was journeying, he took with him such vessels as are customarily used by those who now journey, in the East; and, as the widow in Sarepta is described as being reduced to the very extremity of famine, we may conclude, that the narrower, the smaller, the more dimmutive, and the less capacious, were her *Cruse*, the better it agrees with the handful of meal, and with the other circumstances of her situation, and history.

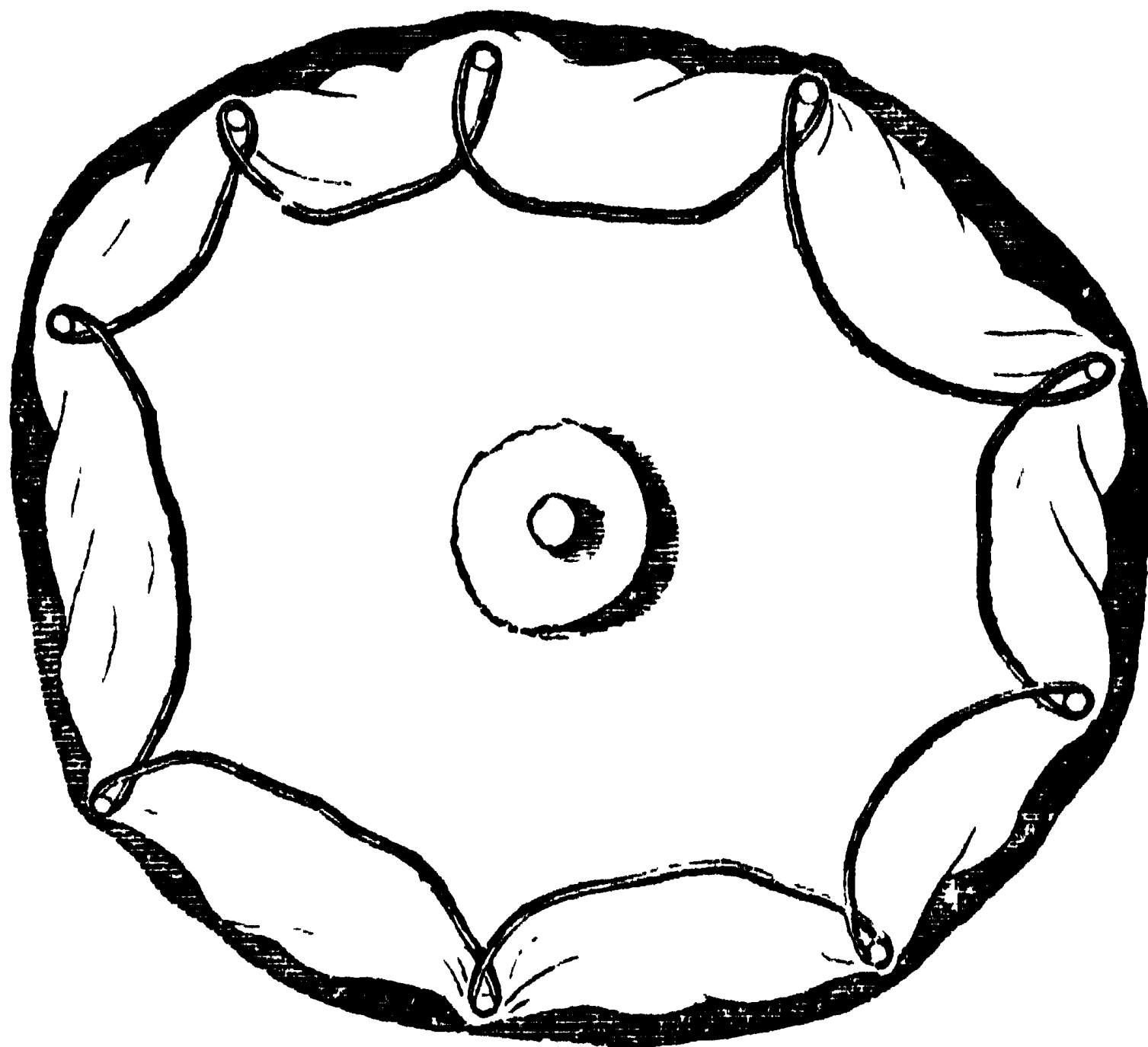
To those acquainted with the shape and nature of the Florentine flasks of oil, Fig. A. will appear a close resemblance of them; and as there is, probably, a reason in the nature of that commodity, for making the flask with a neck so long, and so narrow, if the same reason holds in Judea, the same would be the shape of the Jewish flasks: moreover, as this is the shape of the water flasks now used by travellers in the East, it may well represent the ancient *tjephachat*, which our translators have rendered *Cruse*. The reader will observe the wicker case to this flask; which we may suppose, in the instance of king Saul's, was of superior materials, or more ornamented than usual, by way of denoting its employment by a royal personage. But, as it must be admitted that Saul's *Cruse* might be of another shape, (however credible we may think what has been here submitted,) our Plate presents a Vessel differently shaped, which likewise is used by travellers in the East, to contain water for personal accommodation, Fig. D. The ornaments on this Vessel might easily be rendered royal, and even superb.

EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURES.

"If they go long journeys they have such Vessels for containing Water as Fig. C. which they use in the journey to Mecca. Great people have a servant who carries such a Vase of Water as Fig. A. in a basket made of wicker-work, Fig. B. to be ready whenever water is wanted."

"D is a Bottle of Leather, which they hang on the side of their camels, or it is carried by a servant, to drink out of when they travel. They are of a workmanship they much excel in at Constantinople, and are often adorned with flowers, made with a sort of very fine brass wire. They take out a large stopper, to put in the water, at the top of which, there is a small hole with a peg in it, out of which they drink." Pococke's *Travels in Egypt*, vol. i. p. 186.

No. DCXCVII. KNEADING TROUGHS.



AND THE PEOPLE TOOK THEIR DOUGH,—BEFORE IT WAS LEAVENED,—THEIR KNEADING TROUGHS BEING BOUND UP IN THEIR CLOTHES UPON THEIR SHOULDERS.

Exodus xii. 34.

THE following remarks of Mr. HARMER, in his *Observations on Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 447. are so much to the purpose that we shall add little, or nothing, to them.

“The dough, we are told, which the Israelites had prepared for baking, and on which it should seem they subsisted after they left Egypt, for a month, was carried away by them in their *Kneading-Troughs*, on their shoulders, *Exod.* xii. 34. Now an honest thoughtful countryman, who knows how cumbersome our Kneading-Troughs are, and how much less important they are than many other utensils, may be ready to wonder at this, and may find a difficulty in accounting for it. But this wonder perhaps may cease, when he comes to understand, that the vessels which the Arabs of that country make use of, for kneading the unleavened cakes they prepare for those that travel in this very desert, are only small wooden bowls; and that they seem to use no other in their own tents for that purpose, or any other; these bowls being used by them for kneading their bread, and serving up their provisions when cooked: for then, it will appear, that nothing could be more convenient than Kneading-Troughs of this sort, for the Israelites, in their journey. See Dr. SHAW’s *Preface*, p. 11, 12. Also, *Travels*, p. 231.

“I am, however, a little doubtful, whether these were the things that Moses meant by that word which our version renders *Kneading-Troughs*; since it seems to me, that the Israelites had made a provision of corn sufficient for their consumption for about a month, and that they were preparing to bake all this at once; now their own little wooden bowls, in which they were wont to knead the bread they wanted for a single day, could not contain all this dough, nor could they well carry a number of these things, borrowed of the Egyptians for the present occasion, with them.

“That they had furnished themselves with corn sufficient for a month, appears from their not wanting bread till they came into the Wilderness of Sin; that the Eastern people commonly bake their bread daily, as they want it, appears from an observation I made in the fourth chapter, and from the history of the patriarch Abraham; and that they were preparing to bake bread sufficient for this purpose at once, seems most probable, from the universal bustle they were in, and from the much greater conveniences for baking in Egypt than in the wilderness; which are such, that though Dr. SHAW’s attendants sometimes baked in the desert, he thought fit, notwithstanding, to carry biscuit with him, and THEVENOT the same. *P. I.* 178.

“They could not then well carry such a quantity of *dough* in those *wooden bowls*, which they used for kneading their bread in common. What is more, Dr. POCOCKE tells us, that the Arabs actually carry their dough in something else: for, after having spoken of their copper dishes put one within another, and their wooden bowls, in which they make their bread, and which make up all the kitchen-furniture of an Arab, even where he is settled; he gives us a description of a round leather coverlid, which they lay on the ground, which serves them to eat off, which, he says, has rings round it, by which it is drawn together with a chain, that has a hook to it, to hang it by. This is drawn together, he says, and sometimes they carry in it their *meal made into dough*; and in this manner they bring it full of bread, and, when the repast is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left. *Vol. I.* p. 182.

“Whether this utensil is rather to be understood by the word translated *Kneading-Troughs*, than the Arab *wooden bowl*, I leave to my reader to determine. I would only remark, that there is nothing, in the other three places in which the word occurs, to contradict this explanation. These places are Exod. vii. 3. Deut. xxviii. 5, 17. in the two last of which places it is translated *store*.

“It is more than a little astonishing to find Grotius, in his comment on Exod. xii. 39. explaining that verse as signifying that they baked no bread in departing from Egypt, but stayed till they came to Succoth, because they had not time to stay till it was leavened in Egypt; when it is certain they were so hurried out of Egypt, as to be desired not to stay to bake even *unleavened* bread; nor can we imagine they would stay till leaven put into it at Succoth had produced its effects in their dough, since travellers now, in that desert, often eat unleavened bread; and the precepts of Moses, relating to the commemoration of their going out of Egypt, suppose they ate unleavened bread for some time.

“Succoth, the first station, then, of the Israelites, which Dr. SHAW supposes, was nothing more than some considerable encampment of Arabs, must have been a place where there was a *considerable quantity of broom, or other fuel*, which is not to be found in that desert every where.” SHAW, p. 138. [Comp. No. xxxviii. (vi.)]

EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURE.

The following description of this utensil, with the Figure, is from Dr. POCOCKE.

“The round leathern cover laid on the ground, is shewn above. It has rings round it, by which it is drawn together with a chain that has a hook to it, to hang it by, either to *the side of the camel*, or in the house; this draws it together, and sometimes *they carry in it the meal made into dough*; in this manner they bring it full of bread; and when the repast is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left, in the same manner. It is represented here as the larger sort are made, only with a leathern thong round the rings.”

No. DCXCVIII.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: NIEBUHR'S TRAVELLING EQUIPAGE.

THESE accounts may properly be followed by NIEBUHR's description of his Travelling Equipage, in which we find a piece of furniture of the same nature as that in the Figure; and suitable, not only for the same purpose, but for others also. We observe, too, that this is usually *slung on the camels*, in travelling; which accounts for the remark of the Israelite writer, that the people "carried their *Kneading-Bags* on their shoulders," *knapsack*-fashion, bound up, *i. e.* close-drawn. This may be ascribed to two coincident causes, 1. They had not camels sufficient to transport the baggage of such a numerous host; 2. They were sent away with all speed, and had no time allowed them to procure travelling animals for general accommodation; they must either carry their food, themselves, or they must relinquish it.

"In the deserts through which we were to travel, (says NIEBUHR,) a tent and beds were indispensibly necessary. We had a neat collection of kitchen utensils made of copper, and tinned without and within. Instead of glasses, which are so liable to be broken, we used also copper bowls completely tinned. A bottle of thick leather served us as a caraffe. Our butter we put up in a leathern jar. In a wooden box, covered with leather, and parted out into shelves, we stored our spices of all sorts; and in another similar box, we laid our candles; in the lid of the latter, we fixed an iron socket which served us for a candlestick. We had large lanthorns of folded linen, with the lid and bottom of tin. *For a table*, with table linen, *we had a round piece of leather, with iron rings at certain distances round it, through which cords were passed, after our meals; and the table hung, in the form of a purse, upon one of our camels.* But we imprudently put our wine into great flasks, called in the East *damasjanes*, and large enough, each of them to contain twenty ordinary bottles. These vases are very liable to be broken by the jolting of the camels, as we found by the loss of a part of our wine. It is much better to put your wine, when you are to carry it upon camels, into goats' skin bottles. This species of vessels may, at first, appear little suitable for the purpose; but they communicate no bad taste to the liquor, if the skins have been properly dressed. The same vessels answer best to carry the store of water that is requisite in travelling through dry and desert countries." Vol. i. p. 163. Eng. Edit.

The reader has now we presume, a much clearer idea of the article designed by the Hebrew historian, than was possible for him to conceive from the rendering of the English version—*Kneading-Trough*. The notion of a *Kneading-Trough*, and that of an open leather cover, forming a *bag*, are so dissimilar, that it seems absolutely necessary, were it only to avoid that ridicule to which scepticism is ever prompt, that a different word should be substituted; a word more expressive of the subject, and utensil intended; also of its state, as "bound up."

In fact, if proper terms were selected to particularise, if not to describe, the utensils of the East as well domestic as others, with which we are now much more intimately acquainted than our most worthy and venerable translators were, many of the sneers that pass for wit, while they are nothing better than sheer ignorance, would lose even that shadow of support to their prophaneness at which they now catch, for want of more correct information.

No. DCXCIX. DISH, OR BOWL.



WE remarked, on the subject of the words rendered *cruse* by our translators, that one of them seems to be totally different from that which bids fairest to explain the story of the widow's *cruse* of oil, or king Saul's *cruse* of water: that word we now mean to examine, with design to determine its application.

TJELACHUT (צלחת) is used to denote a vessel of some capacity; a vessel to be turned upside down, in order that the inside may be thoroughly wiped, 2 Kings xxi. 13. "*I will wipe Jerusalem, as a man wipeth a DISH, turning it upside down.*" This implies, at least, that the opening of such a Dish be not narrow, but wide; that the Dish itself be of a certain depth; yet that the hand may readily reach to the bottom of it, and there may freely move, so as to wipe it thoroughly, &c

This vessel was capable also of bearing the fire, and of standing conveniently over a fire; for we read, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. "The priests, &c. boiled parts of the holy offerings in pans—*tjelachut*; and distributed them *speedily* among the people." Meaning, perhaps, that this was not the very kind of boiler which they would have chosen, had time permitted a choice; but, that haste, and multiplicity of business, made them use whatever first came to hand, that was competent to the service. This application of these vessels, however, shews that they must have been of considerable capacity and depth; as a very narrow, or a very small Dish, would not have answered the purpose required. [Or, was this *speedy* distribution of these viands, because they were best eaten *hot*!]

A kind of Dish or Pan, which appears to answer these descriptions, is represented in the French work entitled *Estampes du Levant*, plate xiii. in the hands of a confectioner of the Grand Seignior's seraglio, who is carrying a deep Dish, full of heated viands (recently taken off the fire), upon which he has put a cover, in order that those viands may retain their heat and flavour. His being described on the plate as a confectioner, leads to the supposition that what he carries are delicacies; to this agrees his desire of preserving their heat: and the shape of the vessel is evidently calculated for standing, &c. over a fire. Moreover, from its form it may easily

easily be rested on its side, for the purpose of being thoroughly wiped; and a Dish used to contain delicacies, is most likely to receive such attention; for the comparison in the text referred to, evidently implies some assiduity and exertion to wipe from the Dish, every particle inconsistent with complete cleanliness. This Dish we suppose, is of earth, or china;—i. e. of porcelain, rather than of metal.

We are now prepared to see the import of Elisha's direction to the men of Jericho, 2 Kings ii. 20. "Bring me a new *Tjelachit*,"—one of the vessels used in your cookery—in those parts of your cookery which you esteem the most delicate: a culinary vessel, but of the superior kind; "and put salt therein," what you constantly mingle in your food; what readily mixes with water: and this shall be a *sign* to you, that in your future use of this stream, you shall find it salubrious, and fit for daily service in preparing, or accompanying, your daily sustenance.

There is a striking picture of sloth, sketched out very simply, but very strongly, by the sagacious Solomon, Prov. xix. 24. repeated almost *verbatim*, chap. xxvi. 15.

A slothful man hideth his hand in the *Tjelachit*,
But will not re-bring it to his mouth.

A slothful man hideth his hand in the *Tjelachit*:—*but*
It grieveth him to bring it again to his mouth

Meaning, he sees a dish, deep and capacious, filled with confectionary, sweetmeats, &c. whatever his appetite can desire in respect to relish and flavour; of this he is greedy. Thus excited, he thrusts his hand—his right hand—deep into the dish, loads it with delicacies: but, alas! the labour of lifting it up to his mouth is too great, too excessive, too fatiguing: he therefore does not enjoy or taste what is before him, though his appetite be so far allured as to desire, and his hand be so far exerted as to grasp. [This is the customary mode of conveying food to the mouth in the East, where knives and forks are not in use.] He suffers the viands to become cold, and thereby to lose their flavour; while he debates the important movement of his hand to his mouth; if he does not rather totally forego the enjoyment, as demanding too vast an action! Surely this picture of sloth is greatly heightened by this notion of the *Tjelachit*.

It seems to be sufficiently striking, that two words, rendered by our translators *lap*, or *bosom*, [Prov. xvi. 33. *chik*, and the word before us] should both signify *vases*, or vessels. The first denotes the Lot-Vase, used for containing the Lot-pebbles, &c. to be drawn out by the hand: the other a Dish for meat; neither of them referring to any part of the person, as our version seems to imply; which reads,

A slothful man hideth his hand in *his BOSOM*,
And will not bring it to his mouth again.

No. DCC. ON THE MANNER OF EATING.

THE powerful picture of sloth, painted by Solomon in the foregoing Number, gives occasion to enlarge somewhat farther on the Manner of Eating among the Arabs; a Manner that seems sufficiently rude to us, but which those who practise it insist is more natural and convenient, and not less cleanly than our own. Extending their fore-finger and thumb (of the right hand always,—the left hand is reserved

for less honourable uses) they say, observes D'ARVIEUX, "God made *this fork*, before you made your steel ones." Says Mr. JACKSON, "The Moors are, for the most part, more cleanly in their persons, than in their garments. They wash their hands before every meal, which, as they use no knives or forks, they eat with their fingers: half a dozen persons sit round a large bowl of *cuscusoe*, and, after the usual ejaculation (*Bismillah!*) "In the name of God!" each person puts his hand to the bowl, and taking up the food; throws it, by a dexterous jerk, into his mouth, without suffering his fingers to touch his lips. However repugnant this may be to our ideas of cleanliness, yet the hand being always washed, and never touching the mouth in the act of Eating, these people are by no means so dirty as Europeans have sometimes hastily imagined. They have no chairs or tables in their houses, but sit cross-legged on carpets and cushions; and at meals, the dish or bowl of provisions is placed on the floor." *Account of Morocco*, p. 155.

That a thorough sluggard should practise this "dexterous jerk of the hand," is not likely to have entered into the contemplation of the Royal Sage, in the passages illustrated above: and, to say truth, the latter observation seems to be couched in terms much stronger than the former: "The sluggard musters up just strength enough to plunge his hand into the bowl; but, this mighty effort exhausts him; he finds his *weariness*, גללה, too great, too excessive, to bring it up to his mouth, loaded though it be with the delicacies of the table." There is a force in the word rendered *hide* or *plunge*, which should not be disregarded.—The sluggard *buries deeply* his hand:—it being customary with such characters to grasp at all, and more than all, which they can hold.

Perhaps the action of a less polite class than that principally alluded to by Mr. JACKSON, may best illustrate this reflection. We shall therefore add the following from Major ROOKE's *Travels in Arabia*, p. 41. "On my first going on board, I sat down with the Noquedah and his officers to supper, the floor being both our table and chairs, on which we seated ourselves in a circle, with a large bowl of rice in the middle, and some fish and dates before each person: here I likewise found that knives and forks were useless instruments in Eating, and that nature had accommodated us with what answered the same purpose: WE PLUNGED OUR HANDS INTO THE BOWL, *rolled up a handful of rice into a ball, and conveyed it to our mouths in that form*: our repast was short, and to that succeeded coffee and washing; and on their parts prayer, in which they were very frequent and fervent."

No. DCCI. OF EASTERN TABLES.

TABLES in the East are of different kinds, as convenience or magnificence require; but seldom, if ever, are they of a construction like those in use among ourselves: for as chairs are not used in the East, but the seat even of considerable persons is little raised from the ground, so the Table is proportionately low, in order to accommodate the guests who may be partaking of its contents. This remark, however, applies chiefly to the manners of the Old Testament, and not to the reclining Beds and Tables, mentioned in the New Testament. Comp. No. civ.

As the *Duans* or Seats, even on occasions of ceremony, are but low, not exceeding a foot and a half, or two feet, in height, the Tables are of a height to match them; but often, when the ground is sat upon, as it usually is by common people, the Table is simply a round cover of red-leather, (sometimes of cotton) spread on the ground, on which the necessary dishes are placed: around this they sit cross

legged, and take their food with their right hands. After the masters have done the servants come and eat what remains; then fold up the Table, and carry it away. The common Arabs make use of three or four Piggins, or great wooden bowls, about a foot and a half deep, and two in diameter; full of soup, &c. which they eat by taking up in the hollow of their hand, the rice, &c. by handfuls; they squeeze it in the palms of their hands, and make it into a ball that fills their mouth.

He says, elsewhere, "The Tables of the Emirs, of the Sheicks, and of other persons of consideration among the Arabs, consist of nothing more than a large piece of leather, which draws up with cords, and closes like a purse. The Turks have some of the same nature: their service of plates, dishes, &c. is of copper tinned over, the spoons are of wood, and the cups, or drinking vessels, are of silver, of porcelain, of earthen-ware, or of brass." The foregoing are from D'ARVIEUX.

Mr. MORIER informs us that, "when a Persian eats his dinner in the ordinary way, the dishes are placed on the ground before him, and crouching himself down, he brings his mouth so close to them as commodiously to transfer the victuals from the dish to his mouth." The same traveller gives a plate of a Persian breakfast, in which the guests are sitting on the carpet, crouching; the Tables containing the materials for the breakfast, are circular; and apparently, are of leather.

No. DCCII. OF THE PAN FOR BAKING.

OUR translation of Lev. vii. 9. presents a confusion more easily perceived than regulated by the general reader:—"And all the meat-offering that is baken in the Oven, and all that is dressed in the Frying-pan, and in the Pan, shall be the priest's that offers it." It is evident that here are three terms used, implying three different manners of dressing food.—Do we understand them? The term "*meat-offering*" is certainly unfortunate here, as it raises the idea of *flesh-meat*, without just reason, to say the least, especially as it stands connected with baking in the oven, *תנור*. Passing this, the following sentence, also, as it stands connected, expresses a *meat-offering* dressed in a frying-pan, *מרחשת*; and then we have another kind of meat-offering, dressed in the Pan, *חבת*. Of what nature is this Pan?

To answer this question, we must dismiss the *flesh-meat*. This Pan, say commentators, is a *flat plate of metal*; so Ezekiel was to take a *flat plate of iron*, and set it for a *wall of iron*." iv. 3.—But, how can a *flat* plate represent a *wall*? Whether the following extract from DENON may contribute assistance on this subject, is submitted with great deference. It is his explanation of his Plate LXXXV.

"*The manner of making Macaroni, in Egypt.*—The manufactory, and the shop for selling it, are both at once in the street;—an oven, over which a great plate of copper is heated: the maker sheds on it a thin and liquid paste, which is strained through the holes in a kind of cup which he passes up and down on the plate: after a few minutes, the threads of paste are hardened, dried, and baked, by a uniform degree of heat, maintained without intermission, by an equal quantity of branches of palm-tree, by which the oven is kept constantly heated. The same degree of heat is given in the same space of time to an equal quantity of macaroni; which is perpetually renewed on the plate, and sold directly as it is made."

The ovens of our muffin-bakers are precisely the same thing: they are usually also, finished by a rim at the circumference, turned downwards; were this plate inverted to signify a city, this rim, standing up, all around it, would very aptly represent the wall of that city.

No. DCCIII. EASTERN HOSPITALITY.

IT cannot be supposed, that the Sluggard, who is too lazy to feed himself should be very forward in feeding others. The discharge of the duties of Hospitality, though it has occasionally conferred the honour and advantage of entertaining angels, actuates him too rarely, and too feebly, to be mentioned; in fact, it is in him a nullity: but it may serve to heighten the contrast with those noble spirits, who, as already stated, light up the *fires of Hospitality* to attract and to guide the benighted traveller; and it is to the honour of the Arabs, that the same feeling pervades all ranks, though all ranks cannot shew it equally. There is something very pleasing in NIEBUHR's description of this custom. "The Hospitality of the Arabs has always been the subject of praise; and I believe that those of the present day exercise this virtue no less than their ancestors did.

"It is true that in this country, as in Europe, if a stranger is not known no one will intreat him to come in. Nevertheless, there are in the villages of the Tehama houses which are public; where travellers may lodge and be entertained some days *gratis*, if they will be content with the fare: they are very much frequented. We ourselves were during two hours in one of these *inns*, in the village of *Menezze*, in going from Lohcia to *Beit-el-fakih*: my servants, my camels, my asses, and all my company received shelter. The Schech of the village to whom this *inn* belonged was not satisfied with visiting us, and offering us a better fare than others; he also intreated us to stop the night with him."

"In another journey from Beit-el-fakih to Takaite, in company with a *fakih*, or man of letters, of Arabia, although my *fakih* had no acquaintance with the Schech, yet as a stranger he paid him his respects; hardly was he returned when the Schech came himself to invite us to lodge with him;—which we declining—he sent us a good supper, which came extremely *à propos*. When the Arabs are at table they invite those who happen to come, to eat with them, whether they be Christians or Mahometans, gentle or simple. In the Caravans I have often seen with pleasure a mule-driver press those who passed to partake of his repast, and though the majority politely excused themselves, he gave with an air of satisfaction to those who would accept of them a portion of his little meal of bread and dates; and I was not a little surprised when I saw in Turkey, rich Turks withdraw themselves into corners to avoid inviting those who might otherwise have sat at table with them.

No. DCCIV. OBLIGATIONS CONTRACTED BY HOSPITALITY.

THIS subject should not be quitted without notice of the Obligations understood to be contracted by the intercourse of the Table.

Says the same worthy traveller, NIEBUHR, "When a Bedouin Schech eats bread with strangers, they may trust his fidelity and depend on his protection.—A traveller will always do well therefore to take an early opportunity of securing the friendship of his guide by a meal." The reader will recollect the complaint of the Psalmist, xlix. 9. penetrated with the deep ingratitude of one whom he describes as having been his own familiar friend, in whom he trusted—"who did eat of my bread—even he hath lifted up his heel against me!" To the mortification of insult was added the violation of all confidence, the breach of every Obligation connected with the ties of humanity, with the laws of honour with the bonds of social life,

with the unsuspecting freedom of those moments when the soul unbends itself to enjoyment, and is, if ever, off its guard. In No. cxxx. we saw the Covenant contracted by the participation of bread and *salt*: we now find, that, among the Arabs, at least, the friendship and protection implied, attaches no less to bread.——

Hence, in part, no doubt, the conviviality that always followed the making of a covenant. Hence, also, the severity of some of the feelings acknowledged by the indignant man of patience, Job, as appears in several passages of his pathetic expostulations.

It is well known that Arabs who have given food to a stranger, have afterwards thought themselves bound to protect him against the vengeance, demanded by consanguinity, for even blood itself.

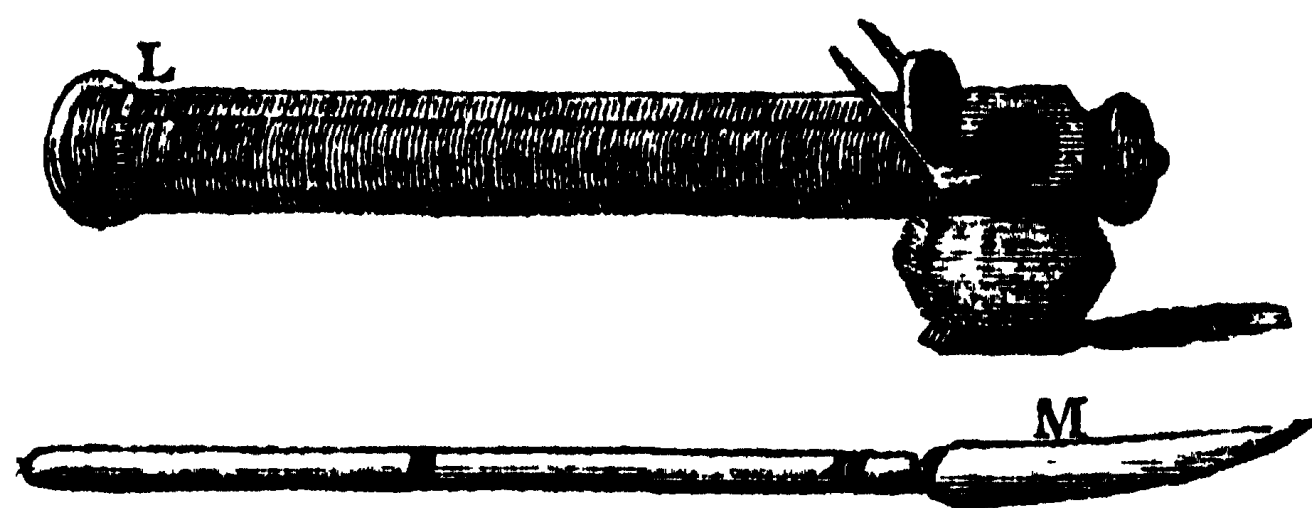
No. DCCV. HOSPITALITY LIMITED BY PRUDENCE.

BUT, though the Hospitality of the Arabs be general, and not confined to the superior classes, yet we are not to suppose that it admits of imposition, or is without proper bounds. Of this we have a manifest instance in the directions of our Lord to the Apostles, Matt. x. 11. 'To send a couple of hearty men with appetites good, and rendered even keen, by the effect of travelling—to send two such to a family barely able to meet its own necessities,—having no provision of bread,—or sustenance for a day beforehand, were to press upon indigence beyond the dictates of Prudence, or the permission of Christian charity. Our Lord, therefore, commands his messengers—" *Into whatsoever city or town ye enter, enquire who in it is WORTHY; and there abide till ye go thence.*" "Worthy," ἀξίος, this has no reference to moral worthiness; our Lord means *suitable*; to whom your additional board for a few days will be no inconvenience—a substantial man. And this is exactly the import of the same directions, given Luke x. 5, 6. "Into whatever *oikia*—house-establishment on a respectable scale—residence affording accommodation for strangers, (the *hospitalia* of the Latins) ye enter, in the same *oikia* remain: go not from *oikia* to *oikia*, in search of superior accommodations; though it may happen that, after you have been in a town some days, you may hear of a more wealthy individual, who could entertain you better. No; in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give;—whatever is set before you."

The same inference is deduced from the advice of the Apostle John to the lady Eclecta, 2 Epistle 10. "If there come any to you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your *oikia*." She was, therefore, a person of respectability, if not of rank; mistress of a household establishment on a scale proper for the exercise of Christian benevolence in a convenient and suitable manner;—of liberal heart, and of equally liberal powers.

Whoever has well considered the difficulties to which travellers in the East are often exposed to procure supplies, or even sufficient provisions to make a meal, will perceive the propriety of these directions. Although it was one sign of the Messiah's advent, that to the *poor* the Gospel was preached, yet it was not the Messiah's purpose to add to the difficulties of any man's situation. He supposes that a family-man, a house-keeper, might be without bread, obliged to borrow from a friend, to meet the wants of a single traveller. Luke xi. 5. "I have nothing to set before him;" no uncommon case; but, if this were occasioned by real penury, the rights of Hospitality, however congenial to the manners of the people, or to the feelings of the individual, and however urgent, *must* be waived.

No. DCCVI. INKHORN.



AND BEHOLD, SIX MEN CAME FROM THE WAY OF THE HIGHER GATE, WHICH LIETH TOWARD THE NORTH: AND EVERY MAN A SLAUGHTER WEAPON IN HIS HAND; AND ONE MAN AMONG THEM WAS CLOTHED WITH LINEN,—WITH A WRITER'S INKHORN BY HIS SIDE. *Ezekiel ix. 2.*

THIS Figure is from Dr. Pococke, who describes it, as “an INKHORN, which the writers and tradesmen stick into their girdle; and it is very convenient, the top shutting down; at the end it opens; and pens, and a PENKNIFE, are put into it.”

The reader will recollect that the pens are mostly of reed, *calamus scriptorius*: and that the characters of Eastern writing are usually strong and black.

The following are Mr. HARMER's observations on this passage of the prophet:

“The modern inhabitants of Egypt appear to make use of *ink* in their sealing, as well as the Arabs of the desert, who may be supposed not to have such conveniences as those that live in such a place as Egypt: for Dr. Pococke saith, that “they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger, and which is blacked when they have occasion to seal with it.”

“This may serve to shew us, that there is a closer connection between the vision of St. John, Rev. vii. 2. and that of Ezekiel, chap. ix. 2. than commentators appear to have apprehended. They must be joined, I imagine, to have a complete view of either. St. John saw an angel with the *seal* of the living God, and therewith multitudes were sealed in their *foreheads*; but, to understand *what sort of mark* was made there, you must have recourse to the *Inkhorn* of Ezekiel. On the other hand, Ezekiel saw a person with an *Inkhorn*, who was to mark the servants of God on their foreheads, with *ink*, that is, but how the ink was to be *applied* is not expressed; nor was there any need that it should be, if in those times ink was applied with a seal: a seal being in the one case plainly supposed; as in the Apocalypse, the mention of a seal made it needless to take any notice of any Inkhorn by his side.

“This *position* of the Inkhorn of Ezekiel's writer may appear somewhat odd to a European reader, but the custom of placing it by the side, continues in the East to this day. Olearius, who takes notice, *Voy. en Muscovie*, &c. p. 857. of a way that they have of thickening their ink with a sort of paste they make, or with sticks of Indian ink, which is the best paste of all, a circumstance favourable to their seal-

ing with ink, observes, p. 817.—(Dr. SHAW also speaks of their writers suspending their Inkhorns by their side. I should not therefore have taken any notice of this circumstance, had not the account of Olearius led us to something farther.)—that the Persians carry about with them, by means of their girdles, a dagger, a knife, a handkerchief, and their money : and those that follow the profession of writing out books, their *Inkhorn*, their penknife, their whetstone to sharpen it, their letters and every thing the Moscovites were wont *in his time* to put in their *boots*, which served them instead of pockets. The Persians, in carrying their Inkhorn, after this manner, seem to have retained a custom as ancient as the days of Ezekiel ; while the Moscovites, whose garb was very much in the *Eastern taste* in the days of Olearius, and who had many *Oriental* customs among them, carried their Inkhorns and their papers in a very different manner. Whether some such variation might cause the Egyptian translators of the Septuagint version to render the words, *a girdle of sapphire, or embroidery, on the loins*, I will not take upon me to affirm ; but I do not imagine our Dr. CASTELL would have adopted this sentiment in his Lexicon, (see LOWTH on this place) had he been aware of this Eastern custom : for with great propriety is the word *Keseth* mentioned in this chapter three times, if it signified an Inkhorn, the requisite instrument for sealing those devout mourners ; but no account can be given why this *Keseth* should be mentioned so often, if it only signified an embroidered girdle.” HARMER’S *Obs.* vol. ii. p. 459.

It should be recollected also, that in the East, the artisans carry most of the implements of their profession in the girdle ; the soldier carries his sword ; the butcher his knife ; and the carpenter carries his hammer, and his saw.

EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURES.

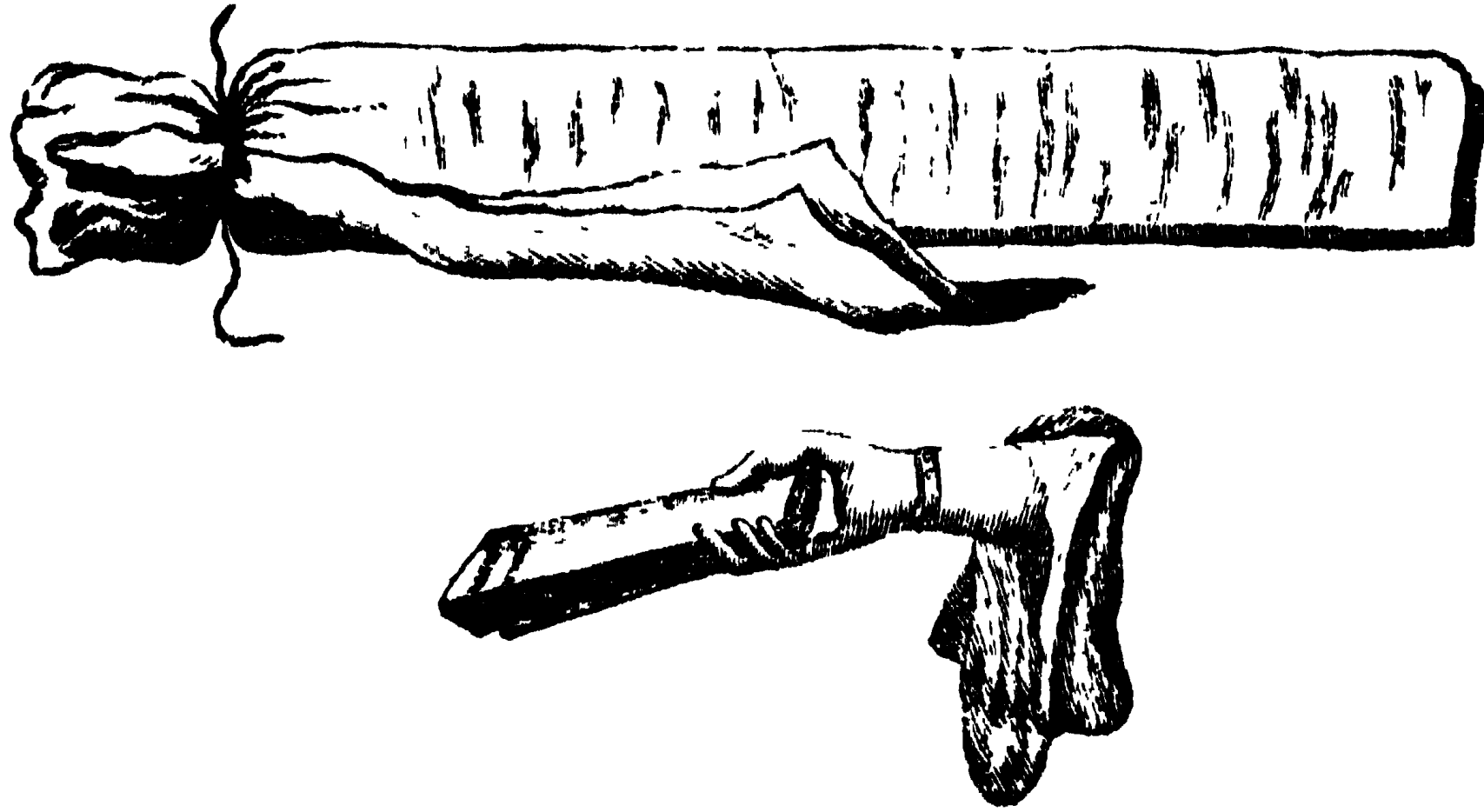
L. is the INKHORN ; its cover lifted up : it seems to resemble those among ourselves, which are made of leather ; and which, have been known by the name of “ Edinburgh Inkhorns.”

M. The Knife usually carried in the handle of the Inkhorn : but in this instance, I presume, it is too long for that purpose : as we do not perceive any hinge by which it might be divided, or clasped, or otherwise shortened.

No. DCCVII. TOKENS INSCRIBED ON THE FOREHEAD.

THE foregoing illustration is certainly ingenious, so far as it goes ; but, to complete it, the reader should be reminded of the Marks and Symbols universal among the Hindoos, &c. inscribed on the Breast, on the Forehead, or on both, by which is known, at once, of what deity the wearer is a votary. Lines drawn perpendicular, or horizontal,—with yellow colour, or red, or with both,—or with white, or black ; every mode has its specific import. Some of these insignia are painted with red sandal-wood, some with the ashes of burnt cows’-dung, others with rice-meal, others with earth collected in the neighbourhood of a temple, or a sacred river : ashes from burnt human bodies are also sometimes mixed with this earth. The custom appears to be ancient ; it was, no doubt, adopted among the idolatrous Jews ; and to distinguish the votaries of JEHOVAH, *their Foreheads* are marked with His device ; what that was understood to be, anciently, may be seen under the Article TAU, in the *Dictionary* : *i. e.* the sign of the Cross.

No. DCCVIII. EASTERN LETTERS.



NEHEMIAH CHAPTER VI. VERSE 1.

“NORDEN tells us, that when he and his company were at Essuaen, an express arrived there, dispatched by an Arab Prince, who brought a *Letter* directed to the Reys (or master of their barque), enjoining him not to set out with his barque, or carry them any farther: adding, that in a day's time he should be at Essuaen, and there would give his orders relative to them. “The Letter, however, *according to the usage* of the Turks,” says this author, “was open; and as the Reys was not on board, the pilot carried it to one of our Fathers to read it.” P. 109.

“Sanballat's sending his servant then with an *open* Letter, which is mentioned Neh. vi. 5. doth not appear an odd thing, it should seem; but if it was according to their usages, why is this circumstance complained of, as it visibly is? Why indeed is it mentioned at all? Why! Because, however the sending Letters *open* to *common* people may be customary in these countries, it is not according to their usages to send them so to *people of distinction*. So Dr. POCOCKE, in his account of that very country where NORDEN was when this Letter was brought, gives us, among other things, in the 57th plate, the figure of a Turkish Letter put into a satin bag, *to be sent to a great man*, with a paper tied to it directed and *sealed*, and an ivory button tied on the wax. So Lady MONTAGUE says, the Bassa of Belgrade's answer to the English Ambassador, going to Constantinople, was brought to him *in a purse* of scarlet satin. (*Letters*, vol. i. p. 136.)

“The great Emir, indeed, of the Arabs, according to D'ARVIRUX, was not wont to enclose his Letters in these bags, any more than to have them adorned with flourishes; but that is supposed to have been owing to the unpoliteness of the Arabs; and he tells us, that when he acted as secretary to the Emir he supplied these defects, and that his doing so was highly acceptable to the Emir. (*Voy. dans la Pal.* p. 58, 59.) Had this open Letter then come from Geshem, who was an Arab, (Neh. vi. 1.) it might have passed unnoticed; but as it was from Sanballat, the enclosing it in an handsome bag was a ceremony Nehemiah had reason to expect from him, since he was a person of distinction in the Persian court, and then governor of Judæa; and the not doing it was the greatest insult, insinuating, that though
Nehemiah

Nehemiah was, according to him, preparing to assume the royal dignity, he should be so far from acknowledging him in that character, that he would not even pay him the compliment due to *every person of distinction*. (The MS. CHARDIN gives us a like account of the Eastern Letters, adding this circumstance, *that those that are unenclosed, as sent to common people, are usually rolled up; in which form their paper commonly appears*. Note on Jer. xxxvi. 2. A Letter, in the form of a small roll of paper would appear very odd in our eyes, but it seems is very common there.)

If this is the true representation of the affair, commentators have given but a poor account of it. Sanballat sent him a message, says one of them, “pretending, it is likely, *special respect* and kindness unto him, in informing him, what was laid to his charge.” So far Mr. HARMER, *Obs.* vol. ii. p. 129.

Contrast with this *open* Letter to Nehemiah the closed, rolled, or folded, Letter, sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 14. We read, verse 9. “He sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying”—“And Hezekiah received the [*sepher*] *Letter* at the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up into the house of the Lord, and SPREAD it before the Lord.” It was therefore folded, or rolled, and no doubt, enclosed in a proper *envelope*; and I would not be certain whether this action of taking the Letter from its case is not expressed here by the word *peresh*, which signifies to divide, to separate.

Consider also the passage, Isaiah xxix. 11. “And the vision shall be to you, as the words of a [*sepher*, the same as the *Letter* spread by Hezekiah] LETTER that is sealed—sealed up in a bag, closely—which is given to a man of learning to read, but he says, “It is sealed”—how should I know what information it contains? I merely can discover to whom it is directed;” while the unlearned cannot even read the address. We see such occurrences daily in the streets of London: messengers, sent with Letters, desire passengers to read the directions for them.

Observe, the messengers sent to Hezekiah are described as *saying*: when in fact they *say* nothing; but only deliver a Letter containing the message.

EXPLANATION OF THE UPPER FIGURE, FROM DR. POCOCKE.

“A Turkish Letter put into a satin bag, to be sent to a great man, with a paper tied to it, directed and sealed, and an ivory button tied on the wax. As the Turks rarely write, the name is writ for them, and on the back side of it they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger; and it is blacked when there is occasion to seal with it.”

The Under Figure is a Letter held by a Turkish lady in her hand. From the collection of the late Lord Baltimore.

No. DCCIX. THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT OF EARLY WRITING,

AS IMPLIED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BRICKS FOUND IN
THE RUINS OF ANCIENT BABYLON.

THE attention and curiosity of the public have lately been much excited towards an article which by analogy connects intimately with part of the historical records of Holy Scripture; I mean, those Bricks found on the spot where the Tower of Babel, with the ancient city of Babylon, formerly stood, as stated in Nos. DXCII.—DXCIX. Several of these Bricks have been brought to London, under the direction of the East India Company. We are the more interested by these memoirs of antiquity, as we are led to conclude that, by the providence of God, various con-

firmations of historical parts of the Sacred Writings, are extant, though seldom adverted to : but, when properly considered, they add strong collateral evidence in establishment of facts presented in the Bible ; not only so, they also enable us to understand the terms employed in the Bible accounts of such events with infinitely superior correctness.

It would be deviating too much from our purpose to detail the mode of procuring these Bricks ; farther than is already given from Mr. RICH's Memoir, relying, therefore, on their authenticity and genuineness, we shall compare what we know of them with the Mosaic account of their origin and application.

Moses tells us, Gen. xi. 3. that mankind journeyed from the East ;—they found a plain in the land of Shinar,—and settled there ;—and they said one to another, 1. Let us make bricks ; and 2. burn them thoroughly ; and 3. they had bricks instead of 4. stone ; 5. and slime they had for mortar. They proposed to build a city and a tower, which later ages called *Babel*, and *Babylon*. The situation of the ruins which still bear the name of Babylon, and especially of that vast mound called *Makloubé*, or *Mujelibe*, is known to the reader : also, that it is composed of two sorts of Brick, one of them sun-dried, the other furnace-baked. The sun-dried form the interior mass, the furnace-baked form the exterior coating. So far, then, this ruin confirms the history in Genesis, which says that the builders made Brick, to serve the purposes of stone.

Moreover, whereas Bricks are usually bound together by mortar, when combined in building, these Bricks are bound together by *bitumen*, (the *slime* of our translation). The word in the Hebrew is occasionally rendered *pitch*, but should be *bitumen*; *pitch* being a production of cold climates, as Norway, &c. could not be obtained in the land of Shinar; but *bitumen* is a natural production, rising from the earth, and flowing into what are called *pits*; in this very country, and on this very spot. The most considerable pits are situated at the town of HIR or IR, six or eight days' journey up the river: whence the passage to Babylon down the stream was easy. Beside the bitumen in which these Bricks are laid, between every four or five courses of Bricks is also a layer of reeds; of these Moses makes no mention; but they seem to imply, extensive marshes, &c. hereabouts, when these reeds were thus employed.

After this slight sketch, by way of introduction, we come to the Bricks themselves. They have been exhibited before the Royal and the Antiquary Societies, &c. also, at Sir JOSEPH BANKS's, in London; and are preserved, some in the British Museum, others at the India House. They are composed of a yellowish clay, somewhat redder in the center; they are three inches thick, and in length and breadth rather exceed twelve inches; so that they resemble that kind of Brick called among us, (I think) "paving tiles," or "twelve-inch tiles." This should seem to decide the question, whether anciently men were larger in dimensions or stronger in muscular power, than they are at present; since, no doubt, the same considerations of magnitude, weight, &c. were then attended to, as now: the inference is, that the builders of Babel, however robust and active, yet were **nothing** superior to the same laborious class of mankind in the present day.

But, the most extraordinary part of these Bricks is, that *impressed on them* is a series of Characters, in several lines, evidently struck while the clay was wet. This discovery is of great consequence to Biblical students. Many Christian divines have held, that Writing was communicated by God to Moses, on Mount Sinai, and

this has lately been strongly urged. Moses indeed does not intimate this; on the contrary, by previously mentioning a particular species of Writing, "like the engraving on a seal," he distinguishes, by reference to an art well known, and already practised in several manners. It is evident, that the seal given to Tamar by Judah, was *inscribed*; nor less, that the purchase-deeds of Abraham, by which the cave of Machpelah was secured to him, needed but a few technical *to have and to hold's* to render them creditable to a modern proficient in the art of filling a skin handsomely. Now, if Writing were practised in the days of Abraham, and employed, also, by the builders of Babel, it approaches so nearly to the Antediluvian ages, that hence arises a very interesting question, Whether it were extant before the Deluge? We have no record of any incident between the Flood and Babel, which was likely to be its origin. But, if Writing were an Antediluvian art, there is no difficulty in believing, that Noah was acquainted with it, and would preserve it, as too valuable, too important to be lost. Thus, if admitted, cuts off at once that traditionary conveyance of Divine truth, which some have imagined, from Adam to Moses, thereby exposing the principles of truth itself to the variations and perversions almost inseparable from tradition. Whereas, if Divine truths, Divine worship, Divine knowledge, were preserved by Writing, then those distinguished patriarchs, Shem, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, &c. had, like ourselves, authentic *memoranda* to guide their faith; the ancient promises, once registered, might descend to them, and from them, *verbatim*; and, in short, it warrants a general inference, that they possessed permanent memoirs which instructed them on past events, and guided their confidence in future expectations: they were capable of knowing perfectly the reference of their services, their sacrifices, their hymns, their music, &c. and of performing their sacred rites with the same solemnity and interest, as men of God in later ages, David, Solomon, or the Prophets.

This leads to the inference that the Antediluvians might enjoy more extensive means of grace than we are aware of. In the days of Enoch "men began to call on the name of JEHOVAH," in a manner, perhaps, more solemn, more united as communities, than before. Beside admonition, *viva voce*, Enoch might commit to Writing his prophecy of the coming of the Lord with ten thousands of his saints; and Noah might be a preacher of righteousness by other means than by personal remonstrance.

Such are the consequences of admitting that the Bricks now extracted from the *Mugelbe*, are those of the *original* Tower of Babel. Of this it is but fair to advise the reader; it also imposes on us an additional necessity for the more careful collation of authorities, and the greater vigilance in correctly applying them.

Eastern tradition universally attributes the use of Letters to the Antediluvians. it may be presumed that the notion has some foundation; for there seems to be no cause why those who invented certain arts mentioned by Moses, might not invent Writing, also. The testimony of Josephus too, inclines to this side of the question.

Assuming for the present that this Writing is of deep antiquity, we proceed to remark, that it is one elementary form, a single trace, like a nail, or the head of an arrow, variously combined: it has therefore, been called *the nail-headed character*; and it announces, as a character, a very simple thought, but of arbitrary application. The next question is, Whether each combination expresses a word, a syllable, or a letter? and a third is, the manner of reading it, whether from the left hand to the right—like our own Writing;—from right to left,—like the ancient Hebrew, &c. or—from top to bottom, like the Chinese?

Nil desperandum is an excellent maxim; and as the course of knowledge is progressive from thought to thought, the reader may excuse a digression containing a hint on this subject, which another may improve, and a successor may complete.

The Plate of EARLY WRITING, contains a collection of Characters so closely resembling those on the Bricks, that they may fairly be taken for the same, at least as to their principle; the larger of our specimens (delineated on the spot, by LE BRUYN) are from the Ruins of Persepolis; or at least from what is understood to have been a palace of the ancient Persian kings; and these may reflect a subordinate light on the nature of the more ancient, from which, according to appearances, they are transcripts more or less distant.

No. 1. containing a View of these Inscriptions; may assist in determining the manner of reading them; these are evidently to be read *horizontally*, such is their situation in the wall;—a public inscription in a wall, would be useless, unless posited as meant to be read. These are clear instances; equally clear is No. 2. containing three inscriptions laid *horizontally*, inside of the portico. One of these (given at large in No. 3.) appears to be beyond a doubt *horizontal*; as are all transcribed by LE BRUYN, except as noticed hereafter.

In No. 3. every line commences *full* and *even* on the left side; but no two lines end at corresponding points; this irregularity certainly marks the termination, not the commencement of the lines. And, possibly, these Inscriptions are poetry. The blank spaces after each line being dissimilar, lead to the inference, that the Writing is controuled in its dimensions by rhythmical measures. This accords with the custom of the East; and, that poetry was practised before the flood, appears from that instance of it, which Moses has preserved in the address of Lamech to his wives Adah and Zillah. Comp. the Article POETRY, in the *Dictionary*. No. 4. may confirm this conjecture: the lines it comprizes begin in a determinate manner, but end with considerable variations. The same is evident of others.

We must notice another remarkable application of these Characters, shewn in No. 5. they range not only along the tops of the windows, but down their sides; they clearly commence at the top, and take their course downwards. One of these, of the actual size, is given in No. 6.

The instances quoted imply, undoubtedly, that this character was legible, and well understood at the time when Persepolis was built. If this palace dates from Cyrus, it affords a gleam of hope, that the memory of what was popular in the days of that sovereign may have survived, since we possess works of a much older date; witness Moses and David, with many of the Prophets, to say nothing of ancient Greek Writings. If the date of Persepolis be referred to the Persian kings, known by the name of the Arsacidæ, as some incline, it may justify expectation, that what was intelligible long after Alexander, will have been preserved by some good fortune: and, as we now read many alphabets, such as the Sanscrit, the Palmyrene, the Phœnician, &c. which fifty or sixty years ago were unknown to our learned men, we will not abandon the hope, that the Inscriptions at Babylon, by means of those at Persepolis, may be decyphered, and restored to mankind.

It may be serving some inquirer to add; that in the seventeenth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, there is a plate of inscriptions copied from Persepolis, with some lines of Writing, which has greatly the air of a derivation from the arrow-headed character. Comp. the Plate of BAAL and MOLOCH.

No. DCCX, THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: ANTIQUITY OF WRITING.

THE ancients in general referred every excellent thing, of which they could not discover the origin, to “the Gods:” and if we properly understand their words, they were right in this reference. “The Gods,” in the language of deep antiquity, did not mean so much deities, or supreme celestial powers, as those great patriarchs to whom, out of a fond and overweening respect, after-ages attributed divinity; human personages promoted, as it were, to be Gods, and venerated as such by their descendants. On this principle the first Gods we know, or can know, are the patriarchs Noah, and his sons Shem, Ham, and Japhet: [Comp. No. DIX.] our inference is, that to refer Writing to “the Gods,” is to ascribe the practice of it to the second progenitors of mankind.

If we examine this notion more closely, we shall find that each tribe of descendants claimed its respective head as the author of this art. The Hebrews describe Shem as a teacher, who initiated Isaac, son of Abraham, in religion, &c. and the Egyptians claim for Ham, or at least for his son *Thoth*, the honour of instructing them in their sacred rites, and of inscribing historic *memoranda*, on pillars of stone, or on masses of clay, *i. e. terra cotta*.

It is probable, that the reader may admit this idea in the instance of the patriarch Shem, without difficulty; but, the evidence for the practice of this art among Gentile nations requires somewhat farther elucidation.

Plato (in *Phædro*) expressly attributes the invention (practice?) of Letters to the Egyptian *Thoth*, the *Hermes*, or *Mercurius Trismegistus* [thrice-great] of the Greeks; but *Thoth* is understood to have been assistant and secretary to his father Mizraim, the son of Ham. [*Vide* Diod. Sicul. *lib. i. cap. 8. 35.* Euseb. *Prep. Ev. p. 36.*] But, whence did *Thoth* receive these Letters?—for, we cannot grant without evidence, that he invented them. Some authors place the origin of Letters in the country of *Syria*, as Diodorus Siculus, *lib. v. cap. 43.* who says, “as to those who affirm that the *Syrians* are the inventors of the Letters which they transmitted to the Phœnicians, who brought them into Greece with Cadmus,—it is replied, that the *Syrians* did not really *invent* Letters, but only varied the forms of some of their characters.” This disagreement may be reconciled, by remarking that the ancients did not always correctly distinguish between *Syria* and *Assyria*; so that it may be very true that the *Syrians* only changed the forms of Letters, whereas, the *Assyrians* might have invented them: and this clears the sense of the passage; for, how should the *Syrians* transmit Letters to the Phœnicians?—were not the Phœnicians themselves *Syrians*?—but, understand *Assyrians*, and all is right. Moreover, thus understood, there is no contradiction between Diodorus and Pliny, *lib. vii. cap. 56.* who says, “*Literas SEMPER arbitror Assyrias fuisse; sed alii apud Egyptios à Mercurio, alii apud Syros repertas volunt.*”—Letters were ALWAYS, [*i. e.* from the earliest ages] extant in Assyria, as I have thought; though some refer the invention of them to the Egyptian Mercury [the *Thoth* mentioned above]; others to the *Syrians*: *i. e.* the Phœnicians, as appears from what follows. I think, therefore, that we only follow the current of evidence, when we infer, that *Thoth*, in Egypt, received the knowledge of Letters from Assyria, where they had ALWAYS been extant, says Pliny; and this leaves us free to assign them a date at least as early as the building of Babel; since *Thoth* and Mizraim must have been contemporaries with the undertakers of that edifice: which brings us again to “the Gods,” *i. e.* the early or second fathers of the human race.











No. DCCXI. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: BABYLONISH WRITING.

BUT we are more particularly interested in these Antiquities, if the sentiments of a learned foreigner, by whom they have been investigated, are well founded. In 1803 was printed at Helmstad, a treatise entitled *Tentamen Palæographicæ Assyrio-Persicæ*, being an attempt to explain the most ancient monuments of the peoples who inhabited central Asia; especially the inscriptions formed of wedge-shaped Letters, by ANT. HENR. LICHTENSTEIN." The first volume only has reached us; and concerning this we rely on a report in the *Classical Journal*, vol. ix. p. 98. reprinted in the *Literary Panorama*, N. S. vol. ii. p. 433.

M. LICHTENSTEIN in his preface discloses his opinion that most of the ancient Asiatic monuments, bearing inscriptions, which are found on this side of the rivers Oxus and Indus, may be considered as *Semitic* works (works executed by the descendants of the patriarch Shem) or, in other words, of nations to whom we trace dialects of those languages now called *Oriental*, especially the *Aramæan* [Syriac, Chaldean, &c.] and the *Arabic*. He affirms, that most if not all of these characters are elements of *Semitic* Writing, and owe their origin to the region inhabited by the immediate descendants of Shem. He thinks the head of an arrow might give the hint to a people famous for skill in archery; though he acknowledges that the triangular form may have a reference to the *Ionî* of the modern Brahmins. [He should rather have said, to the *obelus*, with its significations.] He admits, however, that several characters may be denominated auxiliary, or secondary; as we know that all inventions subsequently receive improvements.

The reader will perceive that the opinion of this ingenious writer affords no small support to what we have said on the Geographical residence of the posterity of Shem; and it coincides exactly with our notion of the transmission of Letters, together with religious institutions, from that patriarch to his descendants.

The reader will not be displeased to see an epitome of this gentleman's arguments.

"Most," affirms M. LICHTENSTEIN, "perhaps all, *cuneiform* Characters, belong to the same class of Semitick elements, to which may be referred the Writing of cognate families, younger by several centuries; such as the Punic, *Sassanian-Persic*, *Estrangelo-Syriac*, and *Cufic-Arabic*. A resemblance of form, in three or four instances, first led Mr. L. to a general and laborious comparison of all the ancient alphabets. In the character  found on Babylonian bricks, he perceived the Estrangelo-Syriac , both being equivalent to the Hebrew . And in the Cuneiform alphabets may be discovered a letter of which the principal feature consists in three upright strokes or *wedges*, thus  or . M. LICHTENSTEIN resolves this into the Hebrew  and traces it in the Phœnecian  according to Pococke; and in the old Cufic . He also finds in the ancient Syriac or Hebrew  *beth*, the Zendo-Medic character thus represented ; seen also in Aramæan or Nabathean inscriptions, (published by NIEBUHR;) in Assyrian, (as on an antique in the "Monumens Inédits," of Monsieur MILLIN;) in Palmyrene, (as given by Wood,) on Babylonian bricks, and on other monuments of indisputable antiquity.

“M. LICHTENSTEIN proceeds to state (p.17.) that three great nations or families principally flourished at the time when *Chilminar* or the palace of Persepolis, and the royal tombs in its vicinity were constructed. Those nations were, probably, he says, the Persians, Medes, and Aramæans; these latter comprehending the Assyrians and Elamites; while the Bactrians, a powerful and numerous people, may have been confounded with the Medes.

“In the sixth section (chap. 1.) an analysis of every letter is given, according to the Hebrew order of Alphabetical succession. Here we learn that the simple *wedge* or arrow-head is, in power, equivalent to the *alif*, or first letter of the Arabians, which in form also it resembles. The shorter and more obtuse wedge, described in general with a diagonal inclination, represents the Hebrew *iod*. . . .

“In the sixth section, (chap. 2.) we find some observations on magical cylinders, exhibiting characters of the arrow-headed alphabets: some of these have been discovered in Asia, and a few in Egypt, where probably they were made by native artists during the Persian supremacy in that country, as we are authorised to suppose, from the inaccurate forms of several letters. M. L. acknowledges his obligations to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, for an impression or drawing of an Asiatic cylindrical antique, peculiarly interesting, which, he says, once belonged to the Florentine Museum, and, as he asserts, proves most indisputably that the arrow-headed inscriptions are to be read from right to left.

As we have not seen this volume but only report its contents in an abstract form, from another report, we cannot more particularly describe this antique than by saying, that it contains representations of the Triad worshipped by the ancient Sabeans; or the *Trimurti* of the Hindoo Brahmans. One figure represents *Zoharah* the Queen of Heaven, Venus Urania, the tutelary deity of the Moon and the planet Venus. Another represents her husband *Ash*; and the third, *Hahem*, with a bird's legs, and a scorpion's tail. This deity appears to be Harpocrates, Vishnu, and the tutelary divinity of the planet Mercury. If we are not mistaken this figure occurs among the Egyptian Abraxas.

As a specimen of the Cuneiform Writing, these two proper names, with the intermediate word, are given in the original, with corresponding Hebrew characters below.


 ע ש א ב ה ק מ
 M K H I B A H S A

A beginning thus made, may gradually advance to a complete discovery of the system on which these hitherto obscure and unintelligible Characters have been formed and combined. M. LICHTENSTEIN, as we learn from the article referred to, has effected translations of inscriptions which occupy many lines; for the accuracy of which he depends on LE BRUYN, NIEBUHR, &c. These do not reveal important events, or afford information on the ancient state of Persia; they prove to be mostly reiterated praises of the Sultan Darius, if M. L. be correct;—equally without elegance or energy.

It is most likely, that if we could decypher the hieroglyphics of Egypt, they also would deceive our expectations, and merely furnish examples of complimentary phrases, raising mortals to divinity, either during their lifetime, or after their decease. How far these alphabets may assist in tracing certain characters which

appear to be mingled among the [later] hieroglyphics, we cannot say. Neither can we say how far the symbolical system of these delineations might be illustrated from that of the Chinese: both consist of objects drawn from nature; and they *may* have many ideas, in common. It would be strange enough, should the hieroglyphics of China explain those of Egypt!

Since the publication of M. LICHTENSTEIN'S treatise, the subject has occupied the attention of Dr. GROTEFEND, of Frankfort, who modestly professes to be rather the decypherer than the translator of the cuneiform inscriptions; and engages merely to open the way to those who may study the ancient Languages of Persia. He has, however, succeeded in translating some of the Persepolitan inscriptions, and one from Pasargadae. He finds among these inscriptions three varieties, distinguished by the greater or less complication of the nail-headed character. One of them, brought from Persepolis, agrees very nearly, with the kind that has been found at Babylon.

The Inscriptions decyphered by Dr. GROTEFEND are of the times of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes. We may therefore hope, that some illustration may be eventually discovered by which to regulate the confusion now prevailing in our history of the Persian monarchs connected with Jewish affairs.

The Works in which these communications appear are little known in England: they are inserted partly in Professor HEERTS'S work on the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the principal Nations of Antiquity: an elaborate performance, printed at Gottingen; and partly in the fourth and fifth volumes of HAMMER'S *Muses de l'Orient*. But, these Antiquities have not been totally neglected in our own country. Dr. HAGER published "A Dissertation on the newly-discovered Babylonian Inscriptions. Lond. 1801." and they form a principal object in the "Observations connected with Astronomy and Ancient History, the Ruins of Babylon, &c. by Rev. T. MAURICE; Author of Indian Antiquities. Lond. 1816."

There is every reason to believe that these are the "ASSYRIAN *Letters*" which Pliny considered as having been *always* extant in that country: and the "ASSYRIAN *Writing*," which Herodotus says was inscribed by Darius [with accompanying Greek characters] on two columns of white marble, which he raised on the banks of the Bosphorus. *Mel. cap. 87*. Or, which amounts to the same thing, the *Syriac Letters* (Συριακὰ γράμματα) said by Diodorus Siculus, *lib. ii.* to have been engraved by Semiramis on a rock in Bagistan. They are the *sacred Letters* of Babylon, on which Democritus wrote a treatise; and which he translated, from a Babylonish pillar, as the basis of his moral discourses. Clem. Alex. *Strom. lib. i.* Eusebius, *in Chron.* says, "The Records of *Thyoth* were inscriptions on pillars written in the sacred language, and sacred characters; and Agathodemon translated them out of the sacred language into the Greek tongue, in sacred letters. . . In short, they are, most probably, mediately or immediately, the characters ascribed to "the Gods;" meaning the great Patriarchs, Shem and his brothers, with his father Noah, and *possibly*, derived by these second fathers of the human race, from an origin still more remote.

It is by no means easy to form any decided opinion on the passage of Josephus, in which he says "the posterity of Seth, being forewarned of the Deluge, erected two columns, one of stone, the other of brick, on which they recorded their discoveries in astronomy, &c. We cannot but allude to this testimony; yet without venturing absolutely to confide in it.

No. DCCXII. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: ORIGIN OF DRUIDICAL LETTERS.

THE reader will observe, that all these Letters are formed of a straight line, or a composition of straight lines; there is no circle, or curve among them. Whether this peculiarity were really derived from an unbending iron nail, or from the iron arrow-head, we cannot now determine; but, we ought not, on this subject, totally to overlook the sprigs, or slender branches of trees, which were employed in the formation of Letters by our British Druids. These being cut into proper lengths, preserved mostly the appearance of straight lines; yet, might be curved, or bended into circles, or parts of circles, at will. We cannot institute a discussion of that question, here; but, as we have considered the Druids as an early transplantation from the East, it should seem to be more than possible, that a part of the learning brought with them from Asia, consisted in the art of forming letters: and it must be owned that a system which combined the circle, and its parts, with that of a straight line, had great advantages over another, that restricted itself to one of these figures only.—The heads of these Letters were natural buds of the sprigs.

And farther, the adoption of the iron head of the arrow, implies the previous existence and general use of that weapon; it implies military establishments and array: but, the notion of deriving the first hint from twigs of trees, better suits the character of a pastoral people; of those who cultivated vegetable productions: and of the priesthood, particularly; which, in all ages has been, by office, the very reverse of warlike and sanguinary.

No. DCCXIII. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: OF EGYPTIAN POPULAR WRITING.

WE now direct our attention for a moment, to the discriminating characters of the system of Writing adopted among the Egyptians. And here it is but just, to relieve in some degree the ancient priesthood of that people from the imputation always hitherto laid heavily upon them, of having totally concealed their knowledge from the public, by the adoption of symbols understood only by the initiated. That they practised Hieroglyphic writing cannot be denied; but, many instances exist of these documents being accompanied by translations, into Greek. In fact, it might be asked, of what use were public inscriptions, professing commemoration for the information of all, if only a few persons, a privileged race, had the means of understanding them?

The famous Rosetta Stone, itself, while it is evidence of the practice of Hieroglyphical Writing to a late age, equally proves the readiness with which strangers were instructed, or accommodated, by a counterpart of this inscription in the Greek language, engraved on the same Stone. But, it may be said, this was under a dynasty of Greek princes, when the natural language of the Sovereign would be most assiduously cultivated and complimented. It is proper, therefore, to observe, that beside the Hieroglyphic Writing, there was extant in Egypt, a more popular, ready, and cursive character: a character certainly not derived from the nail-headed form, but, rather the Hieroglyphics themselves familiarized, and rendered level to common and customary use.

In this species of Egyptian Writing, the serpent occurs frequently, and in a variety of curves [in fact, our letter S is but a form of a serpent.] birds, also, of

different kinds ; with other figures, evidently retaining traces of Hieroglyphic origin ; and were this a place for the discussion, we might observe, that various ancient alphabets of Europe (*E. gr.* the Ogham, and others.) are founded on a system entirely different from either the Assyrian, or the Egyptian ; so that, could we trace them sufficiently, in early ages, we should find three families of mankind distinguished by their letters and writing, no less than by other notions and practices. The Chinese we have always considered as an independent lineage ; and the theory of their characters might be adduced in proof of it : they are not alphabetical, nor syllabical, nor verbal : they are mostly *graphical* ; but multitudinously compounded, so that they now resemble nothing in heaven, or on earth, or in the waters under the earth.

No. DCCXIV. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: WERE NUMERAL SIGNS PRIOR TO LITERAL?

WERE Numbers invented, and marked by Characters before words ? were these Characters the origin of Writing ? was it more natural to man to count his fingers, one, two, three, four, five ; to name them ; to express the numbers of his family, to describe them by marks, I, II, III, IIII, IIIII ; before he thought of denoting horses and arms, or arrows and arrow-heads ? Were calculations of the days of the week, of the phases of the moon, of the months of the year, the peaceful occupations of the sons of science, before the warrior prepared his weapons ? If this might be, very little assistance from fancy would bring us once more to the original Druids, and their speaking sprigs. And moreover, from a following article, the reader will judge, whether the system adopted by the Egyptians, of marks for numbers, is entirely devoid of resemblance to those tendrils and branches, and even leaves of vegetables, which certainly were among the very first objects to attract and engage the attention, the cultivation, and the enumeration, of mankind.

It does not yet appear whether any Numeral Characters are extant among the Assyrian inscriptions ; and, therefore, we cannot tell whether the Egyptians adopted them from the East : but, no impossibility attends the conjecture, that the marks for numbers being more immediately founded on nature, they might be retained, notwithstanding the characters for words, or letters, were different. And, it is of consequence to us, to shew the mode of numeration practised in Egypt ; because, we have every reason to believe that the Hebrew mode coincided with it : and, as the learned acknowledge a universal conviction of the incorrect state of the Hebrew numbers, in many passages of S. S. it encourages a hope that when the causes of that incorrectness are discovered, the restoration of the genuine text may be happily achieved. There are three notions to be kept in view on this subject : the first is, the unquestionable existence of corruptions : the second is, the ancient Hebrew mode of computation, or calculation of numbers ; the third is, the ancient Hebrew mode of notation, or of recording those numbers, by numerical characters.

No. DCCXV. ON THE CORRUPTION OF NUMBERS IN THE HEBREW TEXT.

ON the first of these enquiries, the existence of Corruptions in the Hebrew numbers, the reader will accept evidence collected by us on a former occasion.

The subject of the Book of Numbers is among the most perplexing which occur in Sacred History ; that is to say, the great multitude of ~~at~~ test, the Israelite caravan consisted ; said to exceed 600,000 *men*, above twenty years old,—BESIDES

women and children. This, according to the most moderate calculation, allowing as many women as men, 600,000, and only three children to a family, would make the direct descendants from Jacob, 3,000,000, at least. To this must be *added*, the servants, &c. which accompanied Jacob and his sons into Egypt; *i. e.* their posterity. It is difficult to say what number should be allowed for these, and their families. Abraham had 318 servants, armed, trained to war; so that his household consisted of more than 1000 persons, men, women, and children. Had Isaac diminished this number?—or, had Jacob?—I suppose not. If Simeon and Levi, with their servants, could destroy a city, Gen. xxxiv.; if Jacob could recover land from the Amorite, with his sword and with his bow, Gen. xlviii. 22.; if Ephraim could war against Gath, 1 Chron. vii. 20, 21.; these expeditions demonstrate that the Jewish patriarchs had numerous attendants; since not all their attendants could be soldiers. But, supposing these to be only the same number as the patriarchs, and that they had multiplied in Egypt like them, they would add 3,000,000 to the camp of Israel.

Moreover we are informed, that Israel was accompanied out of Egypt by “the *mixt multitude*.” Of how many persons was this *mixture* composed?

When we have added all these together, we shall find the total to be absolutely unreasonable, SIX MILLIONS! Never yet did the earth behold so great a number of its inhabitants assembled in one company! How did they all live in Egypt? How could that country sustain them all? and, when fled, How could Pharaoh expect to subdue so vast a host? What line of march did they occupy? &c. &c.

We may farther enquire into the possibility of expecting to feed this immense multitude: nor let this be esteemed frivolous; for whatever faith *Moses* might have in the Divine protection, whatever miraculous interference *he* might expect, the *Israelites* at large were by no means equally well satisfied; and—the *mixt multitude*—what dependance had *they* on Divine support? Yet it must not be thought, that these were led blindfold (Num. xvi. 14.) on apparent ruin and *starvation*; to say nothing of the flocks and herds of oxen, sheep, camels, &c. &c. Did the Hebrew nation, at any time, even in Canaan, contain a population of SIX MILLIONS?

Major RENNELL has demonstrated that Babylon could not have been fully peopled, without exhausting a fertile country half as large as Britain. It is considered as absolutely impossible that the army of Xerxes, said to amount to *one million* of men, should have been fed by the provinces through which it is reported to have passed. If these great numbers render such instances incredible, how can we suppose that the caravan of Israel could exceed them in a sextuple proportion? The fact is, the numbers as they stand, are *impossible*: but, where is the error? how shall we discover it?—and, more particularly, how shall we correct it?

Whoever requires miracles where no necessity for them can be proved, whoever stretches the *possibilities* of nature to the utmost, in order to force an hypothesis which involves a supposed necessity,—he transgresses those rules of just reasoning, and fair interpretation, which are no less requisite in considering Israelitish histories, than in considering occurrences among other nations. Why then should we attribute a fertility absolutely incredible, to the children of Jacob while in Egypt? a fertility continued without intermission above two hundred years; not failing in a single instance; which bestows a length of life on individuals, without exception; which makes no allowance for premature deaths, by the sword, by pestilence, by accidents, &c. &c. evils common to all families, and to all nations in every age.

We find St. Paul observing, that “ALL *were not Israel who were of Israel:*” *i. e.* that beside the personal descendants of Jacob, many, not his descendants, were reckoned among his people; and this leads us to consider, whether the recorded numbers of the Israelitish camp, in the Old Testament, should be taken *inclusively* or *exclusively*; *i. e.* whether the descendants of the servants, &c. who went down into Egypt with Jacob, are not mustered as Israelites. This, if admitted, diminishes greatly the miraculous fertility of the sons of Jacob while in Egypt, and by rendering much more credible the numbers attached to each tribe relieves us from the necessity of seeking means whereby seventy, or seventy five persons, should, in about two hundred and fifteen years, become hundreds of thousands; a multiplication utterly irreconcilable with any natural principle: but less so, if we add to the seventy or seventy-five patriarchs, the increase fairly to be expected from domestics, &c. who accompanied them.

We might ask, also, whether it be impossible that the true import of the passage understood to say, “600,000 men, *besides* women and children,” is not rather “600,000 persons, women and children *included*.” I do not urge this argument by any consideration of verbal, or grammatical construction, though, perhaps, something might be said on it, not without plausibility.

Observe farther, on the numbers recorded, that they all end with a *cypher*. Is it not extraordinary that no one ends with a 4, or a 5, or any other number? Not only every sum total ends with a cypher; but every tribe ends with a cypher also. To judge of this let any person calculate the chances that twelve enrolments should all end with even numbers, or cyphers.

In proceeding to consider this branch of the argument; we rather chuse to point out errors in other ancient books, even when copyists only are answerable for them; and shall select our instances from among their numbers which terminate in cyphers.

Sir WILLIAM JONES has shewn by a laborious calculation of Hindoo chronology, that so long lives could not possibly follow in succession, as the *Puranas* affirm. On reducing the numbers to figures, observing that they ended with cyphers, I cut off the cyphers;—the result was, a coincidence with the numbers Sir WILLIAM had inferred by reasoning. An instance or two may be agreeable;—p. 126. Asiatic Researches, *Calcutta Edit.*—“VAIVASWATA, [*i. e.* Noah,] reigned 3,892,000 years ago.”—Cut off the three cyphers, it becomes 3,892: that this is nearly the true number is evident, from a remark, p. 132. “The hypothesis that government was first established, laws enacted, and agriculture encouraged in *India*, by RAMA, about 3,800 years ago, agrees with the received account of *Noah’s* death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendants:”—3,892 is sufficiently near to *about* 3,800.—Again, p. 134. “The reigns of these princes are supposed to have lasted 864,000 years; a supposition evidently against nature; the uniform course of which allows only a period of 870:”—Cut off the cyphers—864 is sufficiently near to 870. There are other instances of a similar nature.

The same principle is applied to Herodotus, in No. cccxxii, and the same must be applied to Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, *lib. i.*—“The remainder of 15,000 years has been filled by Egyptian kings, in number 470.”—*cap. 3. sec. 2.*;—but, in *cap. 4.* of the same book he says “The priests say their books mention 47 tombs of kings.”—How is this? each king is supposed to have had his own tomb; 47 tombs to 470 kings! Correct this by cutting off the cypher from the larger number. [The 15,000 years requires a similar diminution to 1,500.]—Again, *lib. ii. cap. 21.* “The Chaldeans say, they began their celestial observations 473,000 years before Alex-

ander,"—compare this with the Egyptian account *lib. i. sect. 2. cap. 21.* "Egypt was governed by native kings 4,700 years." This being the same space of time referred to by both nations, the lesser number must correct the greater, by cutting off two cyphers. Chaldea being more easterly, was settled earlier than Egypt.—4,730 agrees sufficiently with 4,700.

Since then we find that the ancient Hindoo books, the ancient Chaldean books, the ancient Egyptian books, have suffered from the same mode of incorrectness, and are apparently restored to coincidence and integrity, by removing the cyphers, need we wonder if a similar evil has, in one or two places, attended the Hebrew copies, also? But to what could this be owing? Did the original writers use cyphers? or, did they use terms whose genuine signification was afterwards lost? or, a notation which was afterwards misunderstood? How should this happen in countries so remote from each other? There must have been some common source of *error*; for that it is a *wilful* mistake I cannot allow.

N.B. If we consider a single cypher as cut off from the number of the Israelites, (600,000) to meet the first numeral figure, (the tribe of Gad, 4,565,) it would reduce the descendants of Jacob to 60,000 *men*; to which add women, children, servants, &c. it would, on the calculation adopted above, raise the number of the *whole caravan* to 600,000.

No. DCCXVI. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: HEBREW CORRUPTIONS, HOW OCCASIONED?

THE preceding speculations were adopted as the basis of an Article, by Rev. Mr. HEWLETT, in his Notes on the Book of Numbers; as that gentleman has adduced instances of errors in the Hebrew copies, from which we had refrained, we shall set a specimen of his observations before the reader.

"Let us endeavour to trace some of the principal facts relating to this interesting, but very complex, subject. It is extremely probable, that the numbers in the Bible were originally written in words at length; and that, in the formation of the largest sums, the simple operation of addition was used, as in the mode of computation by the ancient Abacus: but it should be remembered that all our Bibles were translated, and are corrected, from copies made between the year of our Lord 1000 and 1457. "About this latter date, the Hebrew mss." says Dr. KENNICOTT, "were reduced by Masoretic regimen to an almost absolute uniformity in their various depravations." In the first simple notation, the words expressing different numbers were connected by the particle *vau*, (or *and*,) which, in all languages, means addition. Thus, in giving an account of the ages of the antediluvians, Moses says, taking Methuselah for an instance, that all his days were "nine *and* sixty years *and* nine hundred years." There is the same notation observed in recording the ages of all the persons mentioned in the fifth chapter of Genesis, and in other parts of that book. Hence, we may observe, that the small numbers are mentioned first, contrary to what Buxtorf says, *maiores semper præcedentes*, (Thesaur. Gram. ad init. p. 7.) "the larger number *always* preceding," which relates to later times; and that the *vau* is equivalent to the *plus* sign in algebra: but where this important copulative is omitted, it should seem that the numbers are factors to each other, like the Greek numerals Α , Β , &c. on the Parian Chronicle; and that multiplication is intended. So, also (1 Kings iv. 32.) it is said of Solomon's Songs, that they were 'a thousand *and* five;' but the Septuagint, translating from a copy where the *vau* was omitted, reads 'five thousand.' Unfortunately, this was anciently a very small

character, not unlike some forms of the manuscript *gimel*, *zain*, *yod*, and *nun*, and in copying a manuscript, it might be easily dropt, or supplied, without the least intention to alter, or deprave the text.

“It should be remembered, that the Hebrews had no numerals from 100 to 1000, resembling the Greek *τριακόσιοι*, *τεσσαρακόσιοι*. &c. or the Latin *trecenti*, *quadringenti*, &c. but in Hebrew, every multiple of a hundred is expressed by two separate words, as in English, *three hundred*, or *four hundred*, &c. and the insertion, or omission, of the *vau*, determines whether 103 and 104 be meant, or 300 and 400. This consideration alone will show how very much the numbers in the Bible might have been affected by the use of a single letter. The reader will certainly ask if this function of the *vau* as a numeral, is always attended to in our translation?—if numbers between which it stands are always added, and if others, where it is omitted, are always multiplied? It must be answered, No. Two instances, out of many that may be produced, will be sufficient. It is said, 2 Kings xix. 35. that ‘the angel of the Lord smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men.’ The Hebrew notation here is, ‘an hundred, eighty *and* five thousand;’ without any *vau* between the hundred and the eighty; but in the parallel text, Isaiah xxxvii. 36. the notation is ‘an hundred *and* eighty *and* five thousand;’ where the *vau* indicates addition, and makes the sum 1000+80+5000, or 5,180: a much more probable number than the former. In Daniel, (ch. xii. 12.) we read, “blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand, three hundred and five and thirty days;” and though this is rightly taken as addition; yet, in the Hebrew, there is no *vau*, or *and*, except between the thirty and the five.

“The *aleph*, being the first letter in the Hebrew alphabet, is used for the great leading number, a thousand; it means, also, a chieftain, or leader, probably at first of 1000 men. [See the Article THOUSAND, in the *Dictionary*, *Add.*] We find it in this sense, 1 Sam. xviii. 13. It signifies, also, the company, or regiment, as we should now say, itself; (see PARKHURST’S *Lexicon*, or Bochart, *Phaleg*. p. 667.) and it is remarkable, that throughout this chapter, it is always in the singular number, אלף, not אלפים, as usual, though not invariable, on other occasions. Is it not possible that, in transcription, the word *aleph* might have been mistaken for a numeral, when it was intended to signify the *tribe*, or the *chieftain*, who, we read, was to preside over it, and who, as a qualification, was to be the “head of the house of his fathers”? Num. 1. 4. The consideration, that all ancient mss. were written without any break, or space, between the words, favors this supposition.

“That there are many and great mistakes throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, with respect to numbers, will scarcely be denied; and that there are some which pervade the numbers mentioned in this chapter, we may be induced to believe, not only from the magnitude, but from the comparative smallness, of the number of first-born, which was only 22,273. (See Num. iii. 42) When it is considered, That the Israelites were polygamists, and that it was the first-born of the mother who was numbered; (Exod. xii. 12.) that a man might have three or four wives; that these people gloried in being prolific; that the number of the men was 603,550; and that 22,273 does not allow one first-born male to 27 of those men, who were ‘20 years old and upward,’ without including such as were somewhat younger; we must suppose, that there has been some derangement, or alteration, of the numbers, though the sums in Exodus, and in other parts of this book, seem to have been regulated, in some measure, by the total here given.

“Farther, when Joshua (iv. 12, 13.) mentions the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, he makes them amount only to about 40,000 men, and this

is corroborated by 1 Chron. v. 18; whereas, if we take the estimate from Numb. xxvi. they will be found to be 110,580. Commentators endeavour to reconcile this enormous difference by supposing, that only a detachment of them crossed the Jordan; but this is scarcely consistent with their previous covenant with Moses, which was, that they were "to go *all* of them *armed* over Jordan, and *every man* prepared for battle." See Num. xxxii. 21, 29. The supposition, that the numbers are greatly enlarged, will be strengthened by considering, that throughout the book of Joshua, containing the history of the principal battles of the Israelites, we no-where read of more than 40,000 being brought into the field. . . .

"A more general cause of the alteration and confusion of the numbers in the Bible was the adoption of numerals, instead of writing sums in words at length. This practice, we know, was very ancient; and many of those numeral letters were so similar, that they might easily have been mistaken for each other.—See Dr. KENNICOTT, vol. ii. p. 209. 212. 215.

"Thus, the א (2) may be easily taken for the ב (20), the ג (3) for ד (50), the ה (4) for ו (200), or for the ז (500), the ח (60) for the ט (600), the י (8) for the כ (400), &c. Besides, as Buxtorf observes (Thesaur. Gram.) in the notation used by the Masoretes, the aleph, א, with two small dashes over it, instead of an *unit*, stood for a thousand, and י'א, which in the ordinary mode of numeration, is 71, they thus made 1070. Farther, by placing a dot, or a virgule, over any common numeral, they increased it in a ten-fold proportion. Now, we know that a propensity to the marvellous is natural to man; and no one can open any of the Talmudic writings, without being convinced that it was never indulged by any people to greater excess than by the Jews. Whenever the Rabbins were in the least doubt, therefore, or whenever they might suppose there was a dot, or a dash over a letter, which would multiply it by ten, they were likely to insert the larger number in preference to the less.

"Besides, the ancient Hebrew mss. were written in characters that very much resembled the old Samaritan; and there were some of these which were easily confounded, though, from inspecting our printed copies of the Bible, we should not now perceive any resemblance. Indeed, so very different are the characters of some of the mss. now in existence, from those in the printed copies, that Dr. KENNICOTT says, there is in the Bodleian Library a ms. of the Book of Job, which few Hebrew scholars can read, though written in the Hebrew character. . . .

"The learned Vignoles," says Dr. KENNICOTT, vol. i. p. 531. "has offered a conjecture, which well deserves to be considered. It is, that the numbers in the Hebrew Bible were at some former period, expressed by marks analogous to our common figures, 1, 2, 3, &c. and that these marks for numbers, having perhaps been communicated by the Arabians, together with their vowel points, were used by some, if not all, the Jewish transcribers, before the Doctors of Tiberias published their particular copy of the Hebrew Bible, in which all contractions were discontinued, and the numbers were consequently expressed by words at full length." This conjecture, however new, is countenanced by some numbers, the mistakes in which are most easily accounted for, by admitting the addition, omission, or transposition, of a *cipher*. In 1 Sam. vi. 19. we read, that the Lord smote 50,070 Philistines, for looking into the ark; but in the Syriac and Arabic versions, the sum is only 5,070. In 1 Kings iv. 26. we read, that Solomon had 40,000 stalls for horses; but in 2 Chron. ix. 25. only 4,000. And in 2 Chron. xiii. 3. 17. we read, that Abijah took the field with an army of 400,000 'chosen men' of Judah, and was opposed by

Jeroboam at the head of 800,000 'chosen men' of Israel; and that there were slain of the men of Israel 500,000. The preceding author's conjecture seems here very probable, that a cipher has been improperly inserted in each of these three sums; the subtraction of which will reduce them to 40,000, 80,000, and 50,000, the very numbers contained in the old Latin translation of Josephus, and doubtless expressed originally in the Greek, which has been altered to corroborate the numbers in Chronicles. It should have been remarked here, that the cipher with the Arabians was a mere point, (.) easily inserted where it was not, and easily omitted where it really was. The Greeks, in all probability, borrowed the use of their point, or short dash, from them; and its power, when put under any of their numerals, it is well known, is a multiplication by a thousand.

"This might serve, perhaps, to account for the final ciphers in the numbers of the tribes, and also for the remarkable circumstance, that in all numbers above a thousand, in the books of the Old Testament, before the time of Ezra, there are but about six that end with one 0, and not half that number which end with any other figure. All the rest end with two or three 0's; and the instances, as they appear from the Concordances, are nearly three hundred.

"An ingenious author has lately attempted to reconcile, with some more probable accounts, the enormous numbers mentioned in the Hindoo Chronology, by omitting two or three of the ciphers; and the experiment has succeeded better than could have been expected. The same mode of correction has been applied with success to two or three passages of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. See *A Companion to the Holy Bible*, p. 63. 64. 182. where the reader will find much curious information and conjectural criticism on the present subject." So far Rev. Mr. HEWLETT.

Unfortunately, Mr. H.'s binder transposed the Titles to the Works by the Editor of Calmet, which form the copy in his possession: all his references, therefore, are wrong. This reference should have been to "Scripture Illustrated" on the Book of Numbers. The error is repeated in the Classical Journal, vol. iv. p. 402. vi. 186.

No. DCCXVII. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: CORRUPTIONS IN SMALL NUMBERS.

THE reader will observe, that the numbers here selected are high Numbers, and are noticed, because their excess is unequivocally startling; but, there are instances in S. S. of very low Numbers, to which a part, if not the whole, of our previous arguments appear to apply. We read 2 Kings xxiv. 8—17. that Jehoiachin was *eighteen* years old when he ascended the throne: but, in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. 10. we are informed that he was only *eight* years of age. The smaller Number is in the Chronicles. Again, 2 Kings viii. 25—29. states the age of Ahaziah at his accession, to be *twenty-two*; whereas, 2 Chron. xxii. 1—6. records it as being *forty-two*. The larger Number now is in the Chronicles. The observations of Dr. KENNICOTT, which induced me to propose corrections by cutting off cyphers, are but of limited application here; but, on the other hand, the arguments of Mr. RAPHAEL BARUH, who laboured with much shrewdness and diligence in reply, have never appeared satisfactory to me.

He says—"The Book of Kings gives the real age of Jehoiachin since his birth (eighteen) but the Book of Chronicles only records the years (eight) that had elapsed, since his father associated him in the government of the kingdom, to secure the succession to him." But, as the historian gives no hint of this variation.
of

of the era from which he dates, it lays him open to the charge of writing history in a manner that was sure to become unintelligible to his readers in subsequent ages. The probability is, that Jehoiachin was the eldest son of his father, born after his settlement as king, in Jerusalem, where he reigned eleven years; and therefore his natural successor to the sovereignty, on the principle acknowledged in No. XLV. The reader will chuse between the supposition of an error, occasioned by the admission or omission of a cypher, and the explanation given by Mr. BARUE. But, if we should concur in that explanation of this contrariety, it by no means clears the difficulty in the instance of Ahaziah, whose father Jehoram died at the age of *forty*: how then should his youngest son, Ahaziah, be aged *forty-two*, when he succeeded him? His elder sons had all been slain by the Arabs; but even these could not have been older than their father: And as to any pre-nomination to the regal dignity, supposed to commence at the birth of Jehoram, or before it, certainly that, if it could possibly exist, would attach by the rule of priority, to the elder brethren of Ahaziah, and incidentally, only, and in the last place, to him personally. It could never form a point of time from which his historian could establish a date. Conjecture, may be allowed to find the cause of error in the accidental duplication of a numeral letter: taking כב, for two and twenty, ככב would be, two and two twenties, *i. e.* forty, in all *forty-two*; on principles which we shall speedily proceed to discuss. And, seeing the natural impossibilities attending the premature age of the father of Hezekiah (Comp. No. 11.) it may bear a question whether ח five and ten, *i. e.* fifteen, may not have been read, or written ח" five and two tens, *i. e.* twenty-five. I know, it may be answered, that the modern Jews avoid this enumeration because it trenches on one of the names of God, and they write ש six and nine, *i. e.* fifteen. But, whether this superstition be as old as the days of Hezekiah, remains to be proved; and, if I rightly understand a passage of Irenæus, *cont. Hæres. lib. ii. cap. 24.* they did not in his days, scruple writing fifteen with a five and a ten, ח.

Enough has been said on the state of the Hebrew copies:—for to pursue the examination to its full extent, would be inconvenient here. We proceed now to enquire whether translators have set before their readers a true representation of the numbers as they really stand in the original? Mr. HEWLETT has answered this very natural question with an authoritative “No!”—It were to little purpose to investigate foreign versions: the correctness, or incorrectness, of the Arabic, the Syriac, &c. is of comparatively no moment to English readers: a dissertation of which they were the basis, might display learning and even erudition, without making any suitable, or rational progress, in the main enquiry, as it affects ourselves. We shall, therefore, as an act of merely requisite justice, submit a distinct view of the Numeration as it stands in the original, and so draw this branch of the subject towards a conclusion.

The reader has observed Mr. HEWLETT's hint that, in the enumeration of the tribes, the *thousand* might denote only a chieftain, or leader, of a thousand men: in which sense undoubtedly, it should occasionally, be taken in Scripture. We have not ventured to adopt it in the following estimate; nevertheless, we have enabled the reader to exercise his own discretion, by submitting an instance or two of the effect that would follow the omission of so considerable a number. Bolder critics, with the help of mss. versions, &c. may accomplish much, at which we can only glance.

THE NUMBERS OF THE TRIBES.

| ENGLISH TRANSLATION. | | | HEBREW ORIGINAL. | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | Numb. <i>ch. i.</i> | Numb. <i>xxvi.</i> | | Numb. <i>xxvi.</i> | |
| REUBEN | 46,500 | 43,730 | 3 and 40 | 1000 and 700 and 30 | = 1,773. |
| SIMEON | 59,300 | 22,200 | 2 and 20 | 1000 and 200 | = 1,222. |
| LEVI | 22,300 | 23,000 | | | |
| JUDAH | 74,600 | 76,500 | 6 and 70 | 1000 and 500 | = 1,576. |
| ISSACHAR | 54,400 | 64,300 | 4 and 60 | 1000 and 300 | = 1,364. |
| ZEBULON | 57,400 | 65,000 | 60 | 1000 and 500 | = 1,560. |
| GAD | 54,650 | 40,500 | 40 | 1000 and 500 | = 1,540. |
| ASHER | 41,500 | 53,400 | 3 and 50 | 1000 and 400 | = 1,453. |
| MANASSEH,.... | 32,200 | 52,700 | 2 and 50 | 1000 and 700 | = 1,752. |
| EPHRAIM | 40,500 | 32,500 | 2 and 30 | 1000 and 500 | = 1,532. |
| BENJAMIN | 35,400 | 45,600 | 5 and 40 | 1000 and 600 | = 1,645. |
| DAN | 62,700 | 64,400 | 4 and 60 | 1000 and 400 | = 1,464. |
| NAPHTHALI | 53,400 | 45,400 | 5 and 40 | 1000 and 400 | = 1,445. |
| <i>Totals,</i> | 625,850 | 624,730 | 600 | 1000 and 1000 | 700 and 30. |

The first thing observable in this table is, the extremely awkward position of the *housand*, in the middle of the numeration; together with its being constantly in the *ingular*, by which it will not construe grammatically, either with what precedes or with what follows; and lastly, that were this omitted in the reading, the whole except Reuben, who is disfigured by an unlucky 30) would become perfectly regular: so Simeon—"two and twenty and two hundred"=222. Manasseh—"two and fifty and seven hundred"=752. But, if we admit the *thousand* as a numeral, which is the utmost it can justly claim, then Simeon would read "two and twenty, a thousand and two hundred"=1222. and Manasseh would read "two and fifty, a thousand and seven hundred"=1752. The average of the tribes would be about fifteen hundred men above twenty years of age: and whether this number, together with those under twenty years, and the females of the tribe, be not a sufficiently miraculous progeny, in the course of two hundred and fifteen years, may be safely left to the reader's consideration. It must be farther observed, that the sum total includes *two* thousands, one of them marked with the connecting *and*, the other not so; a sufficient sign of confusion. There can be no doubt, but that this *thousand* in the middle of the notation has been the cause of misleading editors, copyists, translators and annotators; who all read in the plural—*thousands*, contrary to the original text. The present copies of Josephus, also, conform to the highest numbers of the sum total:—for the solution of this we refer to what is said by Mr. HEWLETT.

We shall now attempt to investigate the origin of this most perplexing inaccuracy.

No. DCCXVIII. ON THE HEBREW MODE OF CALCULATING NUMBERS.

THE Mode of Calculation employed by the ancient Hebrews, must remain, in part, at least, hypothetical.—The Old Testament, however, affords evidence that they counted by fives, by tens, by fifties, by hundreds, and by thousands.

So we find in Josephus, Raguel advising Moses, to arrange his people, and to appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds, and again into hundreds and into fifties: and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and twenties, and tens: and one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number he commands, &c. *Ant. lib. iii. cap. 4.*

The lower numbers can raise no doubt, as to the mode of reckoning; each family, each subdivision, reported its own number; but in what manner the totals of a tribe, of an army, amounting to many thousands, were obtained by the commissaries, is open to conjecture. Considering the subject in all its bearings, the probability is, that some instrument resembling the Chinese *Abacus*, was used on such occasions. The evidence for this, rather rests on its coincidence with subsequent articles, than on direct authority. We therefore, only add a reference to the article *ABACUS*, in *Chambers's Dictionary*, where we read, "The *Abacus*, for facilitating the operation of arithmetic, is an instrument almost as *ancient* and extensive as the art itself: if it be later than the methods of computing by the fingers, and by *lampilli*, or stones, (which obtained among the Egyptians,) it is, at least, *much prior to the use of numerical letters* or figures, wrought with the pen." *Herod. lib. i.* We find it in use among the Greeks, the Romans, the Chinese, &c.

No. DCCXIX. ON THE MODES OF RECORDING NUMBERS.

THERE is a question of much greater importance to us, when investigating Biblical Numbers; and that is, by what characters, and on what principles of numeration the ancient Hebrews recorded their Numbers? For, it is evident, that as several Modes were extant, unless we possess the knowledge of the true Hebrew mode, our estimate of what has come down to us, and lies before us, must be uncertain, and may be extremely fallacious. Our habit of calculating by Decimal Arithmetic is so fixed, that we know not how to suspend it, even when called to the application of a system totally dissimilar. The reader will not be displeased, perhaps, to be prepared somewhat gradually, for a modest investigation of the subject.

No. DCCXX. THE ROMAN SYSTEM OF NUMERAL NOTATION.

THE first remark on this System is, that it proceeds regularly I. II. III. IIII. but it changes at V. then again it proceeds regularly, adding I. to V. VI. VII. VIII. VIIII. till it changes at X. Again it becomes regular, by adding I, as XI. XII. XIII. XIII. till it reaches XV. after which it once more becomes regular, by adding I. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XVIII. till it marks a second decimal at XX.—and so on.

This is a very natural mode, and certainly originated from counting the fingers: the Chinese reckon I. to V. in the same manner, and mark the Numbers by the same characters, V. and X. But, there is a peculiarity connected with this Roman mode, that a figure placed to the left of a numeral has the power of subtraction, although the same figure placed to the right of the same numeral, has the power of addition: So IV. is IIII. *i. e.* one less than V. but VI. is one more than V. So IIXX. is two less than XX. but XXII. is two more than XX. So XL. is ten less than L. but LX. is ten more than L. So XC. is ten less than C. but

CX. is ten more than C. It will follow, that if a transcriber should accidentally transpose one of these figures, he would mislead all the readers of his copy, and all the writers who might subsequently transcribe from it: and consequently, all who afterwards transcribed from them. As this mode of Notation was not used by the Hebrews, anciently, we shall dismiss it, with merely remarking, that C. is the first letter of *Centum*, a hundred; and M. is the first letter of *Mille*, a thousand.

No. DCCXXI. OF THE GREEK SYSTEM OF NUMERALS.

VERY different was the custom of the Greeks: they gave a numerical value to the Letters of their Alphabet, and this value they retained without variation, in whatever order they were placed. For instance, it was indifferent whether the letters stood HK, *eight and twenty*, or KH, *twenty eight*. A few citations of dates from our Plates of MEDALS, may illustrate this. *E. gr.* on the Medals of CÆSAREA, No. 16. we have only two letters, ET. to mark 305. this seems to us defective, and to want a third figure. In No. 6. on the same plate, we have the date ΦΑΑ. 531. in No. 8. this is reversed, ΑΑΦ, still it equally marks 531. neither more nor less.

In the Medals of Dor, No. 14. we have PKH, 128. in No. 15. we have AAP. 131. the order of the numerals is inverted; but the amount of the total is not varied.

In fact, the dates are more frequently read reversed, *i. e.* from right to left, than direct, from left to right: and this seems to be a relic of a more ancient mode, derived from some distant original, and distant country, to which the medallist or his patrons conformed by prejudice and habit. But, in whatever position the numeral letters were placed—for sometimes they are read downwards—they retain their numerical value, without variation.

No. DCCXXII. OF THE ARABIC SYSTEM OF NUMERALS.

IT may be very true that we received the present numeral figures, with the system of Decimal Arithmetic, from the Arabians; but, it is nevertheless certain, that they themselves, do not practise it uniformly.

“The Arabians have a very singular idiom in their dates, *and other large numbers*, says Mr. RICHARDSON, placing, generally, the units before the tens, the tens before the hundreds, and the hundreds before the thousands; though it is not uncommon, even in the same passage, to follow both methods: as, ‘The chronologist says, that in the *Rabiu l’awel*, (May) of the year twelve and three hundred of the *Hejra*, there appeared a comet, sending forth rays and sparks of fire, and there followed it three bright flames; and it was at the fourth hour of the night, which was as light as day; and this happened in the six thousand and four hundred and sixteenth year of the world.’ *Arab. Gram.* p. 48.

This in figures would be $12-300 = 312$ years. A. M. 6416.

In this respect the dates and Numerals marked on their coins, agree with those of the Greeks. We have in the *Collectio Nummorum Cuficorum*, published at Stockholm, by HALLENBERG, 1800. several instances of this. *Tab. I.* No. 1. “In the name of God this Drachm was struck at Damascus in the year nine and seventy”—79. No. 4. “Struck at Waset, in the year two and twenty and one hundred”—122. No. 8. “Struck in Andalusia in the year one hundred sixty two”—162. No. 12. “Struck in the City of Peace [Bagdad] in the year six and ninety and one hun-




dred"—196. No. 13. "Struck in the city of Ispahan in the year one hundred ninety seven"—197. No. 27. "In the name of God this was struck in Andalusia in the year eighty and three hundred"—380. No. 28. "In the name of God this Dirhem was struck in the city of . . . in the year three hundred eighty one"—381.

The reader will pay particular attention to an observation apparently very trivial but of much eventual importance:—when the lower numbers precede, the mark of conjunction, *and*, connects them together: so, we have 9 *and* 70 = 79;—2 *and* 20 *and* 100 = 122: but when they read decimally, this mark of conjunction is omitted:—100-60-2 = 162:—100-90-7 = 197. A second observation is, that the same country, the same city, practised both these modes of Notation: so we have on the coins of Andalusia, *one hundred sixty two*, in No. 8: but, in No. 27. we have *eighty and three hundred*.

No. DCCXXIII. OF THE EGYPTIAN MODE OF NOTATION.


HITHERTO we have attended to Systems and Numbers which, whether read direct or retrograde, from the right to the left, or from the left to the right, preserve a progressive value in respect to each other; but, we are now about to notice a System that places its Signs of Notation without the slightest regard to uniformity of succession. So it reads, 3 thousands—6 hundreds—3 tens—6 units = 3636; it also reads, 2 hundreds—6 tens—1 ten and 6 units (16)—a thousand = 1276: and again—5 thousands—1 thousand 2 hundreds—2 hundreds—14, 14 (28) = 6428.


It is evident, that the most practised arithmetician in the preceding Systems would totally fail of reducing this *disarrangement* to regularity, so as to state its value, unless he had the appropriate key to the lection of these numbers; and was thoroughly master of the anomalies resulting from placing thousands below units; sometimes grouped with other thousands, and then again grouped with certain hundreds, omitting others, in the same enumeration. M. JOMARD, a member of the French *Institut*, has paid particular attention to this branch of science, among others connected with the antiquities of Egypt: the following is a translation of an Article (an extract from a larger, intended, work) inserted by him in the *Revue Encyclopédique*. Vol. iv. p. 337.


"On considering with attention in the Palace of Karnac, at Thebes, that part of the vast edifice which, contrary to custom, is wholly constructed of granite, we discover a front entirely filled with ornamental subjects. But, instead of religious subjects, the artists have represented standards, enriched vases, pieces of furniture highly embellished, necklaces of coral, of pearls and of jewellery, gilded ornaments for the person, and a multitude of costly objects, placed beside each other, in several rows, and without any mark of separation. This arrangement, which is uncommon in these monuments, is proper to the kind of articles represented. Here, all the objects appear to be collected merely for the purpose of enumeration. Moreover, above them and the horizontal bands, which correspond to columns in ordinary hieroglyphics, are signs of a singular species, grouped in several ways 2 by 2, 3 by 3, 4 by 4, 5 by 5. One is a rectangle very narrow and long : another has almost the form of a horse-shoe : sometimes that of a Greek . The same signs are easily discerned in other representations at Thebes, where they are enclosed in frames, as if to prevent their being confounded with the other symbols of Hieroglyphic Writing. On examining these Characters, the order in which they stand, and the places they occupy, it is impossible not to discover that their intention differs from that of

ordinary Hieroglyphics; and every body will admit at first sight the probability of their being figures, denoting the quantity of objects placed above them. I conceive, that the first of these two figures represents *unity*, the second shews the number *ten*.

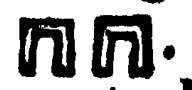
There can be no reasonable doubt on the sign for *unity*, nor is it easily understood by what means writers have admitted the strange notion that the Egyptians represented unity by two distinct lines: perhaps they have been misled by a passage of Horapollo, misunderstood. Among other significations attributed by that author to the figure of the vulture, he observes, that this bird indicated two drachms; and the reason he assigns, is that among the Egyptians, two lines express unity: these two lines, I take to be the two long sides of the rectangle.

The sign of the number five was sometimes a star. Horapollo says, *lib. i. cap. 13.* that the figure of a star signified 5: but I find another evidence of this in the hieroglyphic inscription on the Rosetta Stone, which is the translation of the Greek inscription, as is positively ascertained. In line 50 of the Greek, is read ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ, *five days*, and in the corresponding passage of the hieroglyphics, line 13, are these two signs,  intending five *suns*, or five returns of the solar light.

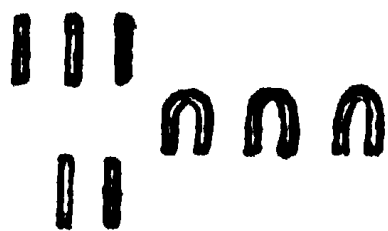
But, another mode of marking 5. was by placing in sequence five rectangles, or figures of 1. standing upright; . and the same of the other numbers, 1 to 4.

The sign of the horse-shoe, or , being placed immediately before that of unity in inscriptions marking Numbers, it is clearly superior to 5. and probability readily accepts it as *ten*. But of this the Rosetta Stone furnishes two instances: The first is in line 43 of the Greek inscription, where are these words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΔΕΚΑ, *ten crowns*: at the corresponding place in the hieroglyphic inscription, line 11. are these signs,





The second is in line 46 of the Greek, where we read ΤΡΙΑΚΑΔΑΕ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ, *the thirtieth day of [the month] Messori*: at the corresponding place in the hieroglyphics, line 12. we find the following characters, . Taking, then, the sign to the left for the *day*, as we said above, we find connected with it three signs for *ten*, i. e. *thirty*. The intervening signs, here left blank, mark, no doubt, the month *Messori*.

In the forecited Monument at Karnac, we have no difficulty in reading, on this hypothesis, the number 35: it stands thus,



Now, on consulting Plate 38. of the Egyptian Antiquities, several instances may readily be discovered of Numbers represented by the same figures; I shall only cite some which contain the figure that represents a *hundred*; it is a line curved at the end; much resembling that sprig which forms part of the head-dress of deities and of their priests, in the shape of a mitre, or rather of the *cidaris*; but the stem of the sprig is shorter. The posterior part of the *pylone*, in the Temple of Medinet Abu, is covered with squares, in which this figure, with the two others, is enclosed.

In the great Hieroglyphic ms. Plate 72. to 75. *Antiq.* vol. ii. there are other examples of Numbers, composed of the same signs.

In the same Monument at Karnac, we find a figure very often repeated, which, in my opinion, represents a leaf of the *nymphaea*, or *lotus*, supported by a stem standing upright, and crossed with a bar, . This stem seems to rise superior to the water, which is represented, perhaps, by the cross-bar. The place of this sign near the other numerals, which it always precedes, sufficiently justifies a presumption that it has a numerical value. The fact is all but demonstrated, by the repetition of this sign four, five, six and seven times, which never occurs in the ordinary characters of Hieroglyphic Writing. Various approximations, as well as analogy, mark the value of this sign as a thousand. Observe, 1. that this sign precedes that for a hundred, as that for a hundred precedes that for ten, and as ten precedes that for unity. 2. That it is placed in a manner corresponding to that of the Greek X. and the Roman M. 3. When several numbers expressing more than a hundred, follow in succession, but are placed before the objects whose quantities they denote, the figures which compose those numbers always follow the sign under consideration, inserted once or several times. 4. That this sign has some resemblance to the sign for a thousand among the Chinese Numerals, and especially with the ancient character for that number, .

I shall now report several instances of considerable Numbers, copied from the Monument at Karnac. In these may be observed the same disposition, the same order, as I have described. They must be read from right to left, and from the top downwards: first the thousands, then the hundreds, then the tens, lastly the units. It was this invariable disposition that led me to conjecture the value of the sign for a hundred.

The articles reckoned up are figured after the Numerals by two or three signs of the ordinary kinds, expressing, no doubt, simple words, which by this circumstance are separated from others: and this may lead to a knowledge of what those hieroglyphics denote;—as, men—horses—vases—days—years, &c.

All the instances adduced, which are copied from the Monuments, shew that the Numerical Signs of the Egyptians, at least, all of which we have any knowledge, were employed on the same system as the Greek numerical capital letters: that is to say, 1. that the value does not vary with the position. 2. That the signs were five in number, expressing the value of 1, 5, 10, 100, 1000, with which they composed all numbers, up to 10,000.

The Monument at Thebes, which has now been examined, is doubtless, one of those places at which the priests of Egypt explained to Germanicus the *enumeration* of the tributes and spoils brought by Ramesses from his conquests; which, according to the testimony of Tacitus, was sculptured on the edifices of Thebes."

This statement of the ingenious and learned Author, so far as concerns the regular sequence of the Egyptian numerals, must be taken with considerable allowance. In his transcript of higher numbers the *thousand* stands sometimes at the beginning—sometimes at the middle—sometimes at the end:—and even in his number 35. as stated above, the units which make the five, are divided into *three* and *two*, and the three *tens* stand between those divisions. In short, there is no respect whatever paid to the order of the numerals; and this disorder is the leading character of the system. To us it is extremely embarrassing; but it is not equally so in the East, where the same mode still obtains. For instance, Mr. HUNTER in his Journey from Agra to Oujein, *Asiat. Researches*, vol. vi. p. 15. notices on a garden wall, the work of Aurungzebe, the following inscription:

This garden was planted by the king AALUMGEER,
 Whose universal bounty rivals that of the Sun, in all his splendor:
 When he demanded a sentence to denote its date,
 An invisible voice replied, Thou hast seen the *garden of beauty*.

The last words of the last verse, contain the date, agreeably to the Persian notation; thus, 2—1—1,000—3—40—1—30=1077. *i. e.* of the *Hegira*. A. D. 1666.

The reader has seen in No. CLXXXVII. two instances of the like nature, quoted from CHARDIN; but, as that writer has omitted the particulars of the numbers, this transcript by Mr. HUNTER may be thought more satisfactory, as it proves that the places of the figures, their combination, and their relation to each other, are absolutely disregarded in such enumeration.

We must also remark, that although a star with five points was, undoubtedly, one of the Egyptian numerals for *five*; yet that it was not the only, and probably not the most usual one: also, that, in this extract, M. JOMARD has not ascertained the numeral for *fifty*; which unquestionably was current in Egypt.

From Egypt, itself, we have not at present any direct proof of this; but, an incidental proof has been preserved among the Greeks; who, certainly drew the rudiments of this essential part of their learning from the Egyptians. As an instance in corroboration, the reader will accept the following article, extracted from Mr. MATTHIAS'S *Life of Gray*, vol. ii. p. 111—114.

“ Dr. Taylor observes on the Delian Marble brought from Athens by Lord Sandwich, that the letters are all graven at equal distances, and those of one line exactly under those of another, probably as a means of avoiding falsifications in these public monuments, as each line must consist of an equal number of characters. This Marble contains an account of the expenses made in the public games and festivals of Delos, the moneys received from the several contributing cities, from the rents of houses and lands belonging to the temple, from the confiscations of criminals, &c. and of those who were deficient in their payments. It is above a hundred years older than the Parian Marble at Oxford, for it was set up Ol. 101. 3, or three hundred and seventy-four years before Christ, consequently about thirty years after the new letters of the Alphabet had been received into public use, which happened when Euclides was Archon Ol. 94. 2. and accordingly the H, Ω, Θ, Φ, X, are every where used in this inscription. Only it is observable, that E is often put instead of I, as Καλλέας for Καλλίας, Ἀρχεθίωροις for Ἀρχιθίωροις, &c. &c. and the vowel O is always used instead of the diphthong OΥ, as Τοτο, Ἀποδόναί, Σωκρατίδο, &c. &c.

“ The sums noted in this Marble are thus expressed :

TTT.XXX [Θ] HHHH [Α] ΔΔΔ [Ε] [Ε] [Ε] C
 XXHHHH [Α] ΔΔΔ [Ε] [Ε] [Ε] [Ε]
 ΠTTTXXXX [Ω] HΔΔΔΔF [Ε] [Ε] [Ε] III.

“ We have no other example of the ancient Greek numeration extant, except in the Parian Marble. It is explained by Priscian *de Figuris Numerorum*, and by Herodian, whose treatise is subjoined to the Greek Thesaurus of Henry Stephens; and this latter writer tells us, that it had been in use even from the remotest antiquity,

quity, and that the fines expressed in Solon's Laws, and the sums mentioned in all the public monuments and archives, were marked in the same manner. This manner of computing is from 1 to 5, from 5 to 10, from 10 to 50, from 50 to 100, and so on; thus:

| Græc. I. | I. | Rom. 1. |
|----------|--------|---------|
| Π. | V. | 5. |
| Δ. | X. | 10. |
| ΙΑ. | L. | 50. |
| Η. | C. | 100. |
| ΙΗ. | D. | 500. |
| Χ. | M. | 1,000. |
| ΙΧ. | ΙΟΩ. | 5,000. |
| M. | CCIOΩ. | 10,000. |

"This method had its origin from the way of counting on the fingers, whence came the word *πεμπάζειν*, to number, from the Æolic *Πέμπε* instead of *πέντε*, and Δ of *Δέκα*. Thus one stroke, I, seems to represent one single finger, Π is the initial of *Πέντε*, [*five*]*—*Δ of *Δέκα* [*ten*]*—*ΙΑ of *πεντάκις δέκα*, [*five tens*] or *πεντήκοντα*, [50]*—*Η of *ἑκατόν*, [*hundred*] (for so it was anciently written, the Η being then used only as a note of aspiration,) ΙΗ of *Πεντάκις ἑκατόν*, [*five hundred*]*—*Χ of *Χίλια* [*a thousand*]*—*ΙΧ of *Πεντάκις Χίλια*, [*five thousand*]*—*Μ of *Μυρία*, [10,000] or thus, Χ, *Δεκάκις Χίλια*, and sometimes thus, ΙΧ. The intermediate numbers were written by the addition of so many units, as 2, ΙΙ.—3, ΙΙΙ.—&c. 6, ΙΙΙ.—7, ΙΙΙΙ.—&c. 11, ΔΙ.—12, ΔΙΙ.—&c. 16, ΔΙΙΙ.—17, ΔΙΙΙΙ.—&c. Herodianus says, they diminished or augmented the number by as many units as they placed before or after it. This indeed was the Roman way, as 9, ΙΧ.—11, ΧΙ.—&c. *but, in the two monuments of Grecian computation which remain, we do not find any such diminution by units prefixed.*

"The other characters, which we see in the sums above-mentioned, are proved by Dr. TAYLOR to be denominators. Τ standing for *Τάλαντον*, [*Talent*]*—*Ϡ for *Obolus*, or *ἐκτόν*, being $\frac{1}{6}$ of a drachma; and, when the numbers are put alone without any denominator, it implies so many drachmæ. Thus ΠΤΤΤ is eight talents, XXXX ΙΗ ΗΔΔΔϠ Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ. 4640 drachmæ and 4 oboli. The other figures seem to be fractions of an obolus."

The reader now perceives the absolute necessity of placing "all these letters at equal distances, and one line exactly under another;" as the repetition of any sign of number—which was nothing unlikely, where so many similar signs occurred together—would vitiate the whole calculation. On marble this precision could be observed, in the original; but, in books, in transcripts, in copies of transcripts repeated in distant ages, and by scribes not over learned, the hope of such accuracy were delusive. It could not long be maintained, if it were at all regarded in the first instance; and this should seem to have been a leading cause of error in the Hebrew copies, the repetition of integers; as well as the mistaking of numeral signs,—lesser for greater.

This antiquity, elucidated by Dr. TAYLOR is, perhaps, the oldest evidence extant of Greek notation of numerals; and as we see that it has a character for *fifty* as well as for *five*, there can be no doubt but what the Egyptians also had a character expressing the same number; and so likewise had the Hebrews. In fact, we shall find, that without the assistance of such a character, we shall not be able to read several of the numerical instances which will come under our consideration.

These observations may be confirmed by the passage in which Homer represents Proteus in Egypt, as numbering his sea-calves, περιπάλλεται, *by fives*. Odyss. iv.

His herd
Of Phocæ numb'ring first, he will pass through
And *sum them all by FIVES*; then lying down
Will sleep, as sleeps the shepherd with his flock. COWPER.

Mr. GRAY adds, in a note "This simple kind of numeration [by counting on the fingers] is still in use among the savage nations in America. "Pour exprimer le nombre *cinq*, ils montreront de suite les doigts de la main gauche, et s'il faut compter jusqu'à *dix*, ils montreront les cinq doigts de la main droite. Si le nombre qu'ils veulent exprimer, passe dix, ils s'asseyent à terre, et montrent successivement les doigts de chaque pied jusqu'au nombre de vingt." *Lettres Edifiantes*, v. 23. p. 315. P. du Chambye, de l'Amérique Méridionale.

We say then, that first of all the index finger of the right hand counted off the fingers of the left hand; afterwards, the left hand reckoned the numbers proceeding to decimals, by counting off the fingers of the right hand. And to this original mode of calculation we probably have an allusion, Prov. iii. 16. Speaking of Wisdom, says the Royal sage, "Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand are riches and honour." In short, this seems to demonstrate the original cause of accepting *five* in the sense of a party, as stated in No. 1. of the "Corrections and Vindications," against Dr. GEDDES. Comp. No. cccxcix. See Lev. xxvi. 8. Judg. xviii. 2. Isaiah xxx. 17.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

The Plate is divided into three parts: the upper division comprizes the numbers transcribed by M. JOMARD from the actually existing Antiquities in Egypt. The second division exhibits a specimen of Egyptian Writing, that seems to hold a middle place between Hieroglyphics and literal Characters. It is neither, perfectly; but partakes of both. It has abandoned many of the Hieroglyphic peculiarities, to a certain degree; but has not, as yet, become free and unembarrassed letters. The lower division on the Plate is made up of imaginary representations of the most perplexing series of Hebrew numbers, supposing them to have been written according to the Egyptian mode of notation.

No. 1. A series of numbers copied by M. JOMARD from various inscriptions, denoting 400. 30. 25. 40.

No. 2. A series of numbers denoting two *hundreds* and two *hundreds*: four *tens* and three *tens* = in all 470.

No. 3. Another series denoting three *hundreds* and three *hundreds*, a *ten* and eight *units* = in all 618.

No. 4. Three *units*, one *hundred*, three *tens* and three *tens*, one *ten*, and two *units*. According to the decimal scale this would read *three hundred sixty and twelve* = 372: but, according to the intention of the original author, it denotes 175, for, it is evident, that had he intended to mark *three hundreds*, he would have inserted the sign for a hundred three times, as in the preceding No.

No. 5. A series beginning with thousands and ending with units, in regular progression: three *thousands*, three *hundreds* and three *hundreds*, three *tens*, and six *units* = 3,636.

No. 6. A series of a very different order : it offers, first, two *hundreds*, then three *tens* and three *tens*, a *ten* and six *units* follow, and it ends with a *thousand*. This would read according to our usual system, *two hundred and seventy-six thousand*. But we have no reason to think that the sculptor intended to record this high number. The numerals must be taken according to their value, not to their place ; and the whole amounts to *one thousand, two hundreds, seventy-six* = 1,276.

The reader perceives in this instance, the source of erroneous numeration in the application of one system (the Decimal) to numerals not intended to be conformed to it, but intended to be read by another system, that has nothing in common with it : he perceives, too, that this misapplication raises the sum total most wonderfully ; it multiplies the real number into an imaginary number, two hundred times more than the artist designed who placed these figures. The demonstration afforded by this No. cannot be lost on any considerative mind.

This would be still more completely to our purpose, if it had decimals and units following the thousand ; as the Persian date quoted by Mr. HUNTER has : however, without that addition, its evidence is not to be rebutted.

No. 7. Reads, three *thousands*, three *hundreds*, and three *hundreds*, two *tens* and two *units* = 3,622.

No. 8. Three *thousands*, two *thousands*, one *thousand* and two *hundreds*, two *hundreds*, a *ten* and four *units*, a *ten* and four *units* = 6,428. The position of the sixth thousand in combination with two hundreds, while two other hundreds stand separate, with the manner of dividing twenty-eight into two fourteens, is sufficiently curious ; and proves—if farther proof were wanting—that no attention whatever should be paid to the places of these numerals, but all to their value, each taken by itself.

The specimen of Egyptian Writing, placed in the middle of the Plate, effectually divides between the authentic transcripts of M. JOMARD, and the imaginary calculations derived from the Biblical numbers.

No. 9. It will be no small satisfaction to the reader to receive a confirmation of this ingenious foreigner's discovery, from a quarter completely beyond suspicion. On this occasion we repeat a passage, which, while it evinces our former embarrassments, may be allowed to manifest our hope even against hope. It is from "Scripture Illustrated" on Ezekiel xlv. 12. Says the prophet, *The SHEKEL (shall be) twenty gerahs: twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels shall be your MANEH.*

"The manner of computation employed in this passage is very perplexing. We have already alluded to it, and regarded it as one of those ancient modes of numeration, on which we desire farther information. To contribute in some degree to that information, I subjoin two passages from the Greek poet Theocritus, who uses it, *perhaps*, as a mode of counting proper to rustics or country swains ; a class of people which, it is well known, preserves by tradition and custom many usages, relinquished by better informed persons, for later improvements. In his fourteenth Idyllium, the poet represents a lover enumerating the days since he last met his mistress : "And now *twenty and eight*, and *nine*, and *ten* days are past, to-day is the *eleventh*, add *two more*, and there will be two months." This mode of computing time might, *possibly*, originate in the return of periodical festivals, monthly, or weekly, &c. ; but, however that *might* be, it is not uncommon among ourselves to hear persons break into smaller portions a longer space of time than they can readily compute at once, to their own satisfaction ; and then, adding them together, ascer-

tain the whole. This usually happens, when such are in conversation, and exercising the faculty of recollection.

But we have in Theocritus, *Idyll.* xvii. another, and apparently a more confused manner of calculating a very large number: for, enumerating the cities governed by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the poet says:

| | |
|--|-------|
| He has <i>three hundred</i> cities | 300 |
| Add <i>three thousand</i> | 3000 |
| To <i>thirty thousand</i> | 30000 |
| <i>Twice three</i> | 6 |
| And <i>three times eleven</i> | 33 |
| <hr/> | |
| <i>Total,</i> | 33339 |
| <hr/> | |

It will strike the reader's reflection to what mistakes of final numbers this method must be subject; and it strongly corroborates the idea suggested on the Book of Numbers, that the *Abacus*-table was employed in such arithmetic. Perhaps it implies, too, that the manner of reading the strings of that table was not uniform; for we find in this enumeration, the *hundreds* before the *thousands*; the ten thousands, (or *myriads*,) in the middle; and the *units*, if *units* they be, are put last. I notice this, as I verily think the remark is of some importance, toward settling the numbers of some places in the Old Testament, and toward detecting some causes of error. I shall therefore arrange the numbers *Abacus*-wise, both as placed by the poet, and as they would be placed if correctly arranged, according to decimal notation.

| By the <i>Abacus Table</i> . | | Otherwise, in <i>Decimals</i> . | |
|--|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Hundreds</i> - - - - - | ..3.. | <i>Units</i> - - - - - |3 |
| <i>Thousands</i> - - - - - | .3... | <hr/> - - - - - (<i>Duals</i> , 3) - |6 |
| <i>Ten thousands</i> - - - - - | 3.... | <i>Tens</i> - - - - - | ...3. |
| <i>Units</i> - - - (<i>Duals</i> , 3) - |6 | <i>Hundreds</i> - - - - - | ..3.. |
| <i>Tens</i> - - - - - | ...3. | <i>Thousands</i> - - - - - | .3... |
| <i>Units</i> - - - - - |3 | <i>Ten thousands</i> - - - - - | 3.... |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> | |
| <i>Total,</i> | | <i>Total,</i> | |
| 33339 | | 33339 | |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> | |

The reader perceives at once that what would be indispensable in our manner of notation by decimals, which preserve a regular order and progress, has not been regarded by the poet, and probably was not attended to in practice: such intermixture might have no inconvenience to those accustomed to it, but it has much in respect to us, at this distance of time; and not less when it came to be expressed in writing, and other symbols to be substituted.—Is it at all to be wondered at, that inextricable perplexities should ensue?—perplexities inextricable to those who have never seen the application of a method of computation so totally different from their own. Such were our former conjectures.

That “farther information” which we then desired, we have now received; and this No. represents the Egyptian symbols as they must have stood in the days of Theocritus (who flourished about 270 years before A. D. under Ptolemy Philadelphus, in Egypt.) and have been copied by him. Not knowing the Egyptian

symbol for *ten thousand*, we have enclosed the symbol for *one thousand* in a square, to represent it, by which that numerator is distinguished for the present.

No. 10. As the passage of Ezekiel was the occasion of introducing the numeration in Theocritus, the reader will not be displeased at seeing it in this No. marked in Egyptian numerals, with corresponding Hebrew numerals; by which a just estimate of its composition—which, happily, produces no confusion in the sacred text—may be obtained.

No. 11. The same difficulties as attended the numeration of the foregoing Nos. have notoriously embarrassed the amount stated of the Bethshemeshites smitten for their irreverend curiosity, as it stands in our translation. We repeat the best account which it was formerly, in our power to give.

“We read 1 Sam. vi. 19. “*The Lord smote among the people 50,070 men.*” In the original the smaller number—70, is put before the larger—*thousand*; and the word *men* comes between them; the word *fifty* also may be *plural*, or *dual*; while the word *thousand* is *singular*; therefore, does not agree with it. This reads literally—“*The Lord smote seventy men, fifties, a thousand men.*” On the Arabic notation, this would be

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Men</i> | 70 |
| <i>Fifties</i> [two?] | 100 |
| <i>A thousand</i> | 1000 |
| <hr/> | |
| <i>Total,</i> | 1170 <i>persons.</i> |
| <hr/> | |

Whether this smaller number be most credible for the little town of *Bethshemesh*, the reader will judge. We can hardly think 50,070 persons *had looked into the ark*; and, if they had, why not say so at once?—Why put the 70 before the *thousand*, with the word *men* between them?

The present No. exhibits the notation according to the Egyptian mode, with the corresponding Hebrew characters, adjusted on the same principles.

No. 12. The same mode of numeration applied to the numbers of the Assyrian army: on which, also, we repeat observations formerly made.

Says Isaiah, xxxvii. 36. “An angel of the Lord went forth, and slew in the camp of the Assyrians, (literally) *one hundred AND eighty AND five thousand*, i. e. 5,180, [or, at the very utmost, 85,100.]; which is usually understood 185,000. In 2 Kings xix. 35. the numbers stand, *one hundred eighty AND five thousand*; which, if we allow the proper force of the *and*, makes 5,180, [or 85,100.] Now, this number is much nearer to probability, to the supposable force of Assyrians encamped before any one town, to the course of a Samiel wind, and to the remark, *when THEY AROSE IN THE MORNING they were ALL dead corpses*, i. e. these 5,180 were entirely dead, beside a greater number injured: for, if *they* were all dead corpses, how could *they* rise in the morning? Vide No. iv.

If we might rely on the fact recorded by *Herodotus*, that the ancient mode of calculation was by the (Chinese?) *Abacus*, or *arithmetical addition-table*, possibly it might discover the source of these errors: the following may give an idea of such a statement: the enumerations would stand more regularly thus:

| BETHSHEMESHITES. | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| Units | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | .... |
| Tens | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | ..7. |
| Fifties [two?] | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | .1.. |
| Hundreds | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | .... |
| Thousands | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1... |
| Total, | | | | | | | | | 1170 |

We may read this—*Seventy* AND *one hundred*, AND *one thousand*.

| ASSYRIANS. | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Units | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | or |
| Tens | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | ..8. |
| Hundreds | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | .1.. ..1.. |
| Thousands | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5... .5... |
| Ten thousands | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 8.... |
| Total, | | | | | | | | | 5180 or 85100 |

We may read this—*Eighty* AND *one hundred* AND *five thousand*, or, at the utmost, *one hundred*, AND *eighty-five thousand*: but the former is the most regular.

No. 13. By way of close to the series, we have added the notation of the numbers of the Hebrew tribe at the head of the list (Reuben) in which the—to us—very awkward situation of the *thousand*, in the middle of the figures; with units and decimals before it, and hundreds and decimals after it, is striking. This mode of notation is now become so familiar to the reader, that the evidence it furnishes may safely be left to his contemplation.

“Now, what shall we say?—We are not to blame the Sacred Books for our own *non-understandings*: if we cannot reckon their numbers properly, what follows? not that they are erroneous, but, that we are ignorant: and if we be ignorant, the thought should not only stimulate us to farther researches, but should render us grateful to any, who, by communication of their remarks, may guide our way to more correct principles.

“It is very true, that these numbers are not articles of faith, nor can they justly pretend to equal importance: but they are of *some* importance; they have given occasion to enemies to blaspheme; they have furnished arguments to free-thinkers and infidels, of which it is desirable honestly and fairly to deprive them; they have embarrassed the humble but hearty friends to Revelation: and is it not then to be wished that they were entirely corrected? not by fancying errors in the Sacred Books, but by superior information and knowledge, derived from those countries where the Scriptures were originally written: especially, as to this day they have retained, and continue current, some of those peculiarities which we, in our western situation, find perplexing; and others might in time be traced and unravelled by persevering diligence.”

It is bare justice to recall to recollection, that no blame attaches to our worthy and venerable translators: they could do no otherwise than they have done: the Antiquities of Egypt were not, in their days, open to them. It is indeed free to observation, that, as the same mode is still practised in the East, it is somewhat wonderful that no traveller had pointed out the application of it to the Hebrew numbers; or that no Biblical student had taken the hint, from some of those travellers to whom we are obliged for the rudiments, and the application, too, of most of our Biblical knowledge.

No. DCCXXIV. ADDITIONAL REFLECTIONS.

WE scarcely know what consideration to allow to the suggestion of M. JOMARD, that the Numbers on which he has descanted, have reference to Ramesses, the ancient king of Egypt. If this could be verified, and if the date of that Sovereign were coincident with our surmises in No. DXLI. it would follow, that this mode of Egyptian numeration was at least contemporary with Moses; and, in that case, we need desire no earlier authority. It would follow, also, that the various editors of the Hebrew text had sacredly preserved the numbers they found indicated, and that even the Doctors of Tiberias had done no more than change for words at length, the numeral signs, which they found in more ancient copies. They perceived the danger of these signs becoming absolutely unintelligible, in succession of ages; but their *translation* of them would continue to be understood as long as any other part of the language.

A second reflection must not be entirely omitted. We find that the Egyptian symbol for a hundred is a *sprig* or *stalk*, and that for a thousand is, in M. JOMARD's opinion the *leaf* of a plant:—this certainly may be allowed to justify our allusion to the Druidical origin of letters, *i. e.* the *sprigs* or *stems* of trees. And, if these symbols were adopted by those who formed the Egyptian system of numerals—whoever they were—because they found them already in existence, and applied to that purpose, then it may be thought, that the notion of characters for numbers being prior to characters denoting words, or syllables, or even letters, is not without some support, by inference at least; if we may not be allowed to adduce these Egyptian numerators as direct evidence in corroboration of that conjecture.

No. DCCXXV. OF SEPULCHRAL BREVIATES: TESTIMONIALS.

WE have recourse to another Egyptian custom in order to elucidate a passage, which, from circumstances, has given occasion to no little discussion. The pious patriarch, Job, alludes to the practice of eventration and embalming, which, we know, from the instance of Jacob. Gen. l. 2. was a part of the funereal honours paid to men of eminence, in the earliest times.

The center piece on our Plate, adduced as evidence of Egyptian Writing, is the conclusion of a manuscript found in the hand of a mummy; it contributes, if we are not mistaken, to our better understanding of the sentiments which stand thus in our public version of Job, xix. 23. “Oh, that my words were now written!—Oh, that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever! For I know that my REDEEMER liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin *worms* destroy this *body*, yet in my flesh shall I see God,” &c.

We are obliged to M. DENON, and to the French marauders in Egypt, for the true explanation of the *first* of these allusions; which hitherto has been impenetrable. On this curious subject we quote that writer's words. *Eng. Edit.* vol. iii. p. 71.

“A priest writes the annals of the sovereign, and consigns them to sacred memorial. It is therefore proved, by this sculpture, that the ancient Egyptians had *written books*; the famous *Toth* was, then, a book, and not inscribed tablets on sculptured walls, as has been often supposed. I could not help flattering myself, that I was the first to make so important a discovery, by *the possession of a manuscript itself, which I found in the hand of a fine mummy*, that was brought me: the reader should

be a traveller, an enquirer, an amateur, to sympathize with my rapture on this occasion. When it was brought me, I felt that I turned pale with anxiety; I was going to express my indignation at those who had violated the integrity of this mummy, when *I perceived in its right hand, and resting on the left, a roll of papyrus, on which was a manuscript*, that I should perhaps have never seen without this violation. I then blessed the avarice of the Arabs, and my good fortune, which had put me in possession of such a treasure, which I hardly dared touch for fear of injuring this sacred manuscript, the oldest of all the books in the known world. I could not venture to entrust it out of my sight, and all the cotton of my bed was devoted to wrapping it up with the utmost care. What could be its contents? Was it the history of this personage, the remarkable events of his life? Was the period ascertained by the date of the sovereign under whom he lived? Or, did this precious roll contain maxims, prayers, or the history of some discovery?"

In his Explanation of the Plates to his work, the French citizen has the following additional remarks:

"The first observation which we shall make on this relic of antiquity is, that the papyrus on which it is written is prepared in the same way as that of the Greeks and Romans; that is to say, of two layers of the medulla of this plant glued to each other, with the fibres made to cross, to give more consistence to the leaf. It may also be seen that the writing goes from right to left, beginning at the top of the page.

"Above the figures is an inscription composed of seven vertical and four horizontal lines: the writing is here different from the rest of the manuscript, of which this is a part, and the characters appear to be infinitely varied and numerous; some of the emblematical figures, met with in other places, may be here distinguished, such as the serpent, the eye, the birds; but these are mixed with others that seem to be purely conventional, and exhibit no kind of image.

"In copying the whole manuscript I have found the return of entire phrases, and particular characters, so often repeated, that they can be only articles, conjunctions, or auxiliary verbs: from these, it would be easy for those persons who devote themselves to this kind of study, to compose alphabets, or groups of words, which may assist in the general explanation; and a single one of these manuscripts would furnish the whole of the set of characters, if each character only expressed a single letter.

"This manuscript belongs to the First Consul, who has been pleased to allow me the use of it.....

"Part of another manuscript, with which Citizen Amelin has furnished me.....

"We may remark in this manuscript, the writing of which is large and carefully executed, that the characters of the inscription above the figures are different from those of the body of the manuscript itself.

"Various colours appear in the several parts of the original figures of this plate: I have thought it necessary to assist any attempt at explanation, by indicating these colours, and therefore the reader will please to observe, that the horizontal-lined engraving represents red; the vertical, blue; the sloping, green; and the crossed lines indicate black."

These discoveries afford undeniable evidence that the Egyptians enclosed a roll or book (ספר) in the coffin with their dead; and though we cannot answer M. de N.'s questions as to the contents of such books; yet we may safely call them *Sepulchral Inscriptions*, or BREVIATES.

The

The word rendered *printed* in our public version, as observed, undoubtedly denotes *impressed*:—may this allude to a manner of writing even now practised in the East, on palm-leaves, &c. as mentioned in the following quotation from Pliny, with a sharp point, as of ivory, or &c.?—Or, may it rather be connected with the iron stylus and lead, of the same author, and of our pious patriarch?—

Says Pliny, xiii. 11. *Olim palmarum foliis scriptatum et libris quarundam arborum; postea publica monumenta PLUMBEIS VOLUMINIBUS, mox et privata linteis confici cœpta, aut ceris.* At first men wrote on the leaves of the palm, and the bark of certain other trees; but afterwards public documents were preserved on *leaden scrolls* or plates, and those of a private nature on linen, or on wax tablets.

This distinction, perhaps, was not always observed, or the custom varied in successive ages; for besides paper scrolls, it is not difficult to prove that the Egyptians buried *books of lead* with their deceased friends,—not with rustics, or unlettered persons, it may be presumed; but with men of high station and dignity, priests, kings, &c. such as Job was.

In Montfaucon's *Antiq. Expliq.* vol. ii. p. 378. he describes "a small book *entirely of lead*, which he bought at Rome, in 1699. and afterwards presented to the Cardinal de Boullion. Not only the two plates which form the covering, but the six leaves, the ring, the pin which fastens them together, the bands, the nails, are *all of lead*."—It is filled with Gnostic figures and writing;—clearly Egyptian. The learned author adds, "Father Bonanni, in his *Museum Kirkerianum* has given the figure of a similar book *found in an ancient tomb*. The covering, says he, with the seven leaves of which the book is composed, are of *lead*: in each leaf there are letters engraved (*gravées*) some Greek, others Hebrew, others Etruscan or Latin. They are unintelligible, as are the figures which accompany them. [They are Egyptian Gnostic figures; like the former.] Father Bonanni cites a passage from Tacitus, in which mention is made of similar *tablets of lead*." These *books* are so full to our purpose, that we waive all reference to the testimony of Pausanias; who mentions the "Works and Days" of Hesiod as written on *plates of lead*; and also, to the testimony of Suetonius, who, in his life of Nero, calls this sort of plate *chartam plumbeam*, leaden paper.

But we must not quit this part of our enquiry, without observing that Lieut. Col. FITZCLARENCE in his *Tour from India to England through Egypt*, says "Mr. SALT, at Cairo, shewed me a piece of linen covered with hieroglyphics, which appeared exactly as if it had been *printed*." Will this vindicate the expression used by Job? The subject is curious; and deserves investigation.

The custom of burying the dead in rocks needs no other proof than that of the Sepulchres of the Kings, at Thebes in Egypt; that such sepulchres had inscriptions sculptured on them, it were waste of time to demonstrate. Dr. Pococke saw inscriptions cut in the rock, in these tombs: [*Descrip. of the East*, vol. i. p. 98, 99.] These are written in hieroglyphics,—which is evidence of their antiquity. There is also a line of hieroglyphics, in the second Pyramid; as Greaves reports, p. 106, 107. Some of the most ancient as well as most interesting, have occasionally come under our notice, in articles already considered.

We are now able to understand why the man of patience does not use the customary term for *words*, in the opening of this passage,—“O! that my *words* were written,”—but וַיִּכְתֹּב. This root seems to imply—to *hint*,—to *recall ideas to remembrance*—to *renew former sensations*. So, Gen. xxi. 7. “Who would have *hinted* to

Abraham—or renewed in his mind, though in a mode the most concise, the idea that Sarah should give children suck? whereas, I really have borne him a son in his old age.”—In the youth of Abraham and Sarah, this was a natural—a primary idea; in their old age it was a *renewal* of that idea. Again, Psalm xix. 5. The continued discourse of day and night, the firmament, &c. is gone out through all the earth: their *renewals of instruction*—admonition, they *hint*, or suggest, to the ends of the world. So ADDISON, speaking of the Moon,

Which nightly to the listening Earth,
Repeats the story of her birth.

This repetition is without *words*: or, if words be attributed to the firmament, &c. it must be metaphorically. But in Prov. vi. 13. even this is inapplicable:

A wicked man winketh with his eyes;
He speaketh with his feet;
He teacheth with his fingers.

In this passage, the term cannot possibly mean *words*: the feet cannot *speak*; they cannot by posture and position convey ideas absolutely new into the minds of bystanders; but they may *hint* at matters, or circumstances; they may *renew former ideas* in the minds of those who have previously been acquainted with the intention of those motions. That which, in the instance of the tomb is capable of *renewing former ideas*, a sepulchral *cause of re-cognition*, must be a *short* inscription, a record; a *BREVIATE*; a *concise* history, character, or &c. of the person whose remains are enclosed in that mansion of death.

Under this conception of the import of the text, we venture to assign the following sense to the passage:

Who will favour me that my SEPULCHRAL BREVIATE should NOW be written in the inner
surface [literally, *hollow*] of a SCROLL!
Should be engraven with an iron stylus on a PLATE OF LEAD!
Should be, for perpetual duration, deeply sculptured in the LIVE ROCK!

If the Royal mourner be asked,—“Why, what should be the contents of this important document, about which you are so anxious? What is the testimony you wish to record to the end of time, as your conviction?” He replies, “Even in this desolate condition, I say, I SHALL ARISE!”—The sentiment is equivalent to the RESURGAM of modern monuments.

But, here we must recollect, that as Job had alluded to the Egyptian mode of burial of eminent persons, he continues the idea; and states his expectation of being treated as chiefs of equal dignity were treated in Egypt,—Jacob, for instance, —to be embalmed; to be eviscerated: the shell, or hollow trunk of the body, only remaining; as we see in all mummies, now in the cabinets of the curious. He proceeds to describe the contents of this *breviate* accordingly:

For I myself know that my REDEEMER liveth,
And ultimately over the dust he shall stand:
Though closely following my skin, they have bandaged around THIS (*body*),
Yet in my flesh I shall see THE SUPREME:
Moreover, I myself shall see Him for myself;
And my own eyes shall behold him, and not another's:
My desires shall be absolutely consummated in my (hollow) trunk.

If such were the sentiments Job wished should be perpetuated in his coffin,—at his tomb, for ever; by a paper scroll, or by a leaden book, or by the live rock,—is it possible to doubt his belief in the resurrection of the dead?

No. DCCXXVI. A LEGIBLE SEPULCHRAL BREVIATE, FOUND WITH A MUMMY.

THE principles of the foregoing No. stand in no need of confirmation, after the evidence adduced; yet the article now to be set before the reader will contribute illustration on points which hitherto could be only guessed at. We could not pretend to gratify the curiosity that might wish to know the contents of the sepulchral scrolls buried with the ancient Egyptians, because neither the character nor the language are understood by us; in the present instance those impediments are removed, and we have now the satisfaction of announcing information from which the veil of secrecy and ignorance is withdrawn.

Our authority is a tract in German, printed at Berlin, 1821. containing an "EXPLANATION OF AN EGYPTIAN CONTRACT WRITTEN ON PAPYRUS, in *cursive Greek characters*, dated 104 years before A. D. Read January 24, 1821. at the Royal Academy of Sciences, by Augustus Böckh, Member of the Royal Academies of Berlin and Munich." [Reported on by M. JOMARD, *Revue Encyclop.* Vol. x. p. 370.]

The history of this interesting document informs us, that the original was obtained from Upper Egypt (the Thebais) where it had been preserved in the hand of a mummy, from the time of its deposition *twenty centuries* ago. The purchaser of this mummy was M. John Anastasius, Swedish Consul at Alexandria, who took out the manuscript, and enclosed it between two glasses, as the most curious article of his collection. General Minutoli, who travels in Egypt and the East, by order of the Prussian government, procured a *fac simile* of the papyrus, which he transmitted to the Academy at Berlin. The preservation of this papyrus is attributed to the power of the balsams with which the mummy had been impregnated, and to the extreme dryness of the tomb in which it had reposed.

The size of the manuscript is about 22 inches in length by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height: on the left is the impression of a kind of seal, representing a bearded head with a helmet on, as common on Greek medals. The writing is divided into three parts: the first part, comprized in five lines, marks the date, and the names of the officers of religion for the time being. The second part, in eight lines, contains the body of the Contract; the third part, also in eight lines, is a registration; no doubt, in some public office. These lines are shorter than the others,—and in a different hand-writing; the characters are more slender, are closer together, and are evidently written in haste. These particularities lead to the inference that this papyrus is the original of the act: and that, the mummy with which it was found is that of the purchaser named in the contract.

We are obliged to three German literati for decyphering and translating this document; M. Bekker first attempted to read it, and after making out the greater part, he transferred it to M. M. Böckh and Buttmann, who attached themselves to the difficulties it presents, till, at length, very few words, and those of no importance, remain not understood. The following literal translation may convey an idea of it.

THE CONTRACT OF PTOLEMAIS:

Under the reign of Cleopatra and of her son Ptolemy surnamed Alexander, gods Philometors, [*Mother-lovers*.] Soteris [*Saviours*] in the 12th year which is also the 9th;—under the Pontiff, residing at Alexandria, of Alexander, and of the gods Soteris, and of the gods Adelphe [*Brethren*] and of the gods Euergetes [*Benefactors*] and of the gods Philopators [*Father-lovers*] and of the gods Epiphanes [*Illustrious*] and of the god Philometor, and of the god Eupator, and of the gods Euergetes; under the Athlophorate [*prize-bearer*] of Berenice Euergetes, and the Canephorate [*sacredbasket-bearer*] of Arsinoe Philadelphie and of the goddess Arsinoe Eupator, in Alexandria;—at Ptolemais in the Thebaid, under the priests of both sexes of Ptolemy Soter, who are at Ptolemais,—the 29th of the month Tybi [*February*] under Apollonius superintendant of the Agoranomia [*market laws*] during this month, at [the office of] administration of the property of bare lands, in the Tathyritic [nome.]

Sold by PAMOUTHES... of black complexion, handsome, of slender body, round face, straight nose;—also, by ENACHOMNEUS... yellow complexion, likewise of round face, straight nose; and SEMONTHIS PERSINEI... of yellow complexion, round face, nose rather aquiline, somewhat swelled; and MELYT PERSINEI... of yellow complexion, round face, straight nose; with their master PAMOUTHES co-vendor; all four of the corporation of *Petolitostes*, among the manufacturers of Memnonian leather; of a property of bare land, belonging to them in the southern part [of the ward] of the Memnonians; containing five thousand and fifty cubits; abutting southward on King-Street, northward and eastward on the property of PAMOUTHES and BOXON ERMIOI his brother, and the town lands; westward on the house of Tophis son of Chalomn; passing through the midst of..... adjacencies on all sides.

Bought by NECHOUTHES, small of stature..... yellow complexion, agreeable, long face, straight nose, a cicatrix in the middle of his forehead, for 601 pieces of copper money: the sellers acting as brokers, and warranting whatever relates to this purchase.

Accepted by
NECHOUTHES,
the buyer. [*Here follow
other signatures.*]

In the 12th year which is also the 9th, the 2. of Pharmuthi, under the..... under which Di.... being superintendant of contributions [*Diagrapheus*] Chotleuphes, deputy superintendant [*Hypographeus* or *Hypogrammateus*] Heracleides controller of the sale [*Antigrapheus*] NECHOUTES small of stature..... a property of bare land of 5,050 cubits,... situated in the south of the Memnonians, which he has bought of PAMOUTHES, and also of ENACHOMNEUS, who has signed with his sisters, for 601 pieces of copper money.

[*Here follow characters completely interlaced; perhaps, the initials of the sellers: or, possibly, the cyphers of the official registrars; with references to the entries in the books of their offices.*]

* * * The interval from the sale of this property to its registration—from the 29th of Tybi to the 20th. of Pharmuthi (February 13th to May 5th.)—is something less than three months. It is probable, that this was an allowed interval, according to law. Is it at all analogous to the reservation, Lev. xxv. 29, 30?

No. DCCXXVII.

SEPULCHRAL BREVIATE, APPLIED IN ILLUSTRATION OF JOB'S WISHES.

THE first inference from this ancient document is, the justification it affords to what we conceived might be the sentiments of Job. It exemplifies the nature of those Sepulchral Breviates at which we could previously only glance by induction. It contains an act of the defunct; a part of his history while in the land of the living; it is a testimony carried with him to his tomb; and, if he had been called in question on the subject of this purchase, whether by popular out-cry, or by judicial process, he directs its preservation, that when produced on his behalf before the gods, the judges of the dead, it may become evidence of his integrity, or, in another word, his righteousness. Who does not see in this, the very intention of the pious Patriarch? He wished that his scroll were written, that his sentiments were recorded, that his conviction of future retribution were inscribed for perpetual duration, and he appeals to what would be his feelings when the great day of investigation should arrive, and the personage whom he calls his Redeemer should come "to judge both the quick and the dead." We need extend the comparison no farther: it is enough that the intention we have attributed to Job, does not militate against the customs and opinions ascribed to his age, and to his character.

No. DCCXXVIII.

CURSIVE CHARACTERS, ANCIENT: ST. PAUL WROTE THEM BADLY.

WE now direct our attention to other consequences attending the discovery of this most ancient, and most singular Record. The reader will recollect that it is written in Cursive Greek Characters, not as if they were novelties, but as characters in common and popular usage, and that it is dated more than a century before A.D. Now this is three or four hundred years prior to the time in which the learned have supposed these smaller letters were coming into use. We risk nothing, therefore, in considering them as current in the first age of the Gospel; and, as they are so interlaced, so very perplexed, so intricate, as to be all but insuperably unintelligible, in this official document, where they should be most distinct,—we may ask, What they would be, what they *must* be, in the penmanship of a man whose hand trembled from the consequences of a nervous affection?

The reader perceives the allusion to the case of the Apostle Paul. It is no impeachment of his character or powers, to say, he could not write this kind of current hand intelligibly; or, to imagine what miserable effect must have followed the attempt to read his letters, so written, in public assemblies, when the reader must have paused at every other line, and at every other sentence must have been totally foiled! He directs that his Epistles should be communicated to all the holy brethren; but, unless he could have added a special gift of inspiration to speaker and hearers, they would have been the very reverse of edifying to the church at large, and to visitors, also, whether friends or foes.

We see now the reason why Paul employed an amanuensis; and what was the office of Tertius, Rom. xvi. 21. "I Tertius who *wrote* this Epistle,"—who copied off into capital letters what the Apostle had composed in a running hand, not proper for sending to you, or for general publication. And we have to confirm the distinction between *Epistles* (ἐπιστολαί) and *Letters* (γράμματα) as used by this writer, Gal. vi. 11. Ye see how *large a Letter* I have written to you, with my own hand."

No; the Apostle uses the term *Epistles* seventeen times to denote his works; but never the term *letters*; and therefore, we must coincide with the opinion that renders "Ye see that I have written this to you in LARGE LETTERS with my own hand." Writing, probably, at a place where he had no proper person with him to copy off his very indifferent manuscript, and therefore he was obliged to transcribe it into *literæ quadræ*, or *uncials* (πηλικά γράμματα) as well as he could.

Under the Article PAPHYRUS, in the *Dictionary*, *Add.* the reader has seen a conjecture, that the *books* referred to by St. Paul, consisted of papyrus sheets, containing first draughts, whereas the *membrana* contained finished performances. The antiquity under consideration supports that conjecture; as it proves that this Cursive manner of Writing was not only extant but was ordinary, in the days of the Apostle.

I think too, it may afford a glimpse of a reason why the minor Epistles of John, and that to Philemon, were not received into the Ecclesiastical canon, in the early ages: being addressed to friends, they might be written in this familiar, this unofficial kind of character—proof enough that they were not intended by the writers for general publicity: yet, as they became better known, and obtained sanction as undoubted productions of the authors to whom they were attributed, they gradually obtained places among their other works in S. S.

The "Christian Researches in the Mediterranean," by Rev. W. JOWETT, recently published, afford additional evidence on our subject. Says that gentleman, "There are on the island of Elephantina, [in the Nile, near Syene.] singular memorials of the Roman troops, which have been quartered here. Many broken pieces of red earthen ware, shreds of the potsherd, are found, which appeared to have served as tickets to the soldiers, assigning them their portion of corn. The name of *Antoninus* was found on some of them. They are written in Greek, and in black; *in a running hand, very similar to that which is used in a Greek Letter at this day.* They are in small pieces, about half the size of a man's hand; and each one appears complete, though *it is difficult to decypher them.*" p. 140. Difficult enough! I am sure, if they resemble the running hand of a modern Greek letter: of which whoever has seen either an original or a *fac simile*, will need no additional proof.

No. DCCXXIX. ST. LUKE IN DATING HIS GOSPEL, EGYPTIANIZES.

THE reader cannot but have observed the extra precision that characterizes the Date of this curious manuscript:—"Under Cleopatra and Ptolemy—the 12th year which is the 9th.—under the Pontiff at Alexandria—under Berenice Euergetes and Arsinoë Philadelphé—under the priests of both sexes who are at Ptolemais," &c. &c. —It was certainly proper to notice the years of the reigning sovereigns, and it might be well enough, perhaps, to mention the priests residing at Ptolemais: but, why advert to priests, in a civil transaction? and especially, why insert any reference to Alexandria, and to priests and priestesses in office there? That city was far from Ptolemais, and had no jurisdiction in the premises.

But see the force of habit, and association of ideas: when St. Luke determined to compose his history of the Gospel, he acts on the very same Egyptian notions: his Date is a fair counterpart to this before us.—"In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar—Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea—Herod being tetrarch of Galilee

—his brother Philip being tetrarch of Iturea—Lysimachus being tetrarch of Abilene—Annas and Caiaphas being high-priests.”——It might pass for a rehearsal of the Date to the Contract of Ptolemais, excepting only the “*gods and goddesses*.” As St. Luke is the only Evangelist who affects this precision, it proves that he was of a different country from the others: that he was accustomed to different forms; and that those forms were Egyptian. After this evidence, is it possible to doubt whether Lucius of Cyrene be our St. Luke? His country was connected with Egypt; he might even take his medical education in Egypt, which was famous as a school of medicine; but, if not, the same customs might obtain in Cyrenaica as in Egypt, and these the Evangelist adopts as proper in themselves, and moreover, as a matter of course. The whole forms a very singular confirmation of the authenticity of the Gospel of Luke; and the more it is investigated the stronger will that confirmation appear.

No. DCCXXX. OF SIMEON *NIGER*, *i. e.* THE BLACK.

MOREOVER, there is something very striking in the description of the parties to this deed, by their persons, their complexions. PAMOUTHES is specifically described as being of “a *black* complexion:” not a negro; but dark, swarthy, sun-burnt. We cannot suppose, that in this official register any degradation of his person was intended: the colour of his countenance is merely a mark of identity. Exactly the same is the mark of identity attached by St. Luke to Simeon surnamed *Niger*, *i. e.* the dark, swarthy, or sun-burnt. The Evangelist not only *Latinizes*, as we formerly observed, [No. DCXXXVI.] but he *Egyptianizes*; and this, while it shews his familiarity with the customs of Africa, affords no slight proof that this Simeon was of Cyrene, as well as himself: but, the Antiocheans were accustomed, as it should seem, to denote one by his complexion, *modo Egyptiano*, the other by his country. St. Luke certainly was not of black complexion; but, he might be “yellow,” as were the other parties to this contract. “There is nothing new under the sun,” says Solomon: a modern practice of describing travellers, &c. on their passports, by their personal features and stature, may now plead antiquity in its favour; and derive all the dignity of which it is susceptible, from the institutions of the Ptolemies, and, perhaps of the much more ancient Pharaohs.

No. DCCXXXI. EVIDENCES HIDDEN FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

ANOTHER word 'ere we close this subject. In No. LXXX. we have supposed that the Evidences of Jeremiah's purchase of a field, might, by proper care, being deposited in the ground, be preserved, as Evidences to be adduced after the expiration of the captivity,—seventy years. If that field in which they were buried, were dry—if there were in that field any rocky part, or other opening, affording a natural security against the access and action of water, then the purpose might easily be accomplished. We see, by the instance before us, that such a conveyance might be legible much longer than seventy years after its execution, which is attributed very much to the dryness of the sepulchre in which the document was found: admitting, therefore, the other circumstances of the case to be coincident, the heritors of Jeremiah's property might well enough avail themselves of the private deposition; and enter, with little trouble, on possession of the purchase of their ancestor, and so fulfil his prophecy.

No. DCCXXXII. PRICE OF LAND, ANCIENTLY?

THE Value of Land compared with that of money in ancient days, is an interesting but intricate subject of enquiry. Apparently, Land was very cheap; or money was very choice. Six hundred and one pieces of *copper* money, would not purchase the smallest plot of ground, however waste, in any modern metropolis. We cannot estimate them at more than three pounds sterling. The same may be thought of the "Potter's Field," at Jerusalem, bought for thirty pieces of silver, less than four pounds; and of Jeremiah's purchase at Anathoth—seventeen shekels of silver, say two guineas, the price for a field! All this seems very strange.

No. DCCXXXIII. OF DOUBLE DATES, AND PARTS OF YEARS.

THE conjoint reigns of two sovereigns, who may not begin their reigns at the same time, naturally gives occasion to a Double Date; and though we have found it impossible to acquiesce in the statements of Mr. BARUH, yet, it is far from our intention to invalidate what may be correctly argued on the application of this notion in elucidation of certain passages of Scripture. We say then, that if a writer should be found affirming that such an event happened in the *twelfth* year of some Egyptian sovereign, while another of equal credit assigned the same event to a *ninth* year; we are not, instantly, to accuse either of these historians of falsification; as the Contract of Ptolemais evinces that both might be perfectly accurate.

Nor is this an unparalleled circumstance: on the Medals of Antioch in Syria, (See the PLATE, Nos. 9. 10.) we have two instances of it. In No. 9. we read in the circular inscription, HK. 28. in the field of the medal we read, IB. 12. The difference between these Dates is *sixteen* years. It might, therefore, so happen, that two writers should differ no less than *sixteen years*, in placing the same incident; yet both be justifiable.

In No. 10. we have the Date, ϖ A. 36. also another, Δ N. 54. Now the difference between these Dates amounts to *eighteen years*; yet it is clear that both Medals refer to the same *Æras*, although there are two years, apparently different, between them. The probability is, that the medal in one instance was struck before the expiration of the years calculated by; whereas, the other medal was struck after the expiration of the full term marked on it. This certainly applies distinctly to sundry enumerations of years in S. S. in which Parts of a Year are sometimes reckoned for whole years; sometimes not; probably, according to the beginning of the year, intended by the writer. See YEARS in the *Dictionary*, *Add*.

On the Medal of Askalon, No. 3. we have also, two Dates; set close together, evidently by design, with lines between them—rather to mark a separation than to affect their value as numerals. ϖ N. 56. and BP. 102. The difference between these Dates is *forty-six years*: and it is, evidently, impossible to account for this discrepancy, without obtaining such acquaintance with the history of the town as may enable us to comprehend the intention of the medallist.

In the Explanation of these Medals, among that of the PLATES, the reader will find the sentiments of the learned on this subject; that it should have its difficulty, as it certainly has its obscurity, cannot be wondered at. Perhaps, more correctly, it is rather wonderful that we can understand these duplicities, at all.

FRAGMENTS,

FRAGMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

VARIOUS PARTICULARS

IN THE

IDOLATRY MENTIONED IN HOLY WRIT.

.....

THIS Article will not be extensive; its purpose being merely to introduce additional observations which have struck our attention *en passant*. It is well known, that the subject of the Gods of Syria, with which are connected the Gods of Egypt, and others mentioned in Scripture, has given occasion to large and learned works. The enquiry is by no means exhausted; the discoveries made by our countrymen in India, the researches of the curious in parts of Egypt and Africa, formerly unexplored, the greater attention paid to remains of antiquity in the North as well as in the South; the diligence with which the evidence afforded by these has been combined and drawn into inference, all contribute additional light on the subject.

We may remark, also, that the Deities of the later ages of Scripture are now become, as it were, familiar to us. By means of statues, busts, medals, and representations, no longer confined to the cabinets of the curious, we are able to point out many particulars, and to explain many difficulties, formerly thought insuperable. In the mean while, we are under great obligations to those Literati who have investigated the ancient languages of the countries principally connected with our enquiries. If there still remain many things obscure and embarrassing, what they have elucidated is so much gain; and the others may, in time, meet with equal good fortune. The talents and industry of our countrymen and others have been directed into channels analogous to Biblical enquiry, the connections formed by our establishments, commercial and political, contribute to the same general consequence, the disposition of the ingenuous inclines to the same point, and the spirit of enquiry being excited, it is not the character of Britons to stop at half-measures. We venture to predict, that a few years will justify many expectations of the learned; and will afford means of a more complete system than has yet been seen. To that distinction the present observations make no pretensions: they are at best but loose hints, or cursory suggestions, and in that humble sense are submitted to the reader.

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No. DCCXXXIV. GILGAL.

EVERY thing leads to the conclusion that the Religion of mankind was originally the same, in its objects, its principles, and its rites: and that, to wherever the original tribes of men migrated, with their natural fathers at their head, or wherever they settled, they retained those religious customs, notions, and references, which they had received as part of their patrimony, in the land of their primary

residence. This is of some consequence to us, because Scripture being in many passages very concise, or merely employing allusions, the writers in numerous instances taking things to be too well known to need explanation (as indeed they were, to their original readers), we are glad to avail ourselves of whatever may contribute to a better understanding of those concisenesses, those non-explanations, which puzzle and perplex readers of the present day. We naturally turn with a feeling of general interest to our own island; and especially, when any remains of that Original Religion which we have attributed to the first families of mankind are discovered in it, we embrace with pleasure the opportunities they afford of enquiring what relation they bear to subjects incidentally noticed in Scripture. When among the national antiquities of Britain some great Stone raised into an upright position presents itself, as a memorial, we recollect that Jacob raised a stone as a memorial, too; when our notice is attracted by many Stones forming heaps, the heap of many stones formed by Jacob and Laban recurs to recollection; stones of great magnitude ranged with labour, effort, and skill, in a Circle, remind us that Joshua directed the men of Israel to range a circle of great stones: and when the idea of a holy place, a place of worship, is connected with such a structure of stones, we enquire whether somewhat similar were not the character of Gilgal, so often and so solemnly mentioned in Holy Writ,—the “*quarries*” [English Tr.] which may perhaps receive explanation from Druidical remains still extant in this island. Was Abraham a Druid?—He was as fond of the oak as any Druid could be. Was Joshua a Druid?—He certainly conformed to that character, when he raised a great stone under the oak at which stood the tabernacle at Shechem; and when he observed, that the venerable tree “had heard the words of the covenant,” &c. Was Samuel a Druid?—When he erected his *Ebenezer*, his “stone of help,” he did that which a Druid would have done. Did Moses forbid the use of iron, the contact of which would have been a pollution to the stones of the altar? The same did the Druids: they also might say “An altar of earth, or of rough stones, stones in their natural state, shalt thou raise.” The subject of this paper will, it is presumed, vindicate these recollections; but, it will be remembered that they are suggestions only, not even propositions, much less are they *dogmata*.

No. DCCXXXV. DRUIDICAL MONUMENTS.

DRUIDICAL Monuments consist of OBELISQUES, being large Stones, or Pillars, set up perpendicularly, CARNES or CARNEDES, CROMLEHS or CROMLECHES, KIST VAENS, ROCKING STONES, TOLMEN or Stones of Passage, ROCK BASONS, and CIRCLES, or OVALS. [Extracted from GROSE’s *Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 135, &c.]

OF SINGLE STONES.

These Monuments are the most simple, and undoubtedly of more ancient date than Druidism itself; they were placed as memorials recording different events, such as remarkable instances of God’s mercies, contracts, singular victories, boundaries, and sometimes sepulchres: various instances of these monuments, erected by the patriarchs, occur in the Old Testament. Such was that raised by Jacob at *Luz*, afterwards by him named *Bethel*; such also was the Pillar placed by him over the grave of Rachel. They were likewise marks of execrations, and magical talismans.

CARNES.

CARNES, or *Carneds*, were commonly situated on eminences, so that they might be visible one from the other: they are formed of stones of all dimensions, thrown together in a conical form, a flat stone crowning the apex; the ramp or ascent is generally pretty easy, though TOLAND supposes the Druids ascended them by means of ladders. Carnes are of different sizes, some of them containing at least an hundred cart loads of stones. According to the writer above cited, fires were kindled on the tops, or flat stones, at certain times of the year, particularly on the eves of the first of May and the first of November, for the purpose of sacrificing; at which time all the people having extinguished their domestic hearths, rekindled them from the sacred fires of the Carnes.

Mr. ROWLAND, in his "*Mona Antiqua*," supposes the smaller *Carneds* to be sepulchral monuments, formed with stones thrown on the grave by the friends of the deceased, not only with intent to mark the place of their interment, but also to protect their corpses from wild beasts and other injuries; but he allows the larger monuments of this kind, particularly, when accompanied by standing pillars of stone, to have been erected as marks of sacrifices, or of some religious ceremony; such as the solemn convention recorded by Moses to have been made between Jacob and Laban.

KIST VAENS.

KIST VAENS, that is, Stone Chests, commonly consist of four flags or thin stones, two of which are set up edgeways, nearly parallel; a third, shorter than the other two, is placed at right angles to them, thus, forming the sides, and closing the end of the Chest; the fourth, laid flat on the top, makes the lid or cover, which, on account of the inequality of its supporters, inclines to the horizon at the closed end. Mr. TOLAND supposes Kist Vaens to have been altars for sacrifice, most of them having originally belonged to a circle or temple; the inclination of the covering he imagines to have been intended to facilitate the draining of the blood from the victim into that holy vessel which was placed to receive it: he denies their having been places of burial, saying the bones frequently found near them are remains of the victims. These monuments are in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey still called *autels*, or altars; and *poquelays*; *i. e.* a heap of stones. Mr. BORLACE, in his "*History of Cornwall*," combats the notion of their being altars for sacrifice; on the contrary, he judges them to be sepulchral monuments, and, in support of his opinion, urges several reasons. Mr. ROWLAND takes the middle between both, saying, "their being sepulchral monuments I deny not, but there may be some appearance of truth, yet consistent enough with what I have said of them, for they may be both sepulchres and altars in different senses; I mean those of later erection, because when the great men of the first ages fell, who were eminent among the people for some extraordinary qualities and virtues, their enamoured posterity continued their veneration of them to their very graves, over which they probably erected some of these altars or *cromlechs*, on which, when the true religion became depraved and corrupted, they might make oblations and other sacrifices to their departed ghosts.

THE CROMLEH.

The CROMLECH, or *Cromleh*, chiefly differs from the Kist Vaen, in not being closed up at the end and sides; that is, in not so much partaking of the chest-like figure; it is also generally of larger dimensions, and sometimes consists of a greater number of stones; the terms Cromleh and Kist Vaen are however indiscriminately used for the same monument. The term Cromlech is derived from the Armoric word *crum*, crooked or bowing, and *leh*, stone, alluding to the reverence which persons paid to them by bowing. ROWLAND derives it from Hebrew words, signifying a devoted or consecrated stone.

CIRCLES, OVALS, &c.

These, it is now generally agreed, were temples, and many writers think that they were also places of solemn assembly for councils or elections, and seats of judgment. Mr. BORLACE is of this opinion; "instead therefore (says he) of detaining the reader with a dispute, whether they were places of worship or council, it may with great probability be asserted, that they were used for both purposes, and having for the most part been first dedicated to religion, they naturally became afterwards the *curiæ* and *foræ* of the same community."

These temples, though generally circular, occasionally differ as well in figure as magnitude; with relation to the first, the most simple were composed of one circle: Stonehenge consisted of two circles and two ovals, respectively concentric, while that at Bottalch, near St. Just, in Cornwall, is formed by four intersecting circles. And the great temple at Abiry, in Wiltshire, it is said, described the figure of a seraph, or fiery flying serpent, represented by circles and right lines. Some, besides circles, have avenues of stone pillars. Most, if not all of them, have pillars or altars within their penetralia or center.

In the article of magnitude and number of stones, there is the greatest variety. Some circles being only twelve feet diameter, and formed only of twelve stones, whilst others, such as Stonehenge and Abiry, contained, the first one hundred and forty, and the second six hundred and fifty-two, and occupied many acres of ground.

EXPLANATION OF THE SUBJECTS ON THE PLATE.

Fig. A. is a simple Stone, of sufficient magnitude not to be overlooked, when erected in some conspicuous situation, as a mark, or memorial of some transaction, &c. Such a stone might be called in Hebrew מצפה, *mitjpeh*. So we read, Gen. xxviii. 18. "Jacob took the stone which had served him for a pillow, or shelter for his head during the night, and set up (נתן את) that very stone, for a *mitjpeh* or pillar; and poured oil on the head of it:" it was a single stone, certainly. It should appear from chap. xxxv. 7. that Jacob afterwards proceeded to augment, "as it were, the consecration of this place, in a manner yet more solemn; for he built an altar there, or at least a sacrificatory; and verse 14. Jacob set up a pillar, even a pillar of stone, i. e. a large stone, or several stones, as foundation and superstructure, perhaps, for a memorial. It should seem that, in after ages, the veneration of the people, his descendants, for these pillars, and for others of a like nature, led to a prohibition of them; for we read, Lev. xxvi. 1. "You shall make no *alilim*, nor *pesil*, nor *mitjbeh*; nor shall you erect to yourselves a stone of obser-

vation, *i. e.* an observable stone, in your land, *to bow down to it.*" This *bowing down*, was no doubt, of the nature of the worship paid in the high places often mentioned in S. S. the principle of which appears to have maintained itself so late as the discourse of the woman of Samaria, "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain:"—and, indeed, this veneration, is not wholly extinct at this day, even in Britain.

We read, Josh. xxiv. 26. that "Joshua took a great stone, and set it up in Shechem, under (ר) THE oak which was IN (ב), the sanctuary of the Lord; and said, "This stone shall be a witness," &c. it will follow, that Joshua did not understand the precept in Leviticus as prohibiting national memorials, but as prohibiting a form of idolatry; against which he concluded he had guarded sufficiently by erecting this stone in a place already dedicated to the worship of Jehovah.

We read also, 1 Sam. vi. 18. of a great stone (Åbel) which seems to have afforded a proper place for sacrificing. Samuel also, as related in the next chapter, erected *Eben-Ezer*, the "Stone of Help," as a memorial of national mercy and deliverance. This prophet, therefore, like Joshua, understood the prohibition enacted by Moses, as applicable only to the abuse of such memorials.

Mr. GROSE, as we have seen, describes KIST VAENS and CROMLEHS as nearly similar; and ROWLAND, another writer on British Antiquities, derives the latter from Hebrew words, signifying a consecrated stone. It is not certain whether any difference be intended by a distinction between the Hebrew מצפה, *mitjpeh*, and מצבה, *mitjbeh*, *mitjbit*; but, possibly, *mitjpeh* implies a single stone, a pillar only; and *mitjbit* may mean a cavity of stones, or stones so placed as to form a kind of house, or, at least, several stones in relative combination, as it seems to include a plural signification. If so, may this be the *Kist-Vaen*, or *Cromlech*, which bears some similitude to a house? (at least it is a *construction* of stones;) might such be the *tumulus* which Jacob raised at the grave of his beloved and honoured Rachel? Gen. xxxv. 20. Rachel died; "and Jacob set up a *mitjbeh* (ב) over her sepulchre, or grave: This is the *mitjbit* of Rachel's grave to this day:" *i. e.* Jacob formed a mound of earth, over the place where Rachel was buried [the *taphos* of the Greeks]; in the interior of this he cased a grave with stones, and laid a stone of the greatest magnitude he could procure, on the top of the whole: with perhaps, a pillar rising above this mound? which pillar [the *stèle* of antiquity.] was visible from a distance. Homer furnishes instances of similar erections.

Fig. B. C. are CROMLEHS; the first stands near Dundalk, in Ireland: the second near Plaisnewdd, in Anglesea. Fig. D. are KIST VAENS; that these are sepulchral, seems to be effectively shewn by Mr. GROSE; but Mr. KING, in his "Munimenta Antiqua," considers these also as altars, and thinks, that human sacrifices were publicly offered upon them: an idea not to be adopted till after adequate examination, as the number of these *cromlechs*, yet extant, would imply a very great waste of human blood: and, doubtless, these bear but a small proportion to the number of similar edifices destroyed, of which later ages have known nothing.

Fig. E. is a CARNE, or CARNEDD; in fact, a mound or hill of stones. On this we observe, first, that this appellation is undoubtedly from the Hebrew קרן, *keren*, or *kern*, usually rendered *horn*; but, which, very properly (as this example shews) is rendered by our translators, Isaiah v. 1. "My beloved hath a vineyard on a *very fruitful hill*:"—Heb. on a *horn*, the son of oil; *i. e.* such a *carn* or *kern*, as rises into the shape of a hillock—like the figure. Secondly, that as such collections of stones have very much the air of having been made in haste—instantly; it is probable, that not altogether unlike this was "the heap of witness" of Jacob and

Laban, Gen. xxxi. "And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a *mitjbeh*; and Jacob said to his brethren, "Gather stones," and they gathered stones, and they made (לג, GAL) a circle (or round heap, as our translators suppose) and called it *Jegar sahadutha*, or *Gal-od*; the Heap (or Round) of Witness—also *Mitjpeh*; saying, 'The Lord (*itjpeh*) *witness* between me and thee.' However, this is not meant to deny that they *might* take more time, and form a fairer circle of stones (of any convenient dimensions) like fig. F. which circle might surround the pillar or *mitjbeh*; for they seem to be distinguished—"This *circle* be witness, and this *pillar* be witness;" or, the pillar might be in the principal place, the front, or, &c. of such a heap, or *carn*.

Farther reference to fig. E. affords the remark, that it was customary to commemorate sinister events, the consequence of transgression, by raising a heap of stones over the burial place of the transgressor. So when Israel buried Achan, Joshua vii. 26. "They raised over him a great heap of stones," which endured for ages. The same over the king of Ai, Joshua viii. 29. The same in the instance of Absalom, 2 Sam. xviii. 17. "a very great heap of stones." Now these must have been more or less of the nature of this figure; and that such collections were well calculated for preserving the memory of events, appears by the existence of such memorials, from the remotest ages to this day, in our own country. Nothing of any farther pillar, *mitjpeh*, or memorial, is discernible as connected with these *tumuli*.

When the reader has considered fig. F. G. I would ask, whether they may not furnish some idea of the place, &c. named Gilgal, in the Old Testament: for we read, Josh. iv. 5. that twelve great stones were taken from the midst of the Jordan, to be a *sign*, when their children should ask in time to come; and verse 20. those twelve stones which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua pitch in *circle circle: gil-gal*. We have seen in Mr. GROSE, that sometimes the Druidical circles were single; sometimes they were more than one, concentric, sometimes otherwise; it is clear, that those stones pitched by Joshua formed a circle; and by attending to the history, we find it afterwards became a place of veneration and consequence. In chap. v. 9. another reason is added for the name *Gilgal*, not inconsistent with the former account; for the Rabbins relate, that the foreskins of the people formed two little hills; smaller no doubt, but in shape like fig. E.—these were *round round; i. e. gil-gal*; whence the name might imply, 1. Circles of Stones, and 2. Round heaps of foreskins; *i. e. circle upon circle*.

The Druidical circles were certainly temples, or they answered the purposes of temples: let us transfer this idea, with that of their proper attendants, to Gilgal; and consider a few passages. Judges ii. 1. "A messenger (margin) of the Lord came up from Gilgal,"—where was a station of priests, prophets, &c.—to reprove the people. Again, this suggests very different ideas on the behaviour of Ehud, Judges iii. 19. who having offered his present to the king of Moab, sent away his people who had brought it; but himself *returned*—to the royal presence, suppose, [or, shall we take the word in the Chaldee sense of it? *but he himself resumed his speech* relating to] *i. e. pretending to have been lately at the pesilim*, cuttings, carvings, which are (פסל, AT) the *very gil-gal*—circles. Here the word *pesilim* seems to denote the stones themselves; while *gil-gal* denotes the figure in which they were placed; *i. e. circularly*. Now, as Ehud affected to deliver a message from God, which he pretended to have received at this place, the king could not have credited this pretence, had not some establishment, capable of furnishing an oracle, been well known to exist there: consequently, the very pretence implies a sacred station.

A correspondent dignity is indicated in the circuits of Samuel, 1 Sam. vii. 16. *He went yearly to Bethel*, where unquestionably was a place of sacred stones, originating from Jacob; *to Gilgal*, where was another place of sacred stones; *and to Mizpeh*, where, as the name itself imports, was a pillar of commemoration. [*Vide* also 1 Sam. x. 17. Macc. iii. 46. Judges xx.] These places of sacred character, of public assembly, and therefore of national notoriety, Samuel chose for his stations of justice; surely for reasons derived from the nature of the places, and from ideas connected with them by the people at large, which should induce them to expect their principal magistrate, at such *courts of adjudication*.

Gilgal was also a proper station for offering burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, &c. The promise of Samuel to Saul, implies this, 1 Sam. x. 8. The people also transacted civil business there; for “the people went to Gilgal, and made Saul king, before the Lord in Gilgal”—the very Stonehenge of the Hebrew nation! 1 Sam. xii. 15. See also, chap. xiii. 7. xv. 33. Observe the same veneration for Gilgal, in the return of David, 2 Sam. xix. 15. 40. “Judah came to Gilgal to meet the king;”—“the king went on to Gilgal.” That a college of priests and prophets existed at Gilgal, is clear, from 2 Kings ii. 1. Elisha went with Elijah from Gilgal; which should seem to have been his customary residence.

When we recollect, therefore, that the Druidical circles of stones were temples; that the greatest Druidical circle of stones, in our island, was the place of assembly for the whole people, as it were; that here were solemn compacts made, solemn treaties ratified, and national faith pledged, to say nothing of the administration of public justice, &c. &c. the conformity to certain ideas which prevailed among the Hebrews in their early commonwealth, is striking; and those ideas their greatest prophets and magistrates were so far from reproofing, that they rather countenanced and supported them. The lesser erections of stones, their masses, their forms, their application, which appear most clearly in the earliest Scripture ages, support the acknowledgment, of a similitude no less striking between the remote islanders of the West, and the patriarchs of Palestine in the East. The sons of Japhet unquestionably derived many of their institutions from the same sources as the more favoured sons of Shem; and these resemblances confirm the proposition that “God has made of one blood all nations of men.”

Our Upper Figure is thus described by Mr. GROSE, *Antiq.* vol. viii.

DRUIDICAL TEMPLE IN THE ISLAND OF JERSEY.

This Temple is situated on the top of a pretty high rocky hill, near the town of St. Helier. It was covered with earth, perhaps done by the Druids to secure it from profanation by the Romans; in that state it had much the appearance of a large barrow or tumulus. It continued thus hidden till the Colonel of the St. Helier militia, procuring the ground to be levelled for the more convenient exercise of his corps, the workmen discovered and cleared it.

An exact model of this curious piece of antiquity was made on the spot, and sent to General Conway, governor of the island, from which, by the favour of the Hon. Mr. HORACE WALPOLE, the drawing was made. There was no scale to this model, neither were the cardinal points of the compass marked; but from an account and plan communicated to the Antiquarian Society, the whole seems to have been of very small dimensions; this Temple itself, compared to many structures of the same kind, being very little more than a model.

Many other Druidical monuments have been discovered here, and in the neighbouring islands of Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark; but most of them have been pulled down, and used for building, or repairing fences; this however proves that none of them were very large.

This Temple consisted of a circle of about twenty feet diameter, formed by rude unhewn stones set upright; and, when entire, had within it six cells covered at the top, and open inwards towards its center, called *Cromlehs*; the area of the largest of these was about four feet three inches square, its height three feet seven inches; another of less area measures four feet in height: one of these cells, on the north-east side, has been demolished; whether by the workmen in the discovery, or otherwise, is not certain.

To this circle, on the south-east side, is attached a covered entrance, the uprights composed of many rough stones set parallel to the diameter, and covered at the top by four equally irregular; this passage measures on the inside about fifteen feet in depth, five feet three inches in breadth, and four feet four inches in height. About five or six feet south-east of the entrance, is a single stone that seemingly belonged to the Temple.

This view shews the western side of the circle looking towards the inward opening of the covered passage or entry.—It was drawn 1786.

No. DCCXXXVI. CIRCLES OF STONES, EXTANT IN VARIOUS PLACES.

A FEW words on what may be deemed the universality of these applications of selected Stones, with the similarity of their arrangements, will be expected, in this place. For, having ventured to lay down, as a principle, that the Religion of mankind was originally the same, it is not perhaps, possible to select a more consistent proof of that proposition than what is afforded, by the remains of these constructions.

We find them—after so many ages of exposure, and vicissitude—we find them still numerous in the northern countries of Europe; and this is so generally known, that we shall only refer for evidence of it, to the *Travels* of Mr. COXE, in Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland, vol. v. p. 311. &c. That our own country abounds with them, is notorious to every British antiquary; and while a memorial of Stonehenge and Abury exists, Britain must be allowed to have possessed the most magnificent instances of the kind. Passing all these, with this mere suggestion, we shall now direct our attention to the regions of the East, wherein we suppose the custom to have originated; and which are more especially connected with the records of Holy Writ.

It has been thought that Jacob in consecrating at Bethel, the Stone on which he had slept, gave the example of such solemnities. I much doubt it; and rather think that he did for himself, what he had known to be the practice of others. Nor does it appear, that his circular constructions at Gilgal, were the first of their kind; his brethren were, much more probably, aware of his intention, and complied with the custom of their age and country. In No. CLXVI. the reader has seen the testimony of CHARDIN to the existence of “Large Circles of Stones” in Persia, so big that eight men can hardly move one.” Dr. E. D. CLARKE informs us, that at the hill Kûchûnlû, which forms a kind of altar to Mount Gargarus, or Ida, the seat of the Immortal Gods, are temples, from the remains of which to the top of the Kûchûnlû, all the way up may be noticed traces of former works; but upon the summit,

summit, a small oblong area, six yards in length, and two in breadth, exhibits marks of the highest antiquity. The Stones forming the inclosure are as rude as those of the walls of Tirynthus in Argolis; and the whole is encircled by a grove of venerable oaks, covering the top of the cone. The entrance to this area is from the South: upon the East and West, on the outside of the trees, are STONES *ranged like what we, in England, call DRUIDICAL CIRCLES.*" Vol. ii. p. 132.

These Circles are, certainly, prior to what we usually consider as the ages of the Greeks. We find allusions to others in Pausanias, but always connected with an *ancient* story. In his Corinthiacs, chap. 36. he mentions "a road of two hundred and fifty stadia in length, to Philanorium and the *Bolei*;—the *Bolei* are *heaps of CHOSEN STONES*;" they therefore, were not stones thrown together at hazard. Again in his Bœotics, chap. 19. "On proceeding in a straight line from Thebes to Glisas, you will see a place *surrounded with CHOSEN STONES*, which the Thebans call the *head of the serpent*. They say that a certain serpent raised its head at this place out of a cavern, and that Tiresias, who happened to come hither at the time, slew it with his sword." In plain English, it had been a place of worship, which worship was suppressed:—it was the *head*, or principal station of a serpentine figure, like our British Abiry. Not to pursue this farther, we quit Europe for Africa. Mr. SALT informs us (p. 439) that in Abyssinia, he saw loose piles of Stones, resembling "Cromlechs;" from which the earth had been washed away by the force of the periodical rains."

Mr. BOWDICH, in his "Account of his Mission to Ashantee," speaking of the Aggry beads, inserts a letter from a gentleman lately returned from India, in which the writer says,—"*The circles of Stones* in which these beads have been found, abound most in Malabar, in the neighbourhood of Calicut; but I have seen them in other parts of India, and am of opinion that they might be traced throughout the whole of the southern peninsula. They are formed of *large masses of ROUGH STONES, placed round in irregular circles*, some of very large extent, some of smaller; they appear so much like natural rocks that most persons would pass them unobserved. Several of these circles about three years since were excavated in the vicinity of Calicut, and in the centre of each of them we found, at the depth of about five feet, a large earthen jar, of the same shape as those found in Wiltshire, as near as we could judge, for it was broken to pieces. . . In the centre of one of these circles we came to a flight of seven steps, which led to a cave excavated in the rock: it measured eleven feet in diameter, and seven feet in its highest part; the entrance to it was a square opening of about eighteen inches, which was closed up by an immense block of granite. . . The large stones forming the circles were set upright, and capped with still larger ones. . . I have seen some of them ten or twelve feet high, and the large stone on the top from ten to twelve feet in diameter, or perhaps more. . . These tumuli are in general situated on the banks of the Cavery. . . These places are very antient: and the present inhabitants are quite ignorant of their origin."

We need say no more in support of our proposition that the Religion which caused these Circles of Stones to be constructed, in so many, and so distant places, was once very general among mankind. We have traced them in India, in Persia, in Western Asia, in Greece, in Northern Europe, in the British Isles: farther proof is unnecessary; the evidence is sufficient, and the inference is most just, that their origin may safely be placed in those remote ages when the Patriarchal religion maintained

itself in much of its primitive simplicity, and while the different tribes of men retained the rudiments, if not the vigour, of those principles which had been communicated from their highly venerated, and not very distant, primæval ancestors.

No. DCCXXXVII. PLACE OF FIRE, OR FURNACE.

IN No. LI. we attempted, by means of a custom among the Hindoos of walking over a layer of Fire, at the Festival of Darma Rajah, to change the common idea of a closed building as that in which the constancy of the three Hebrews was put to the severest test, for that of an open Furnace. It had not then occurred to recollection, that Syria itself afforded a corroboration of this suggestion, in a very curious antiquity still existing a little southward of Aradus, within one hour of Tortosa, and about a quarter of a mile from the sea. Though we know from many circumstances, that the superstitions of India spread throughout Western Asia, Persia, Chaldaea, Syria, and into Egypt, insomuch that Sir W. JONES conjectured that a great emigration had taken place about twelve centuries before A. D. so that we risk little, or nothing, in illustrating the practices of the West by those of the East, yet to find in Syria itself authorities for them, or indications from which our conjectures may derive support, is still more satisfactory and decisive.

We therefore present Mr. MAUNDRELL's account of an Article that bids fair to afford information applicable to a subject equally interesting and (hitherto) obscure.

EXTRACT FROM MR. MAUNDRELL'S *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, page 20.

“This Dike was on the north side of the Serpent Fountain: and just on the other side of it we espied another antiquity, which took up our next observation. There was a court of fifty-five yards square, cut in the natural rock; the sides of the rock standing round it, about three yards high, supplied the place of walls. On three sides it was thus encompassed, but to the northward it lay open. In the center of this area was a square part of the rock left standing; being three yards high, and five yards and a half square. This served for a pedestal to a throne erected upon it. The throne was composed of four large stones, two at the sides, one at the back, another hanging over all at top, in the manner of a canopy. The whole structure was about twenty feet high, fronting toward that side where the court was open. The stone that made the canopy was five yards and three quarters square, and carved round with a handsome cornish. What all this might be designed for, we could not imagine; unless perhaps *the court may pass for an idol-temple, and the pile in the middle for the throne of the idol*: which seems the more probable, in regard that Hercules, i. e. the Sun, the great Abomination of the Phenicians, was wont to be ADORED IN AN OPEN TEMPLE. At the two innermost angles of the court, and likewise on the open side, were left pillars of the natural rock; three of each at the former, and two at the latter.”

The conjecture of Mr. MAUNDRELL, is every way ingenious, and probable, that the scene he delineates, is a Temple of the Sun: now, we know, that beside *Hercules*, *Bel*, or *Baal* was another name of the Sun; that in the East, especially, this name prevailed, and was general; and that the element *fire* was its object. Without farther introduction, the reader will have the goodness to admit, that the Golden Image erected by Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. chap. iii. was that of Bel, [we examined its *proportions*, &c. &c. in No. CL. and we hinted at the probable place of its inauguration, at Babylon, in Nos. DXCIV. DXCV.] that it stood in an *open* temple or

court; that the king ordered the execution of the three Hebrews, to take place in *the presence of* his image,—in the court of its consecration. This last concession would give a very different aspect to the history of the deliverance of the Jewish worthies, from what it is usually viewed under: but whether a different view of it may not lead to a better, may be indulged, without offence, as a *query*.

Observe, 1. The Chaldee word used to denote what is rendered “burning fiery FURNACE.” [כּוּנָה, ATUN, emphatically ATUNA,] signifies simply “a Place of Fire;” without determining its form, construction, or use. To suppose, therefore, that it was a building close, confined, and as it were, solid, is to limit the import of the original term unwarrantably. Mount *Ætna* (ÆTUNA) in Sicily, most probably, derived its name from this word, as a Place of Fire, a Volcano, which had several flaming mouths, each of which was a *furnace*; as Virgil describes them, *Eneid* iii. 571—582. *Georg.* i. 471. *Vide* Lucret. vi. 681. Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 340. This idea is perfectly synonymous with the use of this word in the *Targum*; for we know that the cities of the plain, Sodom, &c. were destroyed by a volcano, “and the smoke of the city went up as the smoke of a *furnace*,” which the *Targum* renders “the smoke of an ATUNA;” *i. e.* a Place of Fire. Gen. xix. 28. Now, the smother rising from an extent of burning country, or from a volcano, cannot be limited by the idea of a building, a furnace, a kiln; but is, in its very nature, spacious and expansive.

The account of the *Apochryphal* writer of the history of this miracle, says, that “the angel of the Lord descended, and smote the flame of fire out of the *Furnace* (or Place of Fire) and made the middle of the Furnace, as if a *moist, dewy, whistling, wind*” were passing over it. Admitting this passage of wind over it, it could not be a closed building. This seems to be finally determined, by the recollection that Nebuchadnezzar saw what occurred within it; which was absolutely impossible, if it were closed like our tile-kilns; but supposing it to be open, like the Place of Fire in our print, he might easily contemplate every occurrence of which it was the scene.

We are now to consider the propriety of admitting, that Nebuchadnezzar inaugurated his Image in the plains (*levels*,—“very large enclosure of a circular form,”) of Dura; that, in the open space of this circular enclosure, stood the worshippers; but that, on the refusal of the Hebrews to worship, a fire was kindled, like those already described in No. LI. like those formerly used in burning the martyrs, &c. in Smithfield; and that the king (as on one occasion a Lord Mayor of London, in Smithfield) commanded in person, “justice” to be done on the delinquents. This notion of an *open* Furnace, or Place of Fire, appears to be of some consequence to the proper understanding of the history: it is more congenial with the customs of the country, the idolatry of the people, and the supposed dignity of the occasion. It leads us also to infer, that this transaction passed in the very sight, so to speak, of this Golden Image; in defiance of its influence, and power, which no doubt, were presumed to be most vigorous, most concentrated, within the precincts of its own immediate residence: yet here, where most competent to exertion, it was baffled, counteracted, and defeated.

I see no just reason for doubting whether the open temple, mentioned by Mr. MAUNDRELL, being in the country of Tyre and Sidon, were used for the worship of the Tyrian *Hercules*, the *Baal* of the East, *i. e.* the Sun; whose representative on earth was elementary Fire. This element we know was the primary Deity of Chaldea, and the Chaldeans boasted of their Deity, as superior to all others, because, he was able to consume their representations, whether in wood, stone,

metal, or &c. The identity of these deities was maintained by the Tyrians also, hence we read, that to prevent his desertion from their city, they chained the statue of Hercules to the altar of Apollo. If then the deity of the Chaldæans was also the deity of the Tyrians, doubtless the rites of his worship were similar in both countries, and since we find an *open court* in Syria, still remaining, it takes off the difficulty (if any were supposed) in considering an *open court* as the scene of religious rites addressed to the same deity in Chaldea; we ought, moreover, to recollect, that the Pagan rites of worship were generally performed in an open court, before a temple, and rarely within the temple itself; perhaps, never when multitudes of people were expected as assistants.

It is probable enough that the history of the Fiery Furnace, is much more intelligible in the East than among ourselves; that the publicity of this execution would there be better understood; that the contest between (*Baal*) the deity Fire, and Jehovah, would there excite not merely the liveliest interest throughout the nation, but, that the result of it would produce the most general confusion on one side, and the most vehement joy on the other; also, that, when the Chaldæans saw their national deity vanquished, not by another element, as water, [of which we have a history] but by a protecting preserving Power, infinitely its superior, their perplexity would be extreme; and they would feel their embarrassment with all the tenderness of Eastern sympathy, and the exquisite sensibility of Eastern imagination.

We are I think, much beholden to Mr. MAUNDRELL for rendering very credible the notion of an *open* Furnace, and for furnishing an instance of a suitable construction of a sacred edifice for such purposes as are attributed to the (*ATUNA*), Place of Fire, in the history recorded by Daniel. There are among the Eastern people traditions of a similar trial of Abraham by Nimrod, and a similar deliverance; they might confirm our remarks; but for the present we draw no other conclusion, than that of the *open* construction of the Chaldean *ATUNA*: that the whole was transacted as a kind of sacrifice to the deity, and in the immediate presence of his consecrated image.

Mr. KING, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 226. has paid considerable attention to this structure, described by MAUNDRELL, and has compared it with the *Cromlechs* of Britain, which he supposes to have been altars used for human sacrifices: "that we know," says he, "were introduced in the earliest ages, among the detestable superstitions of the Tyrians, and Sidonians." That gentleman supposes what MAUNDRELL describes as the *throne*, to have been the *altar*, whereon the victim was slain; and he gives what he conceives to be a more correct delineation of this court, and structure, than that given by MAUNDRELL himself. For our own part, we have thought it a duty to copy faithfully the representations of travellers; and this subject, as well as others; since in our opinion, there is no difference between re-writing a passage in an author, instead of giving it in the author's own language, *verbatim et literatim*, and re-delineating a delineation, which the original author has thought proper to offer to his readers.

The Monuments represented on our Plate appear to be sepulchral, and the openings adjacent to them lead to the Vaults, &c. described in No. ccxi. May we suppose that previous to the interment of the persons (of rank, no doubt) for whom these sepulchres were designed, their corpses had undergone some kind of funeral service, or dedication to the divinity, in this open temple;—analogous to what is customarily performed in the Church, in our Funeral Service?

The Tower on the left in our Print, is 30 feet 2 inches high; that on the right is 33 feet high, of solid materials; but of rough workmanship. These pointed and cylindrical little buildings, erected over the *Cryptæ* described by Mr. MAUNDRELL, are called *Maguzzel* or *Spindles*, says Dr. SHAW.

No. DCCXXXVIII. TERAPHIM: LARES. WITH A PLATE.

ON this subject we remark, in the first place, that the Article *TERAPHIM* in the *Dictionary*, contains several suggestions of learned men: each has something plausible; and indeed, each advances somewhat toward the truth; though, perhaps, no individual has attained complete success. We can hardly avoid desiring the reader to peruse that Article, before we introduce additional considerations.

On the word *Teraphim*, the idea of SELDEN seems most likely, that *teraph* is a Chaldæan pronunciation of the Hebrew *seraph*; this variation between the two dialects being very common; but it may be doubted whether the word *seraph*, which signifies *burning*, denotes in this case, what is often understood by it, a superior rank of holy angels; but rather, according to its natural import, a *fire*-subject or *fire*-heated subject: what artists call *terra-cotta*, a burnt- or baked-clay subject, one which had undergone a high degree of heat, in the furnace, or kiln; as it is still customary to harden, by baking, models of clay, pottery, china-ware, &c. In all countries statuary *burn*, *bake* or *kiln-dry*, their studies, models for statues, &c. which are first sketched in clay. We accept therefore the idea of a burnt-in, or hardened-by-fire, or even fire-proof subject, as the import of the term *teraph* or *seraph*, when applied to figures capable of sustaining that process, of whatever matter formed; whether models of clay, casts of bronze, or of metal of any kind, which have passed the furnace.

With the *Teraphim* of Laban may also be connected the idea that they were his household gods; his *Dii Penates*: superior powers, which in his opinion protected his dwelling, and under whose auspices he desired constantly to dwell; as JURIEU supposed.

This naturally leads to the enquiry, 1. What were the *Penates* of antiquity, and what their offices? 2. What were their forms, or figure? 3. The application of these remarks to passages of Scripture, where the word *Teraphim* occurs.

N. B. The word *Teraphim* is plural, or dual, implying *two teraphs*; [but, whether more than *two*?] Possibly, it is an instance of the plural termination expressing *dignity, excellence*.

OF THE PENATES OF ANTIQUITY.

The Gods *Penates*, *Lares*, or *Genii*, were not always discriminated. The *Lares* are sometimes called *Genii* of places; but it seems rather desirable to restrain the *Lares* to the care of domestic establishments—property—or domestic concerns:—the *Penates* to the care of the house, or of houses in general; and *Genii* to places, whether in, or out of, houses, &c. But, though this be correct, it is often deviated from in antiquity, for we have inscriptions *Jovi et Geniis loci*; [Comp. No. 9. on the Plate of SERPENT WORSHIP.] where *Genius* evidently imports the protecting power, the same as the *Lares* and *Penates*; for other inscriptions are varied to *Jovi et Laribus*, or *Jovi et Penatibus*. *Genii* were also taken for the *Manes*, or departed Spirits of the dead. Apuleius, speaking of the demon or genius, of Socrates, tells us, “*Genius* is the soul of the man, liberated, and disengaged from

the confinement of the body." These were anciently named in Latin *Lemures*; from these *Lemures* those who take care of such as dwell with them in their house, [or are allied by consanguinity or affinity, supposed to reside in the paternal habitation] and who are kind and pacific, are called "Familiar Lares."—St. Augustin says nearly the same as Apuleius. Some have called them Tutelars, *Tutelæ loci*; and the Greeks seem to have used indiscriminately the titles, Θεοὶ ἐφεστῖοι, κατοικίδιοι, ομόγενιοι, εγγεῖς, ἐρκιοι, κτησιοι, μύχιοι, πατρωοι: "Gods, the Lares, domestic, born in the places, aborigines, defenders or protectors of houses and property, dwelling in the most secret—private—secluded—parts of the house, Paternal Gods. *Vide* Dion. Halicarnass. *lib.* i. p. 54.

The Lares, then, were House Protectors, and Beneficiaries to the domestic, private, and internal residence; and to the residents within such dwellings.

When boys were grown up to youths, and relinquished their *bullæ*, or balls, which as amulets, or talismans, hung from their necks, they suspended these *bullæ* to the images of the Lares of their houses, as Persius tells us,

Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit.

And Petronius says, "Three boys entered, clothed in white tunics; two of whom placed on the table, Lares, adorned with *bullæ*; the third, turning towards them, with a cup of wine, cried, "Ye Gods, be propitious to us!" *Dii propitii!*—To the same effect, Coriolanus, taking leave of his mother, his wife, and his country, concluded his address by these words: "Farewell, O Gods Penates! O Paternal Lares! O Genii! who occupy this place, farewell." Dion. Halicarn. *lib.* i. *vide* also *lib.* viii.

The number of Domestic Gods was gradually increased, till every god of every kind, if he were but placed within the habitation, was considered as a tutelary deity: and what Suetonius says of Augustus, seems to imply, that he had a spacious apartment in his palace, fitted up for the reception of his *Dii Penates*. "A palm tree," says he, "sprouting up between the joints of the stones, before his house, he ordered it to be carried into the court of the *Penates* Gods, and took great care to promote its growth."

There were also Deities supposed to be exclusively attached to certain cities (*Lares Urbani*) and places: *Lares Rustici*, over the country; *Lares Marini*, over the sea; &c. these were properly *Tutelary* Deities. The idea occurs in Scripture, 1 Kings xx. 23. "Their Gods [of Israel] are gods of the hills, and not of the valleys;" let us therefore fight in the valleys, where they have no power; and then we shall defeat Israel. This may shew how nearly the same sentiments were maintained in Europe as in Asia. For the manner of *evocating* tutelary deities from their cities, &c. *vide* the Article DEVOTING, in the *Dictionary*.

OF THE FORM OF THE LARES.

To the Lares, or Penates, was usually assigned the Form of that animal (the dog) which most faithfully and vigilantly takes charge of the house in the absence of its proprietor; intimating, that such protectors of a dwelling, like a guardian dog should be—kind, gentle, benevolent, toward the members of the family; their inmates, friends, visitors, &c.—but fierce, angry, and jealous, toward strangers or enemies. Moreover, they should be well acquainted with the house, and premises, and be at

no loss in superintending their charge. Other properties wherein the Lares should resemble dogs, are recited by Ovid, *Fast.* 5.

*Servat uterque domum, domino quoque fidus uterque est,
Compita grata Deo, compita grata cani,
Exagitant et lar, et turba diania fures,
Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilantque canes.*

If then, the protecting Lares were symbolized by a dog, we may be sure it was no common dog, but rather, like Anubis, a compounded figure, implying a combination of the intelligence of humanity, with the vigilance of the animal; a dog's head on a human figure. We learn from Plutarch, that the Romans entertained this idea very strongly: they not only supposed their Deities accompanied their dogs, but they represented them clothed with the skins of dogs: whence in *Quest. Rom.* No. 51. he asks, why the Lares, called properly *Prestiti*, [Watchers; comp. *Dan.* iv. 13; also, No. DII. a tutelary genius of the kingdom] are covered with the shag [or skin, &c.] of a dog?—Ovid tells us they were called *Prestiti*,

Quod praestent oculis omnia tuta suis:

because they looked sharply about them; to take care of what was committed to their charge. Nor let any Deity despise this office, for Jove himself is reckoned among the Lares: hence we have *Silvano domestico*, and *Jovi domestico*, “To Jove the domestic God:” and on this principle the puzzling inscription, SILVMIO DOMESTICO, may be read distinctly, DEO SILV-ano M-agno JO-vi DOMESTICO.

Among the Egyptians, the Lion as well as the Dog, was esteemed a watchful protector: whence says Horapollo, i. 18. “When the Egyptians designed to represent a vigilant man, or watcher, and also a guard (*φύλακα*) they formed a lion's head;” which custom, perhaps, arose from the report that the lion (as other of the cat kind) sleeps with his eyes open: [rather perhaps, from the presiding Deity on Mount Lion, the original Olympus; the Mount Meru of India. Comp. PLATE of INDIA center-piece.] Several statues yet remaining, represent Deities, as it were, in sleeping-watching posture, *velut nitentium*, winking, or blinking. They are thought by some, to represent the god *Petto*: others refer them to the Belphegor of the Moabites, of whom Vossius, Maimonides, *de Idol.* iii. 2, &c. and Selden, have treated. That the Egyptians adored human figures with animal heads, but especially with lions' heads, is witnessed by Tertullian, *Apol.* 16. Minutius Felix, *Oct.* 28: Athanasius, *Contra Gentes*, p. 20. Arnobius, vi. 10. and Porphyry, *de Abstin.* iv. 7. The priests in their public processions wore the skins of such animals, and paid other adorations to them. The recent acquisitions of the British Museum afford full proof of this: which is also evinced by the breviates found with the mummies; by various figures in the tomb exhibited by M. BELZONI, and by other instances, now well known among the inquisitive.

It will readily be supposed, that Gods represented *winking*, were rather sitting than standing: [Comp. No. CXIII.] Sitting was an attitude of residence, of receiving service, not of serving; and this in eastern countries, under a sultry sun, formed a strong distinction between the object of worship, and the worshippers intent on doing it honour.

Such was the attitude of the Domestic Gods of Rome, [of Greece] and of Egypt: the same was that of the Syrian Deities: which brings us nearer to our immediate subject. Such certainly, was the attitude of the famous *Palladium* of Troy; which was an image of *Athene*, usually taken for *Pallas* or *Minerva*, but

rather an allegory of guardian Providence, [the Watcher, as in Daniel, &c. already alluded to.] or thus: "Athena was daughter of Chronus," i. e. Vigilance is produced by Time; *Experientia docet*: [but properly, Chronus was one of the patriarchs saved in the ark, and Athene was his descendant.]

Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, lib. iii. cap. 11. intimates, that *Athene* herself shaped the image of the Palladium. Herodian and Servius hint that this image was of wood; as Herodotus says, the ancient Egyptian statues were; a particular lately justified by the discovery of several such statues, preserved in their original state, in the disinterred temples of Upper Egypt. Hence Tibullus says, when the Penates were of wood, faith was better kept than afterwards; but this implies the poverty, not the piety of a country:

*Tunc melius tenere fidem, quum paupere cultu
Stabat in exigua ligneus aede Deus.* Lib. i. Eleg. II.

The Palladium resembled the Egyptian statues in another particular; the legs were joined together. Apollodorus says it was, τοῖς ποσὶ συμβεβηκός, leg-united; [*Vide* No. CXIII. and PLATE.]

Heliodorus also, lib. iii. p. 148. says, the Egyptians made the statues [of their Deities with conjoined legs, as if united, τῶν θεῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τῷ πόδε ξεύγνυντες, 'καὶ ὡς περ ἐρμυτες ἰστᾶσιν: "to indicate, that their Deities do not travel, or move by walking, but glide through the air." So Virgil describes Venus when discovered by Enæas,

Et vera INCESSU patuit Dea.
"Smooth sliding without step." MILTON.

Herodotus relates, iii. 37. that Cambyzes, entering the magnificent temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, ridiculed the image of that God, because it resembled the *Pateci* of the Phœnicians;—i. e. a Pygmy. [*Vide* No. CCCXXII. and PLATE.] And that the Deities of the Trojans were represented *sitting*, the testimony of Dion. Halicarnasseus is decisive, who says, "in a temple near the Forum Romanum were two Trojan Deities, which were two young men *sitting*; armed, each with a spear. The sculpture was extremely old. We have other statues of the same Gods in the old temples, which are all in the military habit." [The reader will recollect the *Dioscuri*.] The Trojan Penates, says Varro, as quoted by Macrobius, were carried by Dardanus from Phrygia into Samothracia: Enæas brought them afterwards from Troy to Italy.

We should observe too, that Lycophron calls the Palladium φοινικεαν θεαν, "the Phœnician Goddess;" meaning by Phœnicians not the later Philistines, who make so conspicuous a figure in Scripture, but the Phœnicians, or Canaanites, an early colony from Egypt (or from India.) And, indeed, I think it admits of doubt, whether as Lucian says, *Herm.* 44. "The Egyptians [were the first who] expressed sentiments, i. e. symbolized, by means of men-figures with heads of dogs, and lions, instead of letters and words:" and more generally, as Lucan expresses himself, iii. 222. and Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 14. "*PRIMI per figuras animalium Ægypti sensus mentis exprimebant.*"—We ought however to note, that some have thought this manner of compounding the figure, was the origin of creature-worship; because the bestial part, when in union with the divinity as a symbol, acquired a sacredness, which it was thought to retain, when separated from its primary; hence it became an object of worship also. *Vide* WARBURTON and DORIGNY.

Thus

Thus we have described the *Dii Penates* of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Egyptians; and have traced them to Phœnicia, to Syria [and to India.] On the strength of these connections, and their inferences, we assume that those of Chaldea were similar; which leads us to examine the notions attached to the *Teraphim*, in Scripture.

1. Rachel stole her father Laban's Gods—*Teraphim*. Gen. xxxi. 30, 34. Accept these as the *Dii Penates* of Laban, and their importance becomes striking; we see too the reason why he lays so much stress on their loss, and why the climax of his complaint against Jacob terminates in the question "Wherefore hast thou stolen my Gods?"—Our Plate shews the probable size of these *Teraphim*; so that Rachel might easily convey them away, without the knowledge, or participation, of Jacob, and wrap them up, or cover them in the bundle of necessaries carried in her cur or car; as already noticed in No. DCLXXXVIII. 4.

2. We read, Judges xvii. 5. that Micah had a house of Gods—(we have seen Augustus have a whole apartment of Penates)—he had also "an ephod and *Teraphim*." I apprehend that by inspecting our Plate, on which figures Nos. 4, 5. are of bronze, we have pretty nearly the "molten image and the graven image," which the founder made for Micah; and probably, the expenses of making two such figures of silver, with their appurtenances, (pedestals, bases, &c.) might easily cost in those days, two hundred shekels of silver, which at 2s. 4d. each is about £.23. a sum not adequate to the formation of large statues. The importance attributed by Laban to his Penates, explains the urgency of Micah, who like Laban, pursued after his Gods, and risked his life in attempting to procure their restoration.

3. The "speaking" attributed to these Images may be understood in several senses. We should remember, that anciently there were many oracular statues; nevertheless, it may be questioned whether these *Teraphim* were *especially* more VOCAL, by office, than others: the expression, Zech. x. 2. "The *Teraphim* have *spoken* vanity," may be referred generally, to the disappointed expectation of their votaries, who enjoyed none of the good fortune attributed to their possessors; *q. d.* "they have failed in sending rain, and plenty: much was hoped for from them, but they have deluded those hopes—their patronage has been deceptive, absolutely useless:"—all which might be, without supposing powers properly vocal to be resident in them.

4. In 1 Sam. xix. 13. we have a history, in which the *Teraphim* bear a considerable part. "And Michal took *he-teraphim*, and the phrase expresses not only *he-teraphim*, but *AT-he-teraphim*, the *VERY TERAPHIM* themselves, and placed them—not *IN the bed*, but, literally, *ON the mithah* or duan, [Comp. No. XII.] and the cushion which usually lay at the back of the duan, and which was made of goats' hair, she took (b) FROM its head—or *heading*, its proper place, at the upper part of the duan; this she placed lower down, and wrapped, *enveloped it*, in a covering of clothes, as if to encourage proper warmth in a sick person; at the same time spreading the goats' hair with which it was stuffed, so as to resemble human hair in a state of disorder. Michal pretended that David lay there, sick; and the pillow being about the size of a man, and resembling, as much as she could make it, under its covering, a man drawn together by sickness, it passed for such, to the first messengers of Saul, who only respectfully and distantly beheld it; but the deception was detected on close inspection. What then did Michal mean, by placing the *Teraphim* on David's bed? 1. To commit him, as the principal resident in the house, to

the protection of her Household Gods ; 2. To procure a reverence, and security for the place, from her father's agents : as she probably foresaw her father would not respect even her female privacy, [See No. xxv.] and by this device she gained time, But, that these *Teraphim* were not equal to a man in size, should appear, from a moment's reflection on the difficulty of removing such cumbersome articles, though only from place to place, in the same chamber ; from the *conspicuous* idolatry they would have demonstrated in the family ; from the consideration that the cushion would answer the purpose full as well, and was much more manageable ; and from the time it would have occupied to have carried such a contrivance into effect ; whereas, on our principles, the whole might be done in an instant, and the story shews that there was not an instant to be lost.

These considerations militate against supposing the *Teraphim* to be the size, or nearly the size, of a man ; not to insist on the evident construction of the text, which those who refer the word (מְרַשְׁתִּי, *MERASHETIU*) translated “ for *his* bolster,” are obliged to trespass against, by referring a word in the singular, *his* bolster, to a word in the plural, *Teraphim* : this our rendering avoids, by referring the word to the *head-place* of this bolster, or cushion, and thereby takes the (ב) *from*, in its true, and regular construction.

I fear we must add to Saul's other imperfections, a pretty strong adherence to idolatry : for we find in his family the names of *Ish-BAAL*, *Mephi-BAAL*, &c. and, for what purpose were these *Teraphim* in the house of Michal, his daughter ? who *possibly*, thought they were the only things her father would respect. There was need, therefore, to displace this family from the throne of Israel, and to seat thereon a man “ who should perform the whole of the Divine will ;” and who, certainly, whatever faults he had, did not debase himself by idolatry.

5. We read, 2 Kings xxiii. 24. that Josiah put away the *Teraphim*, together with magic, wizards, familiar spirits, and all other sins, that were sufficiently open to be discovered, “ spied,” in our translation : which shews the most thorough reformation within the king's power was attempted, and, we may hope, was happily accomplished.

6. The consulting of his *Teraphim*, by the king of Babylon, Ezek. xxi. 21. need occasion no wonder ; it was but natural that he should pay such attention to his Household Gods : and as his enquiries referred to the success of his expedition, his action may be illustrated by what Virgil relates of *Enæas* : at least, the representations of Virgil may shew how greatly the *Penates* were respected anciently ; and the confidence unreservedly placed in them. Moreover, the anxiety of *Enæas* to preserve them, illustrates the anxiety of Rachel to obtain them :

*Ædibus in mediis, nudoque sub ætheris axe,
Ingens ara fuit ; juxtaque veterrima laurus
Incumbens aræ, atque umbra complexa PENATES.* *Æneid* ii. 515.

Uncover'd but by heav'n, there stood in view
An altar ; near the hearth a laurel grew ;
Doddered with age, whose boughs encompass round
The HOUSEHOLD GODS, and shade the holy ground. DRYDEN.

*Nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat.
Effigies sacræ divom PHRYGIIQUE PENATES,
Quos mecum a Troja mediisque ex ignibus urbis
Extuleram, visi ante oculos adstare jacentis*

*Insomnis, multo manifesti lumine, qua se
Plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras ;
Tum sic adfari, et curas his demere dictis :*

Æneid lli. 148.

The STATUES OF MY GODS, for such they seem'd,
Those Gods whom I from flaming Troy redeem'd,
Before me stood, majestically bright,
Full in the beams of Phoebe's ent'ring light.
Then thus they spoke,——

And we find they gave him advice of the course he was to take in his future wanderings. He also knew them to be his ancestors, by their portraits,

*Talibus adtonitus visis, ac voce deorum
(Nec sopor illud erat ; sed coram agnoscere vultus,
Velatasque comas, præsentiaque ora videbar)——*

I saw, I knew their faces, and descry'd
In perfect view, their hair with fillets ty'd.

7. The most difficult passage, perhaps, in Scripture is Hosea iii. 4. "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an Image, (*matzibeh*, which [Comp. Nos. CLXVI. DCCXXXIV.] might denote a monument of a covenant-sacrifice, or pacificatory-agreement, not necessarily an image) and without an ephod and *Teraphim*." Here 1. not only the *Teraphim* are associated with honourable things, but 2. the connecting "without" being omitted, they seem to be particularly united with the ephod ; as in the instance of Micah. That Israel should be without covenant-monuments, and without Household Gods, seems perfectly agreeable to their constitution as a nation ; but, that privation of their *Teraphim*, should be enumerated among punishments, seems somewhat strange ; unless the passage may mean—without public rites of appointed religion, and without even their favorite rites of private superstition ; they shall be weaned even from this, which has got so strong hold of them ; and which, as it should appear from this passage, they still continued. It implies, probably, a depth of distress :—not even their Household Gods shall be thought of by them.

The Jewish superstitious notion "we are the sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," is strongly referable to the principle of Penates, as Gods, Saviours, Protectors ; and some of the Rabbins have said things relating to Abraham's preserving all his posterity from hell, which exceed by far whatever of protection the ancients attributed to their paternal deities.

.....

On our Plate, Nos. 1, 2. are views of an Egyptian Isis, in the attitude and character of a Household God ; sitting, as if she designed never to remove from where she had taken her abode. Nos. 3, 4, 5. are three views of an Idol, which answers to the description of a Household God ; it is sitting ; it has moreover, an animal's head, which may be taken either for that of a dog, or that of a lion, it looks sufficiently watchful, and formidable, for either. No. 6. is an Egyptian Figure, in which the head is clearly that of a dog : and on the whole, I suppose, the dog's head was mostly adopted, at least by the commonalty, or rustics, &c. Possibly, the lion might best please the superior classes, and those who understood

the symbol, while the dog best pleased the peasantry, who knew by experience the value of that animal.

The reader will observe, that Nos. 3, 4, 5. are the size of the original, which is of bronze, in the royal collection at Herculaneum, vol. vi. p. 352. The size, attitude, nature, &c. of these Idols, seems to assimilate them very strongly to the Chaldean *Teraphim*; and as such they are now submitted to the acceptance of the reader.

No. DCCXXXIX. OF BEELZEBUB; WITH A PLATE.

“THESE two Heads are monuments of the ridiculous worship of the Gentiles; the first is in an antique paste, the other in a gem, both in the Museum *Stoschianum*; both of them are images of Jupiter, called by the Greeks *Απομύιος*, and by the Romans *Muscarius*, that is to say, *Fly-driver*—*Fly-expeller*; for to this Jupiter was attributed the function of driving away flies. This worship was introduced on occasion of a sacrifice offered by Hercules to Jupiter Olympius in Elis, which being infested with flies, he prayed to that god to drive them off; hence arose the worship in Elis, of Jupiter the *fly-expeller*. A similar image to that of No. 1. is on a gem, which Bellori has explained as signifying the Sun, whose heat refines honey; and by whom the feet of the fly are taken as allusions to the rays of the sun.” Winkelmann, *Monum. Ined.* p. 13.

It appears from this, that Bellori considered the god of flies as the god of bees, at the same time: might this be one reason wherefore HONEY was forbid to be offered on the altar of the Lord? as we find, Deut. ii. 11.

It is well known that the “god of flies” was named in Hebrew *Beelzebub*; and was considered as the patron deity of medicine. This is clearly implied in the conduct of Ahaziah, 2 Kings i. Moreover, that to the same deity was attributed power over evil spirits, with authority to expel them, appears from the language held by the Pharisees, Matth. xii. 24. Mark iii. 22. Luke xi. 15. where they accuse our Lord of combination with Beelzebub. If we look into heathen antiquity, we find that Greek Mythology considered *Apollo* as the god of medicine, and to him were also attributed those possessions by a *Pythonic* spirit, which occasionally perplexed and deluded spectators; of which Acts xvi. 10. furnishes an instance. See *PYTHON* in the *Dictionary*. *Apollo* too was the sun; and Bellori is correct in referring his gem to that deity. These principles, I apprehend, explain by what inducement Ahaziah sent to Beelzebub to enquire the issue of his accident: since Beelzebub was *Apollo*, and *Apollo* was the god of physic. They explain also the reason of that apparently strange expression of the Scribes, Mark iii. 22. “He hath Beelzebub”—*i. e.* he is possessed by a *Pythonic* spirit; “because they said, He hath an *unclean* spirit;” *i. e.* a supernatural inhabitation of a spirit derived from a heathen deity.

With this agrees the contrast in the following verses, between such unclean spirit and the Holy Ghost; it illustrates also the propriety of our Lord’s assertion, Matth. xii. 28. that he cast out devils, not by a *Pythonic* spirit,—not by an imaginary sovereign god of physic, but by “the Spirit of God.”

Some have thought that the Jews, who changed *Beelzebub* into *Beelzebul*, “god of a dunghill,” had some reference to the Greek *pytho*, which signifies *putrefied*: in Homer *epythonto* means “become rotten.” Pausanias, in *Delphos*.

No. 1. on our Plate, exhibits a Fly, delineated in such a manner, that the features of a human face appear indicated by his shoulders, while his head, wings, &c. retain the form of the insect: this allegory deserves notice, as being strictly, "God of THE FLY."

No. 2. Is a Head bearded and laureated, in fact a Jupiter, with two flies below, alluding to the deity which governed them.

No. 3. is a Medal of *Delphos*, where Apollo had a magnificent temple, and from whence he was named the *Delphian*. Goltzius, *Tab. viii.* On one side is a goat's head, referring to the story of the *Pythian* virtue, or *afflatus*, as having been discovered by a goat. It was afterwards solicited by a priestess, who gave oracles, &c. with the greatest applause. She was called the *Pythoness*, and received the inspiring effluvia while sitting on the sacred *tripos* in the Temple. [Comp. ORACLE, and PYTHON, in the *Dictionary*.] The quiver, and other figures on this medal, are direct references to Apollo. On the reverse is a fly: the same on the reverse of No. 4. These medals not only prove that Apollo was "god of the fly," *i.e.* *Beelzebub*; but, they prove that under this character he was peculiarly connected with the idea of a *Pythonic* spirit, an oracular inspiration, and therefore was the proper deity to be consulted concerning future events; especially those connected with subjects of a medical or chirurgical nature.

No. DCCXL. IMAGES OF BAAL AND MOLOCH.

THE Idolatry of India certainly travelled westward; and notwithstanding the reformatations of Zoroaster, Darius, or others, Persia, beyond all doubt, participated, more or less, in the worship of those deities which the predecessors of the Brahmins devised, and recommended to general adoption. But, there is great difficulty in tracing the connection; the subjects required to guide our opinion are rare; and the few which are known are obscure. This would render necessary a more extended investigation than we can at present institute; yet, by way of appreciating what the actual state of our knowledge affords, we shall combine descriptions of the subjects on our Plate, given by various travellers, who have inspected them at considerable intervals of time one from the other.

THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT OF TWO INSCRIPTIONS CUT IN THE ROCK, AT PERSEPOLIS;
ENGRAVED IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS, Vol. xvii. No. 201.

The first place is due to copies of two Persepolitan Inscriptions, engraved in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. xvii. No. 201. of which the following history is given by the gentleman who communicated them, who signs himself A. F. Esq. They were retrieved from the papers of Mr. FLOWER, agent in Persia for the English East India Company. While a merchant at Aleppo, he visited the ruins at *Chihelminar*, or *Persepolis*, for the purpose of procuring "*a draught of the place, and the stories there pictured and carved.*" Then follow the copied inscriptions, with an account of them, said to be taken at *Nocturestand*, and *Chahelminar*, in Persia, November, 1667.

"No. 1, 2. These two characters are engraven on the breasts of two horses, cut out of the mountain of black marble, at *Nocturestand*, distant a league from *Chahelminar*, or the ancient Persepolis; one whereof is said to be *Alexander's*, the other *Rustring's* [a famous hero, supposed to have lived about the time of Cambyes.]

No. 1. This character hath some similitude with the ancient Hebrew; but the Persians would have it their own, though they understand not a letter." So far Mr. FLOWER.

No. 2. is a Greek Inscription, no doubt to the same import as the upper one in old Persian characters; it should be read as follows, the smaller letters supplying the deficiencies of the original; some produced by the all-corroding hand of time, others by the ignorance, or inadvertence of the sculptor.

TOYTO TO ΠΡΟΤΟμῆ ΠΡΟCΩΠION ΜΑΕΛΑΧΝΟΥ
 ΘΕΟΥ ΑρΖΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΑCΩC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ
 ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ 'ΥΙΟC ΘΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΥ
 ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC

This is the Image of the Countenance of the deity Malach; (erected) by Arsaces, king of kings; the Arrian; son of Theon, son of Theopapakus, king (of kings), (or, son of the God Pappacus [or Babec] king.) It is evident that this Greek is the production of a Parthian, or a foreigner from the Greek language; as well by its omissions as by its redundancies. It is not, however, worse than what occurs elsewhere, of Arabian composition.

We learn from it, 1. That this figure represents the god MAELACH or MOLOCH. 2. That it was executed by order of Arsaces, no doubt the *second* of that name, on behalf of Arsaces I. whose name he assumed; and was sculptured, apparently, by artists who had received a tincture of Grecian art. 3. It informs us of the country and family of Arsaces: which has been variously reported. Arsaces, say some writers, was of the family of the *Achæmenidæ*, the royal family of Persia; others say he was a Parthian. Strabo says he was king of the Dahæ; Georgius Syncellus affirms, that he was a nobleman of Bactria. Now, these reports are partly true, partly erroneous: he was, as appears by our inscription, a noble, because he was of royal descent, being a son and a grandson of kings. He might also be called a king [or, perhaps, a governor, a satrap] from this circumstance; but, whether he exercised the office of royalty over a people, is open to doubt. His native country, I suppose, was Aria, or Ariana, an extensive province of Persia, bounded by the Indus, E.—by the Great Sea, S.—by Parapamisus N.—and—by the limits of Media, &c. W. This province lying remote, and being of great extent, was a favourable situation for commencing revolt. Of this province he might be governor, whether native or not: and therefore surnamed "the Arian." The revolt of Arsaces was occasioned by the ill usage his brother Tiridates received from Agathocles, regent of Persia, &c. in the absence of the king, Antiochus. I suppose Tiridates was the elder brother of Arsaces. We read also, that at the time of this revolt of Arsaces in Parthia, *Theodotus* revolted in Bactria. Is this *Theodotus* the *Theon* of our inscription? If so, and if he were the father of Arsaces, we see how they might act in concert: this is not certain; yet as *Theodotus* signifies "God's Gift," and *Theon* signifies "descended from Gods," the import of the names, which are evidently translations into Greek, might be derived from the same Parthian appellation.

The second Inscription we are told "is written on *Rufram's* horse." It is clearly,

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΤΟμῆ ΠΡΟCΩΠION [Β] ΗΛΟC ΘΕΟΥ. [or perhaps, ΔΙΟC ΘΕΟΥ.]

"The image of the countenance of the god BELUS."—[otherwise, of the god JUPITER.]

It is impossible to determine whether these inscriptions were correctly copied by Mr. FLOWER. The Parthian Inscription unquestionably contains the same information as the Greek: I have not been able to satisfy myself with any lection of it: yet I think the first word of No. 1, is M L I C; and that the name *Arsaces* is written ARDSHOKTJ. A question remains, Whether these figures are productions of the age to which their inscription refers? It is certain they were extant prior to the insertion of their inscriptions; but they might be executed long before, yet not inscribed, till circumstances made it necessary, in process of time. If they are merely of the time of Arsaces, do they accurately copy former (*ancient*) representations? Have we any figure of Belus or of Moloch *on horseback*, beside these? They are of the natural size of life. The tradition of the place refers them to Alexander and Darius. These ideas seem to coincide with their character as works of Arsaces; but what could induce him thus to ornament rocks near Persepolis; if *Chihelminar* were Persepolis? and what could be the state of this city, palace, &c. at the time when this monument was executed?

On the whole, this discovery of the sovereign to whom these works are attributed, leads to a suspicion whether he might not also command those other ornamental figures, still remaining at Persepolis:—their number amounts to many thousands; and they must have employed the labours of years; probably, much beyond the reign of Arsaces. Or, did Alexander not burn and destroy the whole palace of Persepolis? I must own, I have often wondered at this action attributed to him: 'drunk as he was, why fire the whole? How could he burn those parts constructed of stone? Could he so far consume this edifice, as that it might not be repaired, and restored to its original dignity, by some succeeding prince, Arsaces, or any other? Is it unlikely that this was an ancient seat of the Persian monarchs, a palace built, perhaps, by Cyrus; partially destroyed by Alexander; restored by Arsaces; but at length deserted, through the necessity of events, and gradually mouldered to its present condition, by time and accidents? We desire materials to guide us in answering these questions; but, if they have an air of probability, that is all the proposer of them wishes at present.

It should appear that there are several repetitions of these subjects, in the same neighbourhood; insomuch, that we are not certain whether different travellers have always described the same representation. Beside this, the differences of time and opportunity, must be allowed to account for minor variations in the transcripts of travellers.

NIEBUHR gives another copy, or, perhaps, another inscription; it seems to be the most correct, as it is most extensive: It reads, in my judgment, to the following effect:

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΑΕΛΑCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
[καί] ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΑΡΡΙΑΝΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ: ΕΚ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΥC ΘΕΩΝ
ΜΑΕΛΑCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΖΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC
ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚ ΓΕΝΕC ΘΕΩΝ ΤΙΔΕ
ΕΚ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC

Certainly this is not classic Greek; nor can it possibly be formed into classic Greek; it is evidently a translation by a Parthian, of the Parthian inscription that accompanies it, and whatever supplements are proposed, to give it meaning, it must

continue liable to exceptions as to grammar and style. However, we learn from it, that the sculpture to which it is annexed, represents “the image of the deity Malach : [and] of Pappacus, king of kings, the Arrian and of the Arrians : [erected, to] Malach the god, by Arsaces, king of kings, the Arrian ; descended from Theon, also son of the god Pappacus, king.” The leading idea of this sculpture then, is, “the deity of the country, Malachbelus, (the Persian Hercules?) conferring the sovereignty on Pappacus, or on Theon, the grandfather, or the father, of Arsaces.”

Arsaces reigned from *ante* A. D. 254 to 217. in which period of thirty-seven years, he might not only regulate the affairs of his kingdom, but command the execution of monuments intended to impress on posterity, a sense of his gratitude to his deity, and to his progenitors ; but above all, perhaps, to his brother ; and therefore he *may* have consecrated them in the name of Arsaces *the first* ;—but there is no need to insist on this, since he assumed Arsaces as his surname. The difference of terms in these inscriptions may deserve notice : one is, “son of Theon ;” the other is, of the race or *posterity* of Theon.” The phrase “Arrian, and of the Arrians,” seems analogous to that of “a Hebrew of the Hebrews.”

LE BRUYN published delineations of these figures. Such was the extent of our knowledge concerning them, till our later travellers brought us more complete information. Mr. MORIER visited these, and other sculptures, repetitions of them, in his first Journey in Persia, 1808 ; and again 1811. Since then, Sir ROBERT KER PORTER, has examined them with the eye of an artist, and delineated them with professional accuracy. We subjoin an extract from his account of them.

“The learned Mons. de Sacey, in his “*Memoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse*,” gives the following translation of the inscription on the shoulder of the horse that bears the personage who receives the circlet. “C’est ici la figure du serviteur d’Ormud, du dieu Ardsashir, roi des rois d’Iran, de la race des dieux ; fils du dieu Babec, roi.” He thus gives the Greek in its renovated state, having followed the copy of NIEBUHR :

TOYTO TO προσωπον ΜΑΔΑΚΝΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΣΑΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΚΙΑΕΩΝ
ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ εκ γένουΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

“The Greek is written on the shoulder of the animal, between two inscriptions ; both in Pehlivi characters. The upper one is extremely defaced ; but the forms of its letters differ materially from those in the lower inscription, being similar to the characters I copied in the cave near Hadjee-abad. However, what I was able to make out, satisfied me that it was only a repetition of the same sense, conveyed in both the Greek and the lower Pehlivi inscription.

“On the shoulder of the horse, that bears the man who bestows the circlet, is an inscription which the same learned professor translates thus :

C’est ici la figure du dieu Jupiter ;

“And thus restores :

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΔΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

“The inscription on this horse, is also written three times over ; the Greek being between the Pehlivi ones. The upper Pehlivi here, corresponds in character with the upper Pehlivi on the other horse ; and appears to me to be composed of more
diphthong

diphthong letters than the Pehlivi character used in the inscription beneath. It is, in consequence, very obscure; the alphabet given by the Professor not extending to these varieties. The following, in Hebrew letters, is all I have been enabled to place in corresponding value:

פתכלי תבז אוחז ב... זמז
אלהא

“Mons. de Sacey also found, on decyphering the Pehlivi letters according to their value with the Hebrew, that they produced precisely the same meaning. And by all this it seems fully proved, that none of the lower range of sculptures at Nakshi Roustam are of Arsacedian origin, which many learned men have supposed, but are entirely of Sassanian work. So far their general character; and if the sentences on the shoulders of the horses, in this particular bas-relief, designate the names of their riders, we must regard its design as an emblematical representation of the ancient Persian empire, in the person of Ardashir Babigan, the hereditary successor of the great Cyrus, its founder.” pp. 552. *seq.*

With the greatest deference to the learned Orientalist, we must be allowed to hold to the possibility that the inscriptions may be the work (as explanations) of a later age than the figures, if it be necessary to consider all the figures as contemporaries. But, we see no objection to supposing that some of these sculptures may be older than others: and it might be admitted that No. 2. alludes to the captivity and degradation of Valerian, the Roman Emperor, by Sapor King of Persia; without attributing the other subjects to the same period.

The reader is now aware of the difficulties attending attempts to elucidate these ancient national subjects; and will accept the following conjectures with candour.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

The principal Figures on the Plate are from LE BRUYN, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 32.

No. 1. Represents the principal Deity of Persia bestowing empire on a sovereign, the token of which donation appears to be a ring. The reasons for presuming that the figure to the right is the Deity, are, not only the inscription, which places this beyond a doubt, but also the symbol of the club which he holds in his left hand. It is remarkable, that the deities in these sculptures are alone, without attendants; while the mortal sovereigns constantly have attendants. This should seem to imply the self-sufficiency of these Divine personages. The reader has seen in the preceding Plate of *Baal*, that the deity grasps a club, and is farther distinguished by the crescent that adorns his shoulders. In that plate, he is a man in the prime of life; in the present he is of mature age, and venerable figure. In fact, he approaches towards the ancient appearance of the Persian deities, in the Plate of PERSIA, Nos. 4. 6. each of which figures holds a ring.

No. 2. Is certainly, the Persian Sovereign elevating to empire one individual, and degrading another, who is represented crouching before his horse's feet. The mass behind this monarch is clearly delineated by Sir R. K. PORTER as an attendant, though LE BRUYN did not think it such, This figure has no club, but merely places his hand on his sword.

The head of the kneeling figure is adorned with three rows of laurel; the head of the standing figure has only two rows. The former is clearly the Emperor that

was; the other is the Emperor that *shall* be: both have shackles on the legs, implying a state of captivity. Sapor affected to elect an Emperor for the Romans, from among his prisoners.

No. 3. Expresses the same ideas as No. 1. but the Deity which bestows the ring of sovereignty, is a female, not a male. She has no attendant. The personage who receives the ring from her has a servant behind him. He grasps the ring in his right hand; in his left he holds a something—which may be the roll of a book, or volume: perhaps, the act of his accession. A similar roll is held by the second figure in the Plate of *Baal*, No. 5. and I think it very likely that the action of those figures (whose arms are broken off, in the marble) was that of giving and receiving a ring, like these before us.

It is enquired whether we have any other figure of a Deity, as Moloch, on horse-back? In answer, we refer to Vaillant's *Medals of the Colonies*, for two, which that eminent medallist knew not what to make of. The first is, p. 111. ranked by him as UNCERTAIN: the second is, p. 146. ascribed by him to *Olba*. The inscription, COL. IVL. AUG. OLBABEN. he reads, *Colonia Julia Augusta Olbabenorum*. [vide No. 4.] *Olba* was a city in Pamphylia, in this medal called a colony; by Strabo, *μεγα ἔργον*, "of great strength," or well fortified [*magna munitio*. We have the same ascription given to Tyre, Josh. xix. 29. "the strong city, Tyre:" *Urbem munitissimam*.] The names of *Julius* and *Augustus* shew by whom it was favoured; though without this testimony we should not have known that Julius had thus privileged it. Vaillant says, this coin is among the most rare and most elegant. The head is Gordian. On the reverse of another medal of the same town is Bacchus. This figure is *Deus Lunus*, as appears by the crescent over his shoulders, on horse-back: and I think it clear from the form and ornaments of his cap, that this is the same deity as is sculptured on these rocks at Persepolis. If the medallist had not inserted the crescent, the cap might not have sufficiently distinguished him; but the crescent proves him to be of eastern origin, and identifies him with the Persian deity.

There is also another mark of distinction: the Persian Sovereigns have a superabundance of hair flowing over their shoulders; in No. 3. it emulates the redundancy of our Judges' full-bottoms, and like them seems to be formed of adventitious materials. [Comp. No. 2. Plate VII. *Solomon's Song*.] This agrees with the medals of the Persian, or Parthian Monarchs, in the Plate MEDALS OF PARTHIA; and no less with the pleasantry of Vespasian, who, when the people of Rome talked of a comet, which appeared not long before he died,—he observed, that it could not portend death to him who was bald, but to the king of Parthia, who wore his hair in abundance." The deity Moloch, in No. 1. has no superfluity of this natural ornament; and in No. 3. the sex of the deity is apology sufficient for her curls and decorations. On her head is a cap, with three tiers of embellishments; a handsome necklace round her neck; a girdle round her waist, &c. [Comp. Plate of BAALSHALISHA, No. 8. for Indian embellishments of a like kind.]

It is difficult for whoever is not somewhat familiar with the mythology of heathenism, to enter sufficiently into the principle that the *sexuality* of the deities was not permanent; but variable at pleasure. Jupiter, for instance, is best known among us under the title of "*Father* of Gods and men;" but, he was anciently acknowledged also, as "*the universal Mother*," and is expressly called *nymphé*, a female, by certain mythologists.

As art could not possibly represent this mutation of sex in a single subject, ancient artists were under the necessity of combining the proper parts of each sex

in the same figure, when they had occasion to employ the principle. Of this, a clear and indisputable instance may be seen in the British Museum, conspicuously placed among the collection of the late Mr. Townley. For evidence to the same effect, though in different figures, compare the *Deus Lunus* and *Dea Luna* on our Plate of *Baal*, Nos. 6, 7: of *ANTIOCH in Pisidia*, Nos. 16, 18, 19: of *BETH-SHEN*, No. 6. &c. The reader must not, then, be surprized, that we identify the masculine and bearded Moloch of No. 1. with the delicate and splendid female of No. 3. And, supposing that idolatry began with the worship of the Sun, *i. e.* *Baal*, we may venture to consider this mixture of sexes in Moloch, as the origin of all the hermaphrodites, hermathenas, bearded-fortunes, &c. in heathen mythology, and ancient art: the origin of all change of dresses by the sexes (in order to change the sex itself, were it possible) at the feast of *Deus Lunus*, or *Dea Luna* (*vide* MOON, in the *Dictionary*,) which is prohibited so early as Moses, Deut. xli. 5. "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment." The Hebrew of this passage, by a phraseology stronger than that adopted in our translation, prohibits the woman from wearing the distinctions of the male sex; among which, a *beard* is by appointment of nature, "what *pertaineth to a man*." The subject is too long, too discussive, and too recondite for this place. Yet by way of shewing, rather than dissipating, its obscurity, it may be hinted, that the posterity of Noah early divided themselves into two parties; one called "Children of the Sun,"—the other, "Children of the Moon." These boasted of their divinity, each against the other; and to enforce the superiority they vaunted, each fought for its favourite deity: but after their fighting-fever was over, they were reconciled—at least till new umbrage was taken.

No. 5. The action of the Sovereign No. 2. is illustrated by a medal of Abgarus, king of Edessa, in which he is graciously extending his hand, whether toward an individual, or toward his subjects at large. The cap on his head, and his general appearance shew, that the artists of antiquity delineated their kings as representatives of deity; which indeed was their character in the East; and undoubtedly, many of their early kings became the deities of later ages.

No. 6. A coin of Parthia: the king wears almost precisely such a cap as the principal figure in No. 2. which renders it remarkable. The reverse has the two deities Baal and Moloch, armed, on each side of an altar: probably of different sexes.

No. 7. Another reverse, representing Baal and Moloch; manifest by the insignia of the star and the crescent:—of different sexes.

No. 8. The same deities, armed; the sexes intended to be distinguished: Moloch has the beard of a man, with the breasts of a woman. Another reverse.

No. 9. A Figure of Venus, from the Indian Zodiac; she holds as her distinctive symbol, a large ring, which seems to be analogous to that held by the figures in Nos. 1, 3; and indeed her resemblance to the female figure of No. 3. is, by means of this ring, very striking. She rides on a camel.

No. 10. The First Inscription in Persepolitan, and Greek letters; copied from the Philosophical Transactions.

No. 11. The Second Inscription; from the same.

††† That Arsaces adopted much of the Grecian manners, and even styled himself *Philellenos*, "Lover of the Greeks," appears from the coins which form the center of the Plate of "*Jewish Coins*" Plate II. in which also he is styled "king of kings."

* * The Sassanian dynasty extinguished the race of Arsaces, and took its place on the throne of Persia, about A. D. 262.

No. DCCXLI. HEATHEN DEITIES, MUTATION OF SEX.

THE notion of the Deities of Heathenism being of no Sex, or of either Sex; at pleasure, is so little understood among us, that it requires a few words by way of elucidation. We shall instance in the Sun and Moon, chiefly, because nothing can be more repugnant to our language, our established customs, and our feelings, than to consider the Sun as feminine, and the Moon as masculine. MILTON, who is good English authority, speaks of the Sun and Moon as

Dispensing male and female light,
Which two great sexes animate the world :

but in the German language, the Moon is masculine, *Der Mond*, and the Sun is feminine, *Die Sonne*. An Arabian poet says expressly,

To be in the feminine gender is no disgrace to the Sun ;
Nor to be of the masculine gender is any honour to the Moon :

In India, the Moon is masculine, in the character of the god *Sōma*; and the reader has seen in No. DII. that the Moon is *King*, in its turn, among the heavenly bodies, according to the notions of the ancient Chaldæans, as stated in the *Desatir*.

We must therefore settle strongly in our minds this intercommunity, or rather *ad libitum* assumption of gender, among the Pagan immortals, before we can justly appreciate, or understand, though imperfectly, certain passages of Scripture. Nor should we be surprized to find this Moloch, though king as a potentate, and though bearded as a male, yet merging into a female, possessing female properties, with the qualities and attributes of Venus herself, the goddess of love and beauty. For instance,

When considering the subject of SUCCOTH BENOth, in No. CCXIII. we observed, that the word BENOS on a medal of Hierapolis, had puzzled Vaillant: this however we referred (ultimately) to the goddess *Venus*: and it may be strongly *queried*, whether the *Olhaben.* of No. 4. should not be read *Olba-BENOS*, intending BENOS (*Venus*) worshipped at Olba; implying that this *Deus Lunus*, this crescent-adorned deity, was but another form of Venus.

Amos v. 26. Israel when in the wilderness set up—the temporary residences of your Moloch, and of that Chiun [Chiven] you set up your images: and the star of your divinities which ye made to yourselves. [Comp. No. DIII.] This star appears on our medals, and denotes the sun. Supposing the crescent to denote Moloch, or Chiven, it marks the queen of Heaven; “the productive powers feminine,” as Mr. PARKHURST renders *Succoth-Benoth*. Now, that the Midianite women—the seducers, and so Israel—the seduced, worshipped this goddess, is notorious in the open profligacy of Zimri, son of a chief house in Israel, with Cozbi, [possibly, (Hindoo) *Cusbee*, a prostitute,] daughter of a prince of Midian, Numb. xxv.

1 Kings xi. “Solomon loved many strange women... who turned away his heart... he went after *Astoreth*, goddess of the Zidonians; and *Milcom* the abomination of the Ammonites... He built a high place for *Molech*, the abomination of the children of Ammon.” I think it clear, that *Molech* is the same as *Milcom*, bearing

the same character; and that *Milcom* is a goddess of the Ammonites, no less than *Ashtoreth*, with whom she is associated, is goddess of the Zidonians. By female deities the heart of Solomon was turned away.

1 Kings xxi. If *Ashtoreth* and *Molech* be taken as the same deity, it leads to the toleration at least of an idea not commonly entertained on the history of Naboth. Ahab, king of Israel, married Jezabel, a princess of the Zidonians. Moreover, Ahab built an altar and a temple for Baal, chap. xvi. 33. He also made a grove rather (literally) an *Ashreh* or *Ashtaroth*, either a shrine, or figure, or both; the goddess which Jezabel had been used to worship at Zidon. This *Ashreh*, may be a Syrian name for the Hebrew *Molech*, the king. The history reports that Naboth was a worshipper of Jehovah; consequently, he was obnoxious, like Elijah, to the wrath of Jezabel; and, as he pleads the laws of Jehovah against Ahab, verse 3. Jezabel directs the men of his city to proclaim a fast:—set Naboth at the head of the solemnity, who will act his part with a very ill grace; and let two spies scrutinize his actions; to entrap him, on the very principles for which he is such an outrageous stickler. . . . They proclaimed a fast; and made Naboth to sit at the head of the people: and there came into the assembly, as if accidentally, two low men, sons of Belial, and sat down over against him, so as to watch his deportment; and they witnessed against him, saying, Naboth does now blaspheme [—quit, forsake,—bid “good bye” to the worship of] the gods, [plural] even Molech. Naboth could not deny this; as he knew in his heart he was forced to his painful pre-eminence, and that he had much rather have been at home, engaged in worshipping Jehovah; so they took him, and stoned him, &c.” Naboth, therefore, fell a martyr to his fidelity to the worship of the Lord; and for this reason, apparently, Jezabel, who had procured his death, is immediately threatened with punishment—“the dogs shall devour her, &c.”

BAAL PEOR (Numb. xxv. 3.) is certainly Baal with the distinctive marks of the female sex; to this agrees the impurities of his worship. Vide also Hosea x. 10. where the *Chiven* of the passage in Numbers is described as “that shame;” under a feminine word. It should seem also, as if idolatry were called *fornication*, because *fornication* was an attendant on idolatry; and no wonder, as the changing, or the united, (*androgynous*) sexes, of the idols, contributed to promote that crime [and worse,] in their worshippers:—certainly, not less than when companions of each sex, were objects of their adoration, as in Judges ii. 13. iii. 7. vi. 28. x. 6. 2 Kings xvii. 16. xxi. 3. &c. From these passages it may be inferred that *Ashreh*, or *Ashtaroth*, was the female companion of *Baal*. The same apparently is *Merodach*, also *Nebo*, and others. These latter titles I propose slightly to examine.

Merodach is mentioned in that curious passage, Jer. l. 2. “*Bel* is confounded, *Merodach* is broken in pieces: her idols are confounded: her images are broken in pieces.” The rendering of the LXX. is extremely remarkable. “Is abashed (deeply blushes) *Bel*, the fearless; the delicate *Merodach* is given up.” It is clear, by their epithet the *delicate*, that they considered *Merodach* as a goddess; yet Mr. PARKHURST derives this title from a root signifying to break in pieces; and, our subject shews that these ideas are very compatible; for though on some of our medals, this goddess be armed in a manner truly formidable, yet she is *delicate* in other respects. Moreover, this may suggest the true sense of the Hebrew words. “*Bel* is abashed, timid; *Merodach* is divided—dismayed—overcome with trepidation. Her female labours are abashed; her [ludicrous] female idols are confounded.” Here as it should seem, the characters of the female sex are attributed to *Bel*; the

words "idols," and "labour," have the *feminine* form, although their relation to *Bel* be no less apparent than to *Merodach*. The prophet seems to employ equivocal terms throughout; and especially to play on the word *idols*; it should be "gods," *alilim*—for which the text reads *galilim*, excrementitious deities.

Perhaps this correlation is still stronger in the title *Nebo*, or *Nebu*: for it deserves remark, that the king called in Scripture, *NEBUCHADNEZZAR*, is known throughout the East, under the title of *BALCHMAZZAR*: so that *Nebu* and *Bel* are in this instance interchangeable. Nor is this all; for the female bashfulness here attributed to *Bel*, may perhaps warrant us in attributing other *femalities* to this deity: for which consult Isaiah xlv. 1. a passage hitherto unintelligible, because translators have not adverted to the attitude of women during delivery, in the East, which is—standing, leaning forward, over a bed, or &c. Literally, the words are—*Bel croucheth the knees; Nebu bends the back; their labours were equal to [those of] animals; even to great animals, their burdens were suspended; the bearing was to palpitation (or extreme lassitude.) They have bent their backs; they have crouched their knees, in union; they were unable to deliver the burden; but [—INSOMUCH THAT, MS.] their own lives in turning [straining] went forth.* Observe how this sense of the passage is established by the antithesis following. "*Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel; borne (by me) from the belly; carried (by me) from the womb: and even to old age I am that person; and even to the turn of life [grey hairs, Eng. Tr.] I will carry you. I have made you, as children are made; and I will bear you, as children are borne; even I will carry you, as children are carried; and will deliver you, as children are delivered.*" This prophet frequently employs a repetition of words allied in sound, but varied in sense: hence the neatness of his turn of words is extremely difficult to preserve, in translation. In this passage he *repeats* several words; for instance [the figures mark the verses, respectively.]

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Omusiuth.</i> | 2. <i>Shebi.</i> | 1. <i>Neshati.</i> | 1. <i>Nesha.</i> | 2. <i>Meleth.</i> |
| 3 <i>Omusim.</i> | 4. <i>Shebeh.</i> | 3. <i>Neshaim.</i> | 3. <i>m-Nesha.</i> | 4. <i>a-Meleth.</i> |

Surely this echo of words demonstrates the connection of the verses with each other; and, as all interpreters agree in rendering the latter verses, it justifies an endeavour to annex such a sense to the former verses, as maintains their antithetical correspondence with their fellows. This sense, too, coincides with the import of other passages of Scripture, as above explained, and corroborates the proposition, that the offices and peculiarities of the female sex are attributed to *Baal*, as well as to *Moloch*, who, if *she* be sometimes a man, *he* is sometimes a woman; pregnant, says the prophet, but to no issue; and suffering the pains of labour, but to no delivery.

It is highly credible that there are in Scripture other female deities, which ultimately terminate in *Moloch*:—*Baal Gad*, Josh. xi. 17.—*Baal Shalisha*, [vide the triple busts in the Plate of *BAALSHALISHA*, Nos. 7—12.] *Huzzab*, Nahum. ii. 7.—*et. al.*—But, to investigate these would extend the subject to an inconvenient length.

The reader will naturally infer from what has been adduced, that only a small portion of the depravities of Heathenism is known where Christianity—the greatest blessing ever offered to suffering humanity!—has prevailed. Happily, they have been suppressed by public opinion as well as by public law. Nor should it be forgot, that the better informed class of Heathen, alive to the feelings of natural conscience, and of shame, endeavoured to palliate these monsters of immorality

under the pretext of their being symbolical stories, "cunningly devised fables," *mythos* for the initiated, and containing wonderful mysteries! only to be disclosed under the seal of secrecy. To what subterfuges will not the perversity of the human mind have recourse, to evade the clear dictates of unpolluted Nature!

No. DCCXLII.

DIFFERENT LECTIONS: PERSIAN HERCULES, INDIAN?

THE double Lection of the Inscription written on the shoulder of the horse that carries the deity, in the preceding Plate of Persian Antiquities, cannot have escaped the notice of the reader. Certainly one of the two Lections is erroneous; and no less certainly, the respect due to the opinion of the learned Mous. le Baron DE SACEY, must justify us for having added that which he prefers. He reads ΔΙΟC, JUPITER: but, were it asked, What business Jupiter has here? and, By what right that deity bears the club as his symbol? The answers to these questions would be difficult. Not to insist, as we justly might, that the symbols of the Persian Jupiter are altogether different. See Plate, MEDALS OF PERSIA, Nos. 4. 6.

We have another reason for adding a few words to what has been offered in explanation of this subject. Sir W. OUSELEY in the second volume of his *Travels in the East*, has instituted a comparison of considerable length between the *Rufram* of Persia and the *Hercules* of Greece. Had the learned author looked eastward instead of westward for the object of his comparison, he would have found resemblances more conclusive and satisfactory. Such at least, is our opinion; for we hold that the intercourse of Persia with India was more early and more intimate than it ever was with Greece; and that the disposition to borrow from the Greeks was not a natural, but a forced and adventitious accommodation of a part only of the Persian nation. Under this persuasion we offer the following extracts.

"The Indian HERCULES, according to Cicero, was called *Belus*. He is the same with *Bala*, the brother of Crishna, and both are conjointly worshipped at Mutra; indeed they are considered as one *Avatara*, or incarnation of Vishnu. *Bala* is represented as a stout man with a club in his hand." *Asiatic Research*. vol. vi. p. 270.

"There is a very ancient statue of *Bala-Rama* at a place called Baladeva, which answers minutely to the description of the [ancient] Greek, Megasthenes. It was visited some years ago by the late Lieut. Stewart, and I shall describe it in his own words: "*Bala-Rama* is represented there with a ploughshare in his left hand, with which he hooked his enemies, and in his right hand a thick cudgel, with which he cleft their skulls; his shoulders are covered with the skin of a tyger. Baldeo is thirteen miles E. by S. from Mutra." *Ib.* p. 294.

"Here I shall observe, that the ploughshare is always represented very small; it is sometimes omitted; and that it looks exactly like a harpoon, with a strong hook, or a *gaff*, as it is usually called by fishermen. My Pandits inform me also, that *Bala-Rama* is sometimes represented with his shoulders covered with the skin of a lion." p. 295.

After this evidence, the similarity between the Hercules of India and the Hercules of Persia, by means of this symbol, the club, becomes more than hypothetical. Nor is this without its influence on the reading of the Inscription, which, if it might have been *Belos*, would have agreed with the Indian name, and with Cicero's appellation

of the Deity : whereas, we are not aware that the reading *Dios, Jupiter*, agrees with any thing Persian. It can only be a blunder of some ordinary stone-cutter, who certainly was not the sculptor, but lived long after him.

No. DCCXLIII. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: MOLOCH ?

INSCRIPTIONS of so long standing, and in many places obscured by time and accidents, may appear to afford different letters to different decyphers, without the smallest imputation on their accuracy. And moreover, when written on rocks, natural cracks and fissures not seldom alter the appearance of the characters inscribed. I cannot reconcile myself to the Lession TO MACΔACNOY ΘΕΟΥ, of Mons. De Sacey ; as it affords no name of a deity, either Persian or Greek ; yet, I must confess, that Sir W. Ouseley has this reading in his transcript of the Inscription, Plate 55. *Travels*, vol. ii. We know no deity of the name of *Masdas* ; nor will the characters form *Ormuzd*, or any other acknowledged appellation. I have, therefore, ventured to read MAΕΛAKNOY, as coming nearest to the Greek Μολόκ, of Acts vii. 43. and of the LXX. Jer. xxxii. 35. The appellation in Hebrew imports little other than *King*.

No. DCCXLIV. METHOD OF PROPORTIONING IDOLATROUS HUMAN FIGURES, USED BY ANCIENT STATUARIES.

WE have had frequent occasion to regret the ignorance of learned men on the common arts of life, but on none more strongly than on those denominated the Arts of Design. In No. ccxx. we complained of their mis-translating the working tools of the Statuary ; and this complaint we must repeat. Our translators have thus rendered a very descriptive passage, Isaiah xlv. 12 :

“The smith with the tongs [margin, *axe*] both worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it by the strength of his arms ; yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth ; he drinketh no water, and is faint.”

“The carpenter stretcheth out his rule ; he marketh it out with a line ; he fitteth it with planes ; and he marketh it out with the compass ; and maketh it after the figure of a man ; according to the beauty of a man, that it may remain in the house.”

What can be the meaning of the phrase, “He fitteth this image with *planes* ?” (between the actions of marking it out with a line,” and “marking it out with the compass.”) Can a PLANE be employed in any part of the process of carving a human figure, in wood, or in stone ? Surely not. But, if it could be so employed, certainly it would not be *before* the compasses had been used in proportioning the subject. For we must consider that the application of a plane, by a carpenter, is to smoothen the surface of a board, not to delineate any thing on it, but rather to erase what may be already there ; whatever is rough, and rises above the superficies ; and besides, the use of this word in the *plural* leads to the notion of several planes in succession :—first, a coarse jack-plane, then a finer. We must acknowledge that foreign versions have better rendered the passage, “The carpenter opens his rule, and traces it with chalk ; he makes it with *squares*, [or, he regulates it by the *square* ;] he gives it form by the compass,” &c. The LXX. render, “he regulates it by *measure*.” Vulgate, “he forms it with red chalk, he sets it by the *square*.”

square." It appears then, that these interpreters understood the instrument called a *square*, used by carpenters, to be here intended; and so SCHEUZER expressly explains it; not suspecting any other meaning of the word *square*.

Bishop LOWTH is little nearer to the true sense, on the whole; his rendering is,

He marketh out the form of it with red-ochre,
He worketh it with the *sharp tool*.

We must now submit the words of this passage to careful examination.

1. It is certain that the Hebrew word *sered*, signifies *red-chalk*, or *red-ochre*; a natural production of the earth. Pliny says, *lib. xxxv. cap. 6.* that "the *red chalk* of Egypt and Africa is most useful to workmen, as it penetrates best." This red chalk (*rubrica*) was known also to Homer, who describes vessels employed in the Trojan war, as painted with it.

2. That (ק) *kav*, denotes a *line*; and that the Prophet says, the carpenter *stretches out* this line; which we shall suppose him to have charged with red chalk, by rubbing it well in; then fixing this line tight at each end, and *springing* it, (*striking* is the phrase among workmen,) the red chalk will delineate, or mark, the place of the line from end to end, wherever it has *struck*. This action is done every day among us. Now, a number of lines thus drawn at regular intervals, *horizontally*, and crossed by others at the same intervals, *perpendicularly*, will form so many *squares*; these squares, thus obtained, give points of intersection, and areas inclosed, which correspond with an original, squared in like manner; or, these squares may be used as a scale whereby to proportion a work of any kind. [The process forms a regular principle, or procedure of art, and is of constant application; as appears in "THE ARTIST'S REPOSITORY."] This is the very meaning of the Prophet; literally, "he makes it IN the SQUARES," *plural*. For, that,

3. The word used by the Prophet denotes *squares*, appears from the renderings of the LXX. and Vulgate, though misapplied to an instrument, called a square. So, Exod. xxxviii. 5. "He cast *four* rings for the *four* ends"—the four corners of the square, "of the grate of brass." Exod. xxvi. 4. "The uttermost edge of a curtain;"—the corner of the square: in fact, the word signifies an *angle*—the *angle* of a house, frequently;—the external angle, which in most houses is square.

4. I am really unwilling to change the import of the word rendered "compasses;" to which instrument it has been very long applied; but, as the introduction of squares, with their application, in this instance, supersedes the use of *compasses*, and lays them aside entirely, I apprehend, we must take this word to mean an *outline*, the *contour*, the *circumference* of the figure drawn in among, and by means of, the squares. The outline of the Human Figure we know is *curve* in its parts; which is the genuine idea of the word: *literally*, "and in the *curve* outlines he delineates it."

5. "And makes it according to the image of (אִישׁ אֶשֶׁת) a chief man," a dignitary, a SOVEREIGN. This is nothing more than natural to the emulation of an artist: the Egyptian Deities are no exceptions; though the more striking instances of this endeavour and this success, in accord with our own feelings, must be sought among the Greeks. It is uncertain whether in the early days of the prophet Isaiah the reputation of Grecian art was high or extensive: we know it was popular at Tyre, when Ezekiel wrote, for he describes the ship of Tyre as decorated with an elegant statue of a protecting deity, brought from Chittim, *i. e.* Greece. Comp. No. CCXVII. 6.

If the Prophet has been thus *technical* in his description of this process, it is worth our while to understand his language, and to bring it to the test of experience. Very fortunately, among the mass of figures collected by Baron DENON, in his "Travels in Egypt," is one which perfectly illustrates this passage; and shews, that, in Egypt, a process was practised similar to that described by Isaiah in a manner so orderly; which we should recollect consists in 1. filling a line with red chalk; 2. stretching it over a surface; 3. striking it, thereby 4. forming lines; crossing these lines, thereby forming 5. squares; 6. delineating the contour of the figure in these squares; and 7. finishing it with dignified proportion and majesty, to represent a sovereign; in a high style, and character—a divinity worthy to occupy a niche in a temple consecrated to its honour.

Nor is this all: for I understand the Prophet, as saying, "When those of the same profession are met to admire this Figure, when it is, in modern language, *exhibited*, and awaits their suffrages, even then should the whole Academy be ashamed of their idol, even then, should the body of professors, as one man, stand astonished, and blush at their folly." The inauguration of statues, or opening them to public inspection was (as it still is in *statuary* countries) an occasion of great festivity, of public processions, and of extraordinary gratification to the artists. *Vide* Nebuchadnezzar's Golden Image, Dan. chap. iii.

Let us now attend to an existing instance, in illustration of these suggestions:

M. DENON'S *Explanation* of No. 1. Plate cxxiv. *Travels in Egypt*.

"A Figure, which I believe to be that of Orus or the Earth, son of Isis or Osiris. I have seen it most frequently with one or other of those divinities, or making offerings to them; always a Figure younger, and of smaller proportion, than themselves. I found this on one of the columns of the portico of Tentyra: it was covered with stucco, and painted. The stucco being partly scaled off, gave me the opportunity of discovering LINES TRACED, *as if* WITH RED CHALK. Curiosity prompted me to take away the whole of the stucco, and I found the *form of the Figure sketched, with corrections of the OUTLINE; a division into twenty-two parts*; the separation of the thighs being in the middle of the whole height of the Figure, and the head comprising rather less than a seventh part. Had the Egyptians then a model, a rule, an original canon? Had they then an art, whose principles were fixed?"—So far this artist: we may safely answer his questions in the affirmative; and may say, that to such a 'model, rule, or canon,' to such an 'art whose principles were fixed,' is the allusion of the Prophet Isaiah in the passage under consideration.

As the Figure, which we have copied, explains the process to satisfaction, and affords unquestionable evidence, we close our investigation, by merely arranging the version of these stanzas. The whole passage is one of the most poetical effusions in Scripture; of which Bishop LOWTH says, "It far exceeds any thing that ever was written on the subject, in force of argument, energy of expression, and elegance of composition."—Yes, surely; for the Prophet was restricted by no hesitation in behalf of public decorum; he exposes that vice with the whole fury of his poetical inspiration, at which Horace only sneers, *lib. i. Sat. 8.*

*Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber incertus, scamnum faceret ne Priapum,
Maluit esse Deum. Deus inde ego, furum aviumque
Maxima formido.*—————

.....

The Sculptors of imagery statues are all of them vanity;
 Even their most highly valued (master-pieces) shall not profit them:
 Rather, they themselves witness against them;
 (They neither see, nor know;)
 Therefore they shall be confounded.
 When one *such artist* hath formed a Deity,
 Or, *when a founder hath cast a molten image,*
 Is it profitable for any thing?
 Behold, all his fellow-artists shall be ashamed,
 And the workmen themselves, *who form the human (statue).*
 They shall assemble together, even all of them,——
 They shall stand—they shall fear—they shall be ashamed, *as one man,*
 [*At the public Exhibition of this Figure as a work of art.*]
 The worker in iron—he sharpeneth *the sacred tool*;
 He worketh it in the glowing coals,
 And with his hammer he giveth it a *proper shape, and edge,*
 And laboureth it with the power of his arm;
 Surely, too! he is hungry, and his strength faileth;
 He drinketh no water, and is faint.
 The worker in woods—he stretcheth out the line;
 And striketh it, coloured with red chalk:
 He sketcheth it (*the Figure*) in among the squares,
 And in its contours he *correctly* delineateth it.
 Yea, he executeth it (*in a style*) according to (*the character of*) a superior man,
 According to the glory (in beauty) of the human form,
 That it may *dignify* a sacred station in a temple.

Such seem to be the sentiments, and such is the language, of the Prophet. Whoever is acquainted with the history of art, knows that the expressions of the writer, are not only correct and technical, but strongly descriptive of what, after all, is indescribable, that spirit of exertion and rivalry, of appropriating personal fame, national honour, and civic dignity, to which we are beholden for the productions of a Praxiteles and a Phidias; for the Venus of Cnidus, for the Hercules of Glycon, and for the Pythian Apollo: those more than mortal statues, the pride of the artist, and the amateur! not of their own day only, when they were fresh from the master's hand, but of whoever can justly appreciate their merit; while we cannot but pity that blindness—that depravity of heart, which prompted their votaries to adore them as *simulachra* of Deities, if not as Deities themselves—marble though they were!

No. DCCXLV. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED: M. BELZONI'S DISCOVERIES.

WE cannot do better, in continuation of this subject, than recall the reader's attention to the description given by M. BELZONI of the processes practised by the sculptors employed to decorate the tombs of the ancient sovereigns of Egypt; transcribed at large, in No. DLXXXIV. He speaks of sketches finished in *red lines*, by the first artist,—another more skilful corrected the errors, if any, by lines in *black*; to be distinguished from those which were imperfect," &c. The process confirms the representations of the preceding No. and manifests the care taken to maintain the dignity of Art, even in performances which were destined never to be visited by the light of day.

It has been observed, of the prophet Isaiah, that he appears to have been singularly well informed on what related to Egypt, and to the countries up the Nile, Ethiopia, &c. The extent of our present acquaintance with those countries, by

means of the Antiquities, Temples, Obelisks, Statues, &c. disinterred within a few years past, justifies the observation; and shews, that if he had not personally visited the banks of the Nile—which is possible—he had certainly obtained correct information respecting their productions and curiosities, natural and artificial.

No. DCCXLVI. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED. BEATEN WORK.

WHAT has been said applies to statues of terra cotta, of wood, of bronze, of marble; whatever may be modelled, or chisselled, or cast; but, we ought not totally to lose sight of one of the most ancient processes of Sculpture, that by which figures of considerable magnitude were made by hammer work, or what our translation renders, "Beaten Work."

The earliest mention of this kind of sculpture appears to be Exod. xxv. 28. "Thou shalt make two cherubim of gold, of *beaten work* shalt thou make them," &c. Gold is, certainly, the most ductile of metals, it admits of beating into a very thin plate, so thin, indeed, as to feel every impression of the tool; as in the practice of chasing. It will follow, that whatever were the size of these cherubim, they were but light. Had they been of solid gold their weight would have rendered them cumbersome, very inconvenient to the bearers,—who, it will be recollected, were priests, on whose shoulders the Ark with its accompaniments was carried—and who could not be numerous in this service. The reader has, undoubtedly, seen instances of the application of this process in miniature, in the small dimensions of a watch-case; but that it was not incompetent to the production of the largest works, is evident from the execution of the famous antique horses captured by Buonaparte at Venice, and placed by him on the summit of his pompous triumphal arch at Paris.

How far this mode of sculpture extended, or prevailed among the Hebrews, we have no means of stating; it does not appear that the art of casting necessarily superseded it,—and that casting was extant in the days of Moses is clear, from the instance of the Golden Calf. But, this hammer-work is thought to have been the more ancient process; and it may bear a question perhaps, notwithstanding what we have said on the subject, in No. dccxxxviii. Whether the Teraphim of Laban were not of gold, and wrought after this manner.

Profane history affords no light on this enquiry. We know from Herodotus, *Pol.* 69. that Darius Hystaspes, of Persia, long after the art of casting was in vogue, erected to his favourite wife Artystonè, the daughter of Cyrus, a statue of gold formed by hammer-work; Εἰκὼ χρυσεὴν σφυρηλατοὺν ποιήσατο. This was early in the fifth century before A. D. The golden statue of Jupiter dedicated by Cypselus at Olympia, between the years six hundred and sixty and six hundred and thirty *ante* A. D. was of hammer-work, σφυρηλατός. Strabo, *lib.* viii. So that we have authority for the continuance of the practice; and that in different countries.

Pausanias, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 17. describes a mode of workmanship that seems to be analogous to what we read in the prophet Isaiah. Says that ancient traveller, "On the right hand of Chalciæus, there is a brazen statue of Jupiter, the most ancient of all the brazen works which this place contains; [or, perhaps, as Mr. Payne Knight renders, "the most ancient statue of brass then known," παλαιότατον παντῶν, ὅποσα ἐστὶ χαλκῆς. *Introd. Dilletanti Sculp.*]—the whole of this statue is not one entire work; but the parts were fabricated separately, and afterwards so aptly united together with nails, as not to be capable of dissolution," says Mr. Taylor: certainly, as not to be taken to pieces without violence. The reader will recognize

the process, Isaiah xli. 6. *et seq.* "So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, It is ready for the soldering, and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved," *i. e.* in the language of Mr. Taylor, "that it should not be capable of dissolution." If, it were ready for being united by means of soldering, or by any other means, it certainly was wrought in separate pieces: and as the Jupiter described by Pausanias was of brass, it is probable that the prophet describes the process of casting and afterwards finishing by hand, a brazen statue, as practised in his days.

Brass is so difficult a metal to work by the hammer, that I would not be certain that hammer-work is the kind of sculpture intended by the prophet; but, to enter into a critical investigation of the terms he uses, is not our intention at this time. Comp. No. ccxx.

No. DCCXLVII. PROGRESS OF IDOL-MAKING: EYES INSERTED.

"EYES have they, but they see not," is the reproach of more than one Hebrew writer, on the Idols of the Heathen. It is barely possible that the reader is aware of the importance attributed by ancient Artists and their patrons to this most expressive, and indeed vivifying, feature of the countenance. Homer certainly intends to describe majestic beauty, when he calls Juno *ox-eyed*; or, at least, large-eyed, *βοοπις*, meaning perhaps, as the Scholiast says, large black Eyes, *μελανοφθαλμος*, and beauty of another class, by the epithet *blue-eyed*, given to Minerva. Other goddesses had Eyes of other colours. The statues of these Divinities realized these peculiarities, as part of their attributes. Pausanias, *lib. i. cap. 14.* mentions a statue of Minerva at Athens, which had blue eyes, *γλαυκας τας οφθαλμους*, and Plato, *Hipp.* notices another, the work of Phidias, that had a precious stone inserted into the ball of the Eye, to imitate the colour of the iris. In fact, several of the busts found at Herculaneum have similar contrivances; and others may be seen in Mr. TOWNLEY's collection, at the British Museum. Beside this, the white, or ball of the Eye, was sometimes rendered glossy by the aid of a thin plate of polished silver attached to it. Such were the pains taken by ancient Artists to impart a life to the work of their hands; and this apparently, was the last act of their skill; it was the finishing effort of their professional labours. After this they relinquished proceedings to the patron and the priest.

An image in its unfinished state is no fit residence for divinity: and there can be no doubt, but what the sentiments reported by KNOX as current among the idolators of Ceylon, are prevalent in other nations, and were anciently conformed to, generally, if not universally by artists and devotees.

KNOX describing *Buddom*, whom the Ceylonese highly venerate, informs us, that "Some, being devoutly disposed, will make the image of this god at their own charge: for the making whereof they must bountifully reward the founder. Before the Eyes are made [inserted] it is not accounted a god, but a lump of ordinary metal; and is thrown about the shop with no more regard than any thing else. But, when the Eyes are to be made, the artificer is to have a good gratification, besides the first agreed on reward. The Eyes being formed [inserted] it is thence forward a god, &c. *Hist. Ceylon. Part iii. chap. 4.*

"Many Indian idols have been found, in which the Eyes were formed of materials more beautiful, or more precious, than any other part. TAVERNIER describes "la grande Idole" of Jagernaut, and another at Banarous, as having diamonds for

Eyes: He saw also one at Matura. *Voy. Ind. lib. iii. cap. 11, 12.* See also Hamilton's "*Account of the E. Indies*," vol. i. p. 385. We read also of five golden idols, with Eyes of most valuable rubies, which Sultan Mahmúl took from a great Hindoo Temple. Among the Indian idols, in Major Moor's valuable collection, is a metal image of Narayana, with ruby Eyes; and he has others, "with ruby Eyes and ornaments." *Hindú Pantheon*, p. 31. In several idols of wood, and of stone, brought from the South Sea Islands, the Eyes are inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

The notion, then, of giving life to an image by means of the Eye, was common to savage and to sage. It demanded extraordinary cost and care, and extraordinary cost and care were lavished on it. It is evident, that, as precious stones were always rare and valuable, the admission, or omission, of these, would greatly vary the expenses incurred, or reported, on the fabrication of idols.

No. DCCXLVIII. IDOLS COLOURED RED; A GENERAL CUSTOM.

IN M. BELZONI'S Description of the Egyptian Tomb he exhibited, that traveller notices particularly the *red* colour of the personages introduced, observing, at the same time, that the Egyptian painters knew how to make a mixture of colours, apparently more suitable; "*red* is adopted as a standing colour for all that meant flesh...yet, where the red flesh is supposed to be seen through a thin veil, the tints are nearly of the natural colour." There is, certainly, something more in this than appears at first sight. It connects, no doubt, with the custom of painting the images of the deities *red*; and, again, very possibly, with traditionary memorials of the personages and the country where idolatry took its rise.

That the custom of besmearing idols with Red paint, was almost general, we may infer from the testimonies of several authors. The carver mentioned in the Wisdom of Solomon, xiii. 14. did not address as a god, the figure he had made, till it was *laid over with vermillion, and with paint coloured Red*. The images of Bacchus, (and Diana) at Corinth, *i. e.* the face, were coloured red, as we learn from Pausanias, Cor. cap. 2. In Achaia the same deity was [wholly?] painted in the same manner. Achaic. cap. 24. Another in Arcadia was also reddened with cinnabar. Arcad. cap. 39. The face of Jupiter's image was, on festivals, coloured with minium, or red-lead, according to Verrius, quoted by Pliny, who observes that it was a kind of paint once reckoned sacred among the Romans, applied to the bodies of those who triumphed; also, that it was used by the Ethiopians in colouring their idols. "*Minium nunc inter pigmenta magnæ authoritatis, et quondam apud Romanos non solum maximæ sed etiam sacra. Enumerat autores Verrius, quibus credere sit necesse, Jovis ipsius simulachri faciem diebus festis minio illini solitam, triumphantumque corpora: sic Camillum triumphasse. Hac religione etiam nunc addi in unguenta cernæ triumphalis, et a censoribus in primis Jovem mimandum locari. Cujus rei equidem causam miror quanquam et hodie id expeti constat Ethiopum populis, totosque eo tingi procures, huncque ibi Deorum simulachris colorem esse.*" *Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii. cap. 7.* Those who triumphed, says Servius on Virgil, *Eccl. vi. 22.* painted their faces with *minium*, because *red* was supposed to be the colour of the gods: he also observes, that Pan was painted *red*; on *Eccl. v. 27.* [Comp. VERMILION, in the *Dictionary*.]

It is clear, that in supposing *red* to be the colour of gods, and of sovereigns on their apotheosis, the Greeks agreed with the Egyptians; but, the custom was not peculiar to the Egyptians: nor did it originate with them.

The Indian deity, Brahma, is often represented *red*; and this colour is supposed to be peculiar to the creative power: it also denotes fire, and its type, the sun. Moor's *Hindú Pantheon*, p. 6.

Many other Hindoo deities are, more or less adorned with *red* paint.

Mr. PERCIVAL who visited the temple of *Buddoo* in 1800, says, "his placid countenance was daubed all over with Red paint." *Ceylon*. p. 302.

It should seem, then, that it was not, precisely, as a *bloody* hero, or conqueror, that this colour, Red, was appropriate to a god,—but, it probably, was accepted as the natural hue of the person commemorated. In what country could this originate? Not, surely, among the *red* Indians of America: yet we know no other race of men who are properly red, or approaching the colour of the deities in the Egyptian tomb. It may be proper to add, that marks of *red* colouring are still extant on the sphinx at the Pyramids, and on other statues. The reader will consider the reference already made to the *red* idol, and the grey idol, in the neighbourhood of Balk. No. DXXXIV.

No. DCCXLIX. SPECIFIC COLOURS APPROPRIATE TO EACH DEITY.

IT may not be amiss, to conclude, by observing, that in later ages—if not originally—the Deities had appropriate Colours and appropriate Metals, in the East. The Sun was of gold, his image was decorated with bracelets and gems, and crowned with a royal tiara. The Moon was of silver, and pale white was her colour. Jupiter was of tin, a different splendor from that of the Moon. Mars was of iron, and he was painted red; [Krishna is blue.] and so, of others.

The Arabian author, Muhammed Abi Taleb, who describes these particulars, as existing before the days of Mahomet, describes also, the forms of the temples proper to each deity, the number of steps placed before the entrance of their temples, respectively, with many other minor matters, not regarded, as it should seem, among the architects and votaries of Europe.

The reader cannot fail of recollecting that the chemical signs for solutions, &c. of these metals, are still retained, and exemplify the same analogy.

No. DCCL. IDOLATROUS MARKS AND TOKENS.

WE read in the Revelations of a persecuting power that prevailed so far as to "cause all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their forehead. And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the Mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." chap. xiii. 16, 17. It does not strike English readers, that this custom still prevails, as in India, to this day. The following extracts from Paolino's *Voyage to the East Indies*, will set this matter in its true light.

"As the Pagans, Mahometans, and Christians, in India all wear white cotton dresses, and made almost in the same manner, you must look very closely at their *forehead*, or *breast*, if you wish to distinguish an Idolater from a Christian. The former have on the forehead certain Marks which they consider as sacred, and by which you may know to what sect they belong, and what deity they worship."

"They bear such Marks in honour of Brahma, on the *forehead*; in honour of Vishnu, on the *breast*; and in honour of Siva, on the *arms*. . . They are called *Shudhamayaga*; i. e. purification, purity." *Note*. p. 17.

“ When the Pagans after their ablutions, paint Marks of this kind on their forehead, &c. they always repeat certain forms of prayer, in honour of the deity to whom these Marks are dedicated. At the time of public ablutions this is performed by the priest, who paints with his finger the foreheads of all those who have already purified themselves. At private lustrations each person lays on the colours himself, without being under the necessity of offering up prayers. No Pagan can assist in any part of divine worship without being painted with the above Marks.” p. 344. *Note.*

Some of these Marks are not the most decent: they are numerous; have different appellations, and forms, and are painted with various colours and substances. There are coloured plates of them extant. How far, when Idolatry was triumphant, it was necessary to adopt such Marks in order to buy or sell, I do not know. It is certain, that they are objects of no small pride among devotees; and that they never think themselves dressed to appear in public without them. Nor must we imagine that although individuals are at liberty to adore what idol they please, yet that the spirit of rivalry is unknown. THEVENOT uses strong language in allusion to this: “ There is a caste of Gentiles called Byragees who damn the *yellow* colour; and who in the morning put *white* on their forehead, contrary to the custom of other castes, who have *red* put on by the Brahmins. When a Gentile is painted with this *red*, he bows his head three times, and lifts his joined hands thrice up to his forehead; and then presents to the Brahmin rice and a coco.” But some of these Marks are drawn up the forehead in triple lines; a white line, or perhaps, yellow, on each side, and red (always) in the middle: which shews that these colours admit of association.

AN ATTEMPT
TO ARRANGE
IN A SYSTEMATIC ORDER,
THE
NATURAL HISTORY
OF THE
Sacred Scriptures.

INTRODUCTION.

SCIENCES are so nearly allied by that disposition of mind in which they flourish, and by that track of study which those who cultivate them are under the necessity of treading, that scarcely any person has excelled in one exclusively, or without possessing, at least, a moderate acquaintance with others. It is true, Divinity has been described as a Science by itself, and independent of all others: but, those who have thus described it, have rarely given proofs of extensive knowledge, or superior progress, in this study, though it may have engrossed their lives. It is readily admitted, that Religion alone, may have powerful effects on the heart, may controul the life, and form the character, with Sovereign influence; but this, though an effect the most important, the most valuable, is not properly what constitutes a Science. The man may practise the precepts of his Religion, who nevertheless, is incompetent to answer those who impugn its authority: he may be little informed on what quarter of the world it originated, on the exertions of its first professors, and on the means by which it was propagated; he may be unlearned in the history of those who yielded their lives in attestation of the truth; and respecting transactions, which though connected with the Sacred Scriptures, are not narrated in them—yet he may be a good man. Does this ignorance, then, make him good? or would he lose that character, were he so well informed, as to be able to silence gainsayers, and to demonstrate by extra Scriptural authorities, those facts on which his faith is founded? Would he cease to be good if he studied the Sacred Oracles in their connection, in their relation to other events, and to other histories; and if, when considering their nature and precepts, he could explain the correspondence of parts to parts and shew the inference, and connection of the whole; even on articles where the uninformed discover neither meaning nor connection? Perpetual ignorance is perpetual childhood: is it consistent with the repeated exhortations of Scripture, to “go on to perfection,” to

“aim at a state of maturity,” to “increase in wisdom,” to “add knowledge to faith,” and to have “our senses exercised, for the purpose of distinguishing between good and evil”—is it consistent with these, and similar injunctions, that we should continue ignorant of the real meaning of passages of Scripture, not obscure in themselves, but by our own negligence suffered to remain enveloped in uneasy uncertainty? I say *our own negligence*, because these passages were clear, were well understood, among those by whom they were heard, or to whom they were addressed. And this remark applies with full effect to articles of Natural Science: these were constantly under the notice of those who were instructed by reference to them; any day, any hour, could they examine “whether these things were so:”—but this is not the case with us; not enjoying this advantage, it becomes our duty to exert peculiar diligence to diminish the consequences of such privation, and to disperse, if possible, those ambiguities which inevitably attend our perusal of Holy Writ.

Much information communicated in Scripture is derived from natural objects, or, natural objects are employed to denote what refers to spirit, and includes spiritual instruction. This is obvious, and it is frequent. If we take *literally* the poetical compositions of Scripture, to justify their veracity is impossible: if we take strictly, what is intended figuratively, among the precepts of Scripture, we do despite to that Holy Spirit of grace, by which they were recorded for general instruction: if we err in interpreting passages which describe natural things, what security have we against error in passages which treat of spiritual things? If we substitute, through ignorance, or inattention, a beast for a bird, a man for a horse, a lion for a serpent, who will insure us from more dangerous substitutions, through equal ignorance, or equal inattention, in what relates to the exercise of faith, hope, charity, zeal, righteousness, or godliness? But, some will say—“Where is the remedy for these inaccuracies?” The answer is ready: Let those, who having paid attention to ANY branch of these studies, have reason to think they have acquired some knowledge in them;—let such communicate their knowledge. If studies thus directed be not strictly and properly Divinity, they are such as Divinity, in our time and day, cannot forego. The age boasts of being enlightened; and, in some respects, it may justly be esteemed so: is not knowledge, to a certain degree, general! is not the public at large well informed? How mortifying then, is the reflection, that, while on most things every effort is exerted to carry knowledge to perfection, we should think little of endeavours to illustrate Holy Scripture in ANY department! and why?—With what does our Sacred Volume open? with a compendium of Astronomy, Geology, Botany, Natural History, and Philosophy:—can this history be understood by those who have studied mere Divinity? will not whoever wants acquaintance with the principles of these Sciences, be liable to mistake when considering the passages?—not to insist on that fund of sacred pleasure which HE possesses, who sees the veracity of Scripture representations, and can demonstrate that veracity from principles established in Nature itself. Does Scripture instruct us that among the celestial bodies, the Sun was appointed to rule the day, and the Moon the night? so they do still; were they the *greater* luminaries anciently? so they are now: did the Moon, in her course, regulate the seasons in her early days! the same we find in the present day. We say the same of creatures: “did the Turtle, the Crane and the Swallow, know their appointed times,” when Jeremiah wrote? we are certain they retain this knowledge: but, how do we acquire this certainty? not from birds of our own country; Cranes and Turtles are not resident among us; we must enquire on the spot, must derive our observations from where

these birds are common ; and must justify Scripture, by appealing to the actual and the annual occurrences in countries where Scripture was given. Only imagine for a moment, that the fact were not so ; or, that we could not prove the fact to be so ;—what a triumph for infidelity were that!—what! the Holy Book false! in an article too, on which the merest peasant could not have erred !——Be it remembered, then, that in proportion as such failure would be vexatious, is the gratification of finding, that in this instance, as in all others, Scripture fears no examination : truth, undeviating truth is its origin ; and will continue to be its character : and the more freely Scripture is examined, the more decidedly will it maintain this character.

Scripture, for the most part, is not the work of mere peasants ; it is the production of *literati*, of men eminent by station and talents. It is said, “Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians ;” and we believe the assertion : his works prove it. His remarks on natural things are not at random ; nor inconsistent with each other, or with fact ; they are not the disorderly starts of ignorance, but the regular production of a mind familiar with systematic arrangement. And moreover, the system of Moses sustained its reputation, and was adopted by Solomon himself, after no inconsiderable lapse of ages. Those who think that Deity being the fountain of knowledge, all knowledge is *communicated* to man, will certainly not object to the system of Moses, which their own principles ascribe to the highest source ; they will contemplate with pleasure its orderly arrangement, and regularity of parts ; nor can they but applaud those efforts which attempt to illustrate its principles. But other important consequences follow the admission of this cultivated and regulated knowledge as being extant in *early* ages ;——those who lived at that period, had the same means of attaining information as we ourselves have. It seems of little moment at first sight, whether the existence of Plans or Maps be allowed or denied to the days of Joshua ; but, admit this, it accounts beyond controversy, for the remarkably distinct descriptions of the portions allotted to each tribe of Israel, by the legislator Moses, who never saw those allotments [which has been urged by infidels as an insuperable difficulty.] If delineations of these countries were composed into a book, then writing was not confined to inscriptions on stones [as Voltaire rashly insisted :] and if writing were, as it appears undeniably to have been, in popular use, then, many of those communications between party and party, in early ages, which have occasioned embarrassment to commentators are no longer difficulties. Nor is this all ; for, the existence of writing supersedes the necessity for tradition ; the certainty and clearness of information follows, with the faithful transmission of events—even to perpetuity. This, too, has its influence in considering the origin of Scripture, and allows us to carry that origin up to a period, long prior to what has been suspected. That the Scriptures were extant in the time of Ezra, that he was their editor, not their author, is admitted by all well informed persons ; but few have ventured to consider Moses in the same character, as combining, and arranging, for the use of his people, now for the first time forming a nation, those documents which their forefathers had transmitted down to them in their families and tribes. The most judicious confess it would contribute to our better understanding of various parts of Holy Writ, could we clearly ascertain their authors. Some divisions of the Mosaic Books seem to have been written not in the West but in the East ; this has been thought a formidable proposition ; and the admission of the principle has been dreaded by orthodox divines, and orthodox believers. But wherefore?—If these portions were written by Abraham, instead of Moses, what inferiority of character would attend them? in truth none : they would

still demand the same confidence, as if every letter had first issued from the pen of his eminent descendant. Moreover, Abraham might compose them in the East, where he could obtain the best information, and might converse with those who had participated in the very transactions which he wished to communicate to his family, and by means of his family to posterity and the world.

But what forbids our adverting to yet earlier sources? Why could not those who favoured Abraham with information, favour him with *written* documents? or rather, Since his great ancestor Shem, was the priest of all mankind, and the proper individual to preserve knowledge, no less by office, than by habit and disposition; what forbids our believing that Shem communicated to Abraham such writings as he knew to be authentic, whether composed by himself or by any other patriarch? This enquiry belongs to history: but it belongs also to our present purpose, so far as it evinces the propriety of considering, whether the names of Beasts, and Birds, and Plants, which the learned have been in the habit of attributing to Egypt or to Syria only,—which, I say, they have never thought of looking farther East for, should not, in truth, be sought in countries which Abraham and Shem originally inhabited.

We have every reason to infer, that the distinction between clean and unclean creatures, for instance, prevailed when Abraham dwelt in *Kedem*; that he observed it there, that he brought it from thence, and transmitted it as an ordinance established in his earliest youth. If then, we wish to decide accurately, on the species of these, can it be improper to enquire what Beasts and Birds inhabit *Kedem*? If we find the *Bdellium* of a passage supposably written in central Asia, is hardly to be explained by any production of Arabia, or of Palestine, where is the impropriety of enquiring whether it may not be a well-known article farther East?—“This principle requires great exertions of research; great investigation, much information, &c. &c.” No doubt, it does; but, if the Scriptures be the Word of God, they are worth the trouble of explaining: if they really are of that importance which we professedly attach to them, why such langour in our endeavours to ascertain their true import? Why is ANY department of their contents overlooked?—Why is the Bible the most neglected book of all in our language, to which we confessedly attribute some value? But, is it said “Of what consequence is it, whether the Natural Knowledge of Scripture be correct? cannot matters of Faith be received apart from matters of Philosophy”? Not so easily as the triumphant air with which this question is often asked, supposes:—For, what have been the remonstrances of hesitating minds on this subject? It is vain to repel this remark, by saying, the “*cavils* of infidelity ought not to be heard;” it is granted the *cavils* ought not; but does this answer the fair and rational observations of the upright but as yet undecided? Nay, we cannot think infidels themselves to be void of common sense, because they are, unhappily, void of pious faith: they possess the mental abilities of mankind, in common with others; and when these abilities are exercised on just and honourable principles, on just and honourable subjects, such as a sincere enquiry after truth undoubtedly is; woe be to that professor! whose Christian charity suffers him to describe such enquiries as *cavils*, or under any other degrading term whatever.

Is it not much wiser to endeavour to illustrate Scripture in EVERY branch? to show, that as it is the first book in the world, respecting piety, so it is respecting Science; that, as it derives its GREAT principles from Deity itself, so its MINOR principles are not unworthy of the same sacred source; and moreover, that the embar-

passed mind, which does not assume to judge of the GREATER principles, may yet by investigating the MINOR principles, and understanding their accuracy, their extent, their application, their consistency with the course of nature, and their general veracity, be induced to *feel* the energy of the leading and principal subjects. Is Scripture injured by appearing demonstratively, as the work of men of learning, rather than of illiterate persons? the labours of *literati*, rather than of mechanics? the authentic records of states and sovereigns, rather than the casual collections of individuals? Can we value too highly the decisions of those, who (in whatever period of time they lived) passed their lives in learned investigation, with access to the very best sources of information, and who combined the intelligence they received, with the happiest application of talents, and the consummate wisdom of art and genius? We think highly of LINNÆUS, we think highly of ARISTOTLE—and why? because their learning entitled them to a distinguished situation among those who have studied Nature and Natural Science; this is proper: but our disquisitions demonstrate, at least equal propriety, perhaps much greater, in placing the Naturalists of Scripture before ARISTOTLE and LINNÆUS. This will startle some readers: “What! has not LINNÆUS reduced to the best of systems, the disorderly suppositions of others? Did not ARISTOTLE first perceive the necessity of that *order* which so greatly facilitates the study of Nature?”—These questions may safely be answered in the negative: SOLOMON before ARISTOTLE, wrote *in order*, on natural subjects: but SOLOMON did not reduce the Science to system, for it had been rendered systematic long before him. He followed the organized arrangement of MOSES. Was MOSES, then, its author? That is more than we can say. It is found in works attributed to him; but as he, of course, used such documents as his library furnished, it is every way possible, that the system dates from a period anterior to MOSES. This enquiry is interesting, and our design is to endeavour, at least, to throw some light on it, if we cannot illustrate it in all its parts.

What was the system of SOLOMON, we learn from 1 Kings iv. 33. where, says the text, *he (spake, or wrote, i. e.)* described the subjects of Natural History, placing first, BOTANY (with delineations?) which he divided into *two* parts; one relating to trees, great trees, such as the cedar, which began his work; the other including lesser vegetables, *generically* called *hyssop*, descending to the very stone-crop on the wall, perhaps, or even to the mosses; then he introduced NATURAL HISTORY, but in a separate book. *He spake ALSO of Great Beasts, Birds, Reptiles, and Fishes.* These are the heads of the chapters into which his Compendium was divided. His arrangement was systematical, and would stand thus:

I. BOTANY

1. TREES. 2. PLANTS.

II. NATURAL HISTORY.

1. BEASTS. 2. BIRDS. 3. REPTILES. 4. FISHES.

This compared with the arrangement of MOSES, Deut. iv. 16. &c. proves to be precisely the same; only, MOSES being there engaged in prohibiting idolatry, says nothing about Plants, or Trees, which he was not much afraid should be worshipped, if other idolatry were unknown. His system takes this form——

1. MAN. 2. BEASTS. 3. BIRDS. 4. REPTILES. 5. FISHES.

But the most determinate instance of System, is the Mosaic account of the Creation, in the first chapter of Genesis ; which, on consideration, will be found to resolve itself into

GEOLOGY.

- I. Earth at rest, produces nothing ; without form, and void ; dark.
- II. Earth revolving, produces
 - 1. Wind.
 - 2. Light: making, 1. Day. 2. Night.
 - 3. A Firmament: making a *serenification* of the atmosphere.
 - 4. Sea.
 - 5. Land.

Hitherto the productions have been in pairs, or DUALS: 1. Light: 2. Darkness—*i. e.* 1. Day: 2. Night.—1. Waters above the firmament: 2. Waters under the firmament: *i. e.* 1. The lighter atmosphere: 2. The heavier atmosphere.—1. Sea: 2. Earth.—whereas in the following subjects they are TRIADS; the former actions merely implying their counterparts, as resulting from a single operation :—but the ensuing narration implying arrangement:

I. BOTANY. *Verses 11, 12.*

- 1. GRASS. 2. SHRUBS. 3. TREES.

II. AQUATICS. *Verses 20, 21.*

- 1. INSECTS. 2. AMPHIBIA. 3. BIRDS.

III. TERRESTRIALS. *Verses 24, 25.*

- 1. WILD VERMIN. 2. LARGE BEASTS. 3. SAVAGE ROAMERS.

MAN. *Verse 26.*

Three primary divisions, each subdivided into three secondary divisions.

Can clearer proofs of System be desired? Here is a uniform progress from a lesser to a larger: from *grass*, including the minutest species of whatever is *green*, to *SHRUBS*, which are apparently taken for *TREES* of shorter duration, and smaller stature: from these to proper and indisputable *TREES*, which not only differ by their enlarged dimensions, but by their permanency. From Vegetable life, the Sacred Writer advances to Animal life, and arranges in the first class, those creatures which mostly inhabit vegetables, and seem to be nearest allied to them, insects. But insects are also placed here, because vegetables would grow, and were growing, in earth, on which the natural effect of the waters yet remained: that is to say, soft earth, earth hardly drained of its water—these waters then furnished the insects; so they do to this day: we know there are myriads of kinds of insects in the sea, which human skill cannot enumerate: we cannot walk along the shores of a river when the tide recedes, without noticing millions of insects: and of those which seemingly appertain to the land, how great a proportion does really undergo repeated transformation in water? every pond, every ditch, every streamlet,

witnessess this. With great propriety, then, are insects said to have been produced from the waters; which they still are, by an incalculable majority. Wherever the heat of the sun operates in water, there swarm insects. From *insects*, of which many quit their native element, and rise into the air, we proceed to *Amphibia*, which sometimes exchange the river, or the sea, for the land. *Insects* are so numerous, and so diversified, that we doubt, whether any classification of them is attempted in Scripture: but the *Amphibia* may be divided into, (still preserving the TRIAD)

1. THE SEAL KINDS. 2. LIZARDS. 3. SERPENTS.

and this, without injuring the character of true FISH; which are only divided into

1. CLEAN. 2. UNCLEAN.

To *Amphibia* succeed *Birds*: on which division we must recall to the reader's recollection, that vast majority of Birds which live on the sea, which dive into the sea like fishes, and which never forsake this element; every uninhabited island, every rock, every river, swarms with these. *Birds* therefore might take a triple division into, 1. Water-Birds; 2. Marsh-Birds; 3. Land-Birds: but the Sacred Writer himself has divided them (and his division we shall retain) into

1. LAND-BIRDS. 2. AIR-BIRDS. 3. WATER-BIRDS.

Birds, are a greater approach toward dry-land animals than *Amphibia* are; being also *wild* by nature, they properly introduce *wild Quadrupeds*, those Vermin which infest the field, and range around the habitation of man; those which do him mischief by their numbers, though not by their strength: such is the first class of animals. The second is *Cattle*; the *Horse*, the *Beeve*, &c.; the third comprizes those which ROAM the savage desert, or are terrible by their ferocious ravages; the *Lion*, the *Tyger*, and other formidable creatures, rank among this class—this dreadful class of animals. Yet over these, in common with others, dreadful as they are, is placed a superior to govern and controul them: MAN appears the last in this arrangement of Natural History; an arrangement, which in opposition to modern systems, uniformly rises from the *minor* to the *major*; while our later arrangements begin with Man, and descend to Beasts,—Birds,—Insects,—Vegetables, &c. Nevertheless, the order is the same, though the course of that order be inverse; and, that the order of creation, was, in propriety, perhaps in necessity, (as the Deity appointed that necessity) according to the ancient system; a few simple principles may demonstrate.

We may, however, trace in SOLOMON a deviation similar to those of modern naturalists, since that prince placed great *trees* (the *cedar*, &c.) before *plants*: and MOSES himself, on another occasion, places *Man* before beasts, birds, &c.: and this, I doubt not, was the received arrangement, adopted by Moses, as a naturalist. Whereas, when writing a history of events, he was bound by the course of events; he could not adhere to system at the expense of truth. In this, too, let him stand as an example to naturalists of all times.

It may be thought very likely, that this order of minor to major, was strictly maintained in the works of the Hebrew naturalist; and I heartily wish it were in our power to maintain it correctly; but, who can boast of sufficient acquaintance with the subjects of it, whether plants or animals, to be certain of determining their *species*, much less their rank and their station?—A mere sketch, an outline of the

Mosaic System, is the utmost that should be expected on this occasion: if that sketch approach, though but tolerably, toward correctness, it will answer, as the effect of our (not inconsiderable) labours, and, as affording to the public means of greater exactness, in future; and, even at present, a security from error, which may be accepted without contempt.

Whoever recollects the progress of LINNÆUS and his system, will recollect also, that it was not perfect at once; that many articles were removed in later editions from the places they occupied in the first; and though it must be confessed, that his method became the best adapted of any to give certainty to science, and to fix the nature, and classes of what it included, yet this merit was not originally so striking, as afterwards; nor did it at its first appearance, receive those suffrages which eventually awaited it. It were not surprising if, in some degree, the same fate should attend the present attempt, and yet, we venture to foretel, that future naturalists, writing on Scripture, will defer to a plan somewhat the same, and will find it advantageous to use a distribution, not unlike in its principles, as the best mean of judging, to their satisfaction, when they have ascertained a Scripture subject; and, when they have properly placed it, of knowing where to find it again. This is one great benefit of system; and hardly inferior to that of obtaining clear and determinate ideas; which may justly be esteemed as the greatest benefit of all.

It were not difficult to lengthen the following Arrangement, were it only by adding the learned descriptions in the Linnean style, which *Professor FORSKALL* has adopted: but such an insertion would assume the appearance of professing more certainty on some things than we really possess: it would, moreover, have an air of interesting the learned, rather than the public. The fact is, that this part of our work is offered simply as an attempt—as a beginning of what, should it meet with public approbation, in these days of system and correctness, may rise from a solid foundation, to a fair superstructure; a kind of *pronaos* to the temple of general Science. In the mean time, we are encouraged to believe, that no endeavours designed to render HONOUR to the Holy Scriptures will be totally lost, without affording some benefit, either of instruction in knowledge, or of progress in holiness; and this is one of those satisfactions, which the study of the sacred volume produces, beyond that of other books; while another, and that no trivial satisfaction also, arises from reflecting, that labours like the present, contribute to shew, even in natural things, (of less consequence than spiritual things) that the Divine origin of Scripture, the God of nature itself, is not “the God of confusion, but of order.”

These observations cannot close without congratulating the religious world, on that spirit of disquisition which inclines very strongly to the investigation of eastern peculiarities. Beside works undertaken and published, on this branch of enquiry, by individuals, the manner of interpreting Scripture by means of eastern customs, &c. has been made a Prize-Question at one of our Universities; it has been the subject of a course of Lectures *ex Cathedra*, at another of our seats of learning; it has engaged the attention of Biblical critics abroad; and most of our British travellers, who have had opportunities to make analogous remarks, have found both a pleasure and a duty in so doing, and in liberal communication of them to the public. May this spirit strengthen and increase, till a mode of obtaining knowledge too long disused, recovers that station to which it is well entitled, and accomplishes those purposes to which it is peculiarly adapted!

BIBLICAL ARRANGEMENT

OF

NATURAL HISTORY.

BOTANY.

| I. HERBS, or GRASS. <i>DESHA.</i> | II. SHRUBS, or PLANTS. <i>OSHEB.</i> | III. TREES. <i>OTJ.</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| <i>Seeding Seed.</i> | <i>Seeding Seed.</i> | <i>Producing Fruit.</i> |
| Aloes. | Bramble. | Acacia. |
| Anise. | Brier. | Almond. |
| —— Fennel. | Broom. | Apple. |
| Bulrush. | CUCUMBERS. | Ash. |
| CORN. | —— Long. | BALSAMS. |
| —— Barley. | —— Bitter. | —— Opobalsam. |
| —— Durra. | —— Melon. | —— <i>Kafal.</i> |
| —— Oats. | —— Mandrake. | —— <i>Katat.</i> |
| —— Wheat. | GOURDS. | Box. |
| Crocus. | —— Flaggon. | Carob. |
| Cummin. | —— <i>Battich.</i> | Cassia. |
| Hemlock. | <i>al</i> Henna. | Cedar. |
| Hyssop. | Jasmin. | CITRONS. |
| Indigo. | Mustard. | FIGS. |
| Lilly. | Myrtle. | —— Common, |
| Millet. | ONIONS. | —— Sycomore. |
| Mint. | —— Common. | Fir. |
| Mugwort. | —— Garlick. | Juniper. |
| Nettle. | —— Leek. | Lign Aloes. |
| Nightshade. | —— Onion of the Desert. | Mulberry. |
| REEDS. | THORNS. | Nuts. |
| —— Cane. | —— White. | Oak. |
| —— Large. | —— Black. | Olive. |
| Sesamum. | —— Spreading. | Palm. |
| SOAP PLANTS. | —— Straight. | —— Date. |
| Kali Rough. | Rue. | —— Doum. |
| —— <i>Asal.</i> | | Pine. |
| THISTLES. | | Pomegranate. |
| TREFOILS. | | Rose. |
| Wormwood. | | Shittah. |
| Zizania. | | Shittim. |
| | | Tamarix. |
| | | Teil. |
| | | Terebinthus. |
| | | Vine. |
| | | Walnut. |
| | | Willow. |

AQUATICS.

I. INSECTS. *SHERITJ.*1. *Apparently without Wings.*

ANTS.

- of Solomon.
- Devourer.
- Maligant.

Flea.

Mite.

Palmer-Worm.

Scolopendra.

Scorpion.

Spiders.

2. *Apparently with Wings.*

Beetle.

Canker-Worm.

Caterpillar.

FLIES.

- Common.
- Gad-Fly.
- Zimb.

Gnat.

BEE.

Wasp.

- Common.
- Hornet.

LOCUSTS.

- Green.
- Gregarious.

Grasshopper.

Moth.

3. WORMS.

- Earth.

LEECH.

- Common.
- Horse.

Maggots.

Sepia.

Slug.

Snail.

II. FISHES and AMPHIBIA.

TANNINIM.

1. *Salt Water Animals.*

FISHES—GENERALLY.

1. CLEAN

2. UNCLEAN.

.....

UNCLEAN.

SERPENTS.

- Common.

- Lesser.

- Manati.

2. *Animals partly residing in Water, either Salt or Fresh.*

.....

UNCLEAN.

Frog.

TORTOISES.

- Water.

- Land.

LIZARDS.

- Cameleon.

- Crocodile.

- Dhab.

- Gecko.

- Guaral.

- Newt.

- Salamander.

.....

UNCLEAN.

3. SERPENTS.

- Chephir.

- Kippos.

- Okshub.

- Peten.

- Seraph.

- Shachal.

- Shephiphon.

- Tzeboa.

- Tzephon.

- Tzimmaon.

- Viper.

III. BIRDS. *OUPH.*1. *Air Birds.*

- * Cuckoo.

DOVE.

- Common.

- Stock.

- Turtle.

- Pigeon.

EAGLES.

- * — Common.

- * — Bald.

- * — Osprey.

- * — Ossifrage.

- * — Vulture.

- * — Racham.

- * Hawk.

- * Kite.

- * Lapwing.

Locust Bird.

Nightingale.

RAVENS.

- * — Common.

- * — Crow.

Sparrow.

- * Swallow

2. *Land Birds.*

Cock, domestic.

- * Ibis.

- * Ostrich.

- * Owls.

Partridge.

Peacock.

Pheasant.

Quail.

- * Salsaf—*Sahaph*,

3. *Water Birds.*

- * Bittern.

- * Cormorant.

- * Gannet.

- * Gulls.

- * Heron.

- * Hoopoe.

- * Kingfisher.

- * Pelican.

- * Stork.

- * Swan.

.....

- * BAT

Those marked * are Unclean.

TERRESTRIALS.

I. VERMIN.

CHIAH.

UNCLEAN,
having too numerously divided
Toes, or Claws.

1. Eaters of Vegetables.

Coney, or Shaphan.

Hare.

— Rabbit.

Hedgehog.

— Porcupine.

2. Eaters of Living Prey.

Ferret.

Ichneumon.

Weasel.

Mouse.

— Rat.

— Jerboa.

— Mole.

3. Digitated Quadrupeds.

Monkeys.

— Apes.

— Baboons.

II. LARGE BEASTS, and
DOMESTIC BEASTS.

BEHEMAH.

1. With undivided Hoofs.

UNCLEAN.

Ass.

— Common.

— Generous.

— Wild.

+ Zebra.

Mule.

HORSE.

— Common.

— Generous.

CAMEL.

— Common.

— Swift.

— Dromedary.

2. Hoofs divided into Two Parts.

CLEAN.

BEEVES.

— Cow.

— Wild.

+ — Buffalo.

+ Camelopardalis.

DEER.

— Stag.

— Fallow.

GAZELLES.

— Antelope.

GOAT.

— Common.

— Long Eared.

— Long Tailed.

— Hairy.

— Rock.

+ — Chamois.

SHREEP.

— Common.

— Broad Tailed.

3. Hoofs divided into more than
Two Parts.

UNCLEAN.

ELEPHANT.

HIPPOPOTAMOS.

RHINOCEROS.

HOG.

— Common.

— Wild.

III. FEROCIOUS ROAMERS.

ROMESHIM.

UNCLEAN,
having too numerously divided
Toes, or Claws.

1. DOG KIND.

— Common.

— Greyhound.

— Hyæna.

— Jackall.

— lesser, or Fox.

— Wolf.

— Desert.

2. CAT KIND.

LIONS.

— Ariah.

— Chephir.

— Whelp.

— Gur, Cub.

— Labiah.

— Laish.

— Schachal.

— Schachaz.

Leopard.

— Hunting.

Lynx.

Panther.

Tiger.

3. Anomalous.

Bear.

Badger.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OF UNCLEAN ANIMALS.

LEVITICUS, CHAP. XI. VERSES 4, &c.

NATURALISTS must arrange all Animals which they undertake to describe, according to the peculiarities of their formation, as they strike the eye; and guided by their most conspicuous members; among which will always be reckoned those which are adapted to motion,—the legs and feet. These appear to have furnished the obvious means of distinction, not to call it classification, no less to Moses, anciently, than to Linnæus, of late; for in truth, the Mosaic line of *permission* and *exclusion* of animals for food, &c. is drawn by means of those Divisions which Nature has appointed to their Feet.

SOLIPEDES, or animals of one hoof, such as the Horse and the Ass, are Unclean: FISSIPEDES, or animals having hoofs divided into *two* parts, are clean; but then, this division must be entire, not partial; effective, not apparent only; and, beside its external construction, its internal, its anatomical construction, must also be strictly analogous with this formation. Moreover, animals having feet divided into *more* than two parts are unclean; so that the number of their toes, as *three, four, or five*, is cause sufficient for rejection of them; whatever be their other qualities.

Such we may accept as the principle of Levitical distinction of animals into clean and unclean, derived from the conformation of their feet: their rumination is a distinct character; but, a character absolutely unavailing, without the more obvious, and evident marks, manifest in the construction of these members.

We may, I think, consider the animals mentioned in this passage, as *instances* of a rule designed for general application: the law excludes, 1. All, the feet of which are not, by *one* cleft, *thoroughly* divided into *two* parts,—as the CAMEL. 2. All, the feet of which though thoroughly divided by *one* cleft into two parts *externally*, yet *internally* differ by the construction of their bones, from the character of the permitted kinds,—as the SWINE. 3. All, the feet of which are thoroughly divided by *two* clefts into three toes,—as the SAPHAN. 4. All, the feet of which are thoroughly divided by three clefts into *four* toes,—as the HARE; and therefore, *à fortiori*, if there be any animals having feet divided into *five* toes, they are so much farther removed from the character fixed as the rule of permission. [*Vide* the BAT, and Plate.]

It is proper to recollect, that the power of rumination is one character necessary to lawfulness; yet the Saphan, though it ruminates, is proscribed; and the Hare, though some of its varieties (if not all) may ruminate, yet is unclean throughout the species, by reason of the construction of its feet. This, then, seems to be the Legislative Naturalist's most obvious distinction; a distinction which the eye of the unlearned can identify in a moment, and therefore beyond all ambiguity adapted to public and national information.

For the history and figure of the SAPHAN, and the construction of its feet, especially, *vide* the PLATE, and a following No. It is not thought necessary to repeat it here; or to enlarge on creatures the general habits and history of which are known: merely to identify, and delineate them, is sufficient.

No. 1, 2. The CAMEL and DROMEDARY. These are, probably, only varieties of the same species; notwithstanding one has two humps, and the other has only one. These fleshy excrescences are of a soft and gristly nature, and are not supported by bones, or other fixed and permanent connections, whereby they

might become parts of the solid structure of the animal. The general properties and services of this creature, its adaptation to the sands of the desert, its power of carrying great weights, its long endurance of thirst, its docility, and its irascibility, are well and generally understood.

No. 3. Is the *upper* part of the foot of a Camel; shewing a *sulcus*, or kind of groove-like division, running down it, but not entirely dividing it.

No. 4. Is the *under* part of the same foot; shewing that there does exist on the sole of the foot a line answering to the line above; but, it is partial and feebly marked; so that the foot can by no means be said to be divided, or cloven: and this want of *entire* division is a characteristic mark that renders the animal unclean. But though unclean to the Hebrews, the Orientals freely eat it.

No. 5. If the Camel is unclean, by reason of the want of *entire* division in its hoofs, the Hare is unclean, by reason of too many divisions in its feet. It were superfluous to enlarge on an animal so well known; but,

No. 6. Represents the bones of a Hare's foot; shewing the entire division of this member into *four* parts: which being more than the law assumes as the mark of a clean animal, renders this animal unclean by too much separation; as the Camel was unclean by too little, or incomplete separation.

No. 7. The Wild Boar, usually thought to be the parent of the swine kind. It inhabits Asia as well as Europe, and retains its character and manners in almost every climate. On the feet, as marking distinction, it may be observed, that, though their outward appearance resembles that of a cloven footed animal, yet *internally* they have the same number of bones and joints as animals which have fingers and toes; so that the arrangement of their feet-bones is, into first, and second, and third *phalanges*, or knuckles, no less than that of the human hand. Beside, therefore, the absence of rumination in the hog kind, the feet of the species do not accord with those of such beasts as are clean, according to the established Levitical regulations. It will be found, also, that no carnivorous quadrupeds are placed by nature in the class of animals having feet divided into two parts, only. Such could not have been acceptable on the Sacred altar; the *second digestion* of food (as must be the case with creatures that feed on flesh, which flesh has been already supported by the digestion of food, vegetable, or animal) being absolutely excluded. Possibly, even honey was prohibited from the altar, because it had undergone a process not unlike digestion, in the stomach of the bee. It was lawful as food to man; but not as an accompaniment to sacrifice.

THE ELEPHANT.

WE have two reasons for particularly distinguishing the Elephant; the first is, that many commentators, among whom is CALMET, consider this animal as the *Behemoth* of Job xl. The second is, that his most valued production, *Ivory*, is denoted in Scripture under a *periphrasis*, which, to be justified, requires an appeal to his figure and history.

As to the first particular, it must be acknowledged, that the Elephant is sufficiently large to be included among the *Behemah*, or quadrupeds of great magnitude, which form a division in Hebrew zoology. We must admit his strength, as well as his magnitude, his feeding on vegetables, and many other particulars, common to him with the *Hippopotamos*; yet, there are some particulars which agree better with this last mentioned animal; and we can by no means remove the difficulty that

arises from the natural *companionization* of the Hippopotamos with the Crocodile, which creature is almost universally taken for the *Leviathan*. This association struck Pliny long ago, who says, *lib. xxviii. cap. 8*. "There is a certain relation between the *Crocodile* and the *Hippopotamos*, who live and who feed in the same river." BOCHART observes farther, that words ending in *oth* are Egyptian; as *Tóth*, *Phaóth*, *Phamenóth*, &c. not being plurals, but singulars. The word *Behemoth* agrees with this remark, and seems to be so applied *par excellence*. The word *behemah* is used by the Arabs of the present day, as *behemah* was used anciently by the Hebrews, to denote *large* beasts.

But the Elephant undoubtedly yielded *Ivory*. The first time this is mentioned in Scripture, is in the reign of Solomon. If the forty-fifth Psalm were written *before* the Canticles, and *before* Solomon had constructed his royal and magnificent throne, then *that* is the first mention of this commodity. It is spoken of as decorating those boxes of perfume, which contained odours employed to exhilarate the king's spirits: "*Ivory* palaces, by which they have made thee glad." The application of it as an article of elegance, appears also 1 Kings x. 18. where the throne of Solomon is described as decorated with *ivory*, and inlaid with gold: the beauty of these materials, relieving the splendour, and heightening the lustre of each other. *Ivory* is here described as *shen gedul*, "great tooth;"—which shews clearly, that it was imported into Palestine in the whole tusk.

It was, however, ill described as a *tooth*; for tooth it is not, but a weapon of defence, not unlike the *tusk* of a wild boar; and for the same purposes as the *horns* of other animals. This has prompted Ezekiel to use another *periphrasis* for describing it; and he calls it "*horns of tooth*," *kerenuth shen*. This, too, is liable to great objection, since the idea of *horns* and *teeth*, to those who had never seen an Elephant—must have been very confused, if not contradictory. Nevertheless, the combination is ingenious; for, the *defences* which furnish the ivory, answer the purposes of *horns*; while, by issuing from the mouth, they are not unaptly likened to teeth: and they are called "teeth" among the dealers, who know perfectly well that the Elephant has *teeth*, expressly formed for mastication of food; grinders of no trifling weight and dimensions. BOCHART was desirous of finding Elephants themselves in Scripture, and inclined to read 1 Kings x. 22. *shen-kahabim* instead of *shen-habbim*. This is much better broken into two words, *shen*, tooth, and *habenim*, ebony wood; for which we have the authority of Ezek. xxvii. 15. As to *beds*, and *houses* of ivory, they can only mean *adorned*, not *constructed* of ivory: *vide* Nos. DCLXXXI. DCLXXXII. From Ezek. xxvii. 6. *benches for the rowers of the Tyrian ship, made of—ivory, daughter of steps*—we have dismissed the *ivory* altogether. Comp. No. CCXVII. Indeed, *ivory* in every state is unfit for any use requiring firmness; surely much more unfit for such a situation as seats for rowers, which must require all the strength, resistance, and durability of oak itself.

From the figure of the Elephant, we perceive clearly, what induced the Hebrews to describe the tusks as *teeth*; *i. e.* their projection from the mouth, where *teeth* are naturally expected: while, at the same time, they have much the character and use of *horns*, being evidently capable of making a stout resistance, if the creature be attacked, and of answering the purposes of most formidable and deadly weapons.

If we might trust to the Chaldee interpreter, the knowledge of *ivory* would prove to be much more ancient than it appears in Scripture: that author informs us, that Joseph placed his father Jacob "on a bed of ivory," (*Desindaphin*). Nor is this supposition to be hastily rejected altogether, for *ivory* might be known in Egypt,

either from Ethiopia, or by the caravans from the central parts of Africa; or, it might be procured from India by trading vessels, or merchants: and certainly its beauty and ornament would well become the residence of the *Nazir*, or lord-steward of the royal household of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

UNICORN, REEM, RHINOCEROS :

Translation of No. XLVI. of MICHAELIS'S "Questions proposed to the learned Travellers in Arabia."

"NOTWITHSTANDING so many labours which truly learned men have undertaken, such as Bochart, Ludolph, and Schultens, to explain the import of the Hebrew word, REEM, or RAAM, [רֵאֵם, or רָאֵם,] that import remains still almost intirely concealed from us. The last mentioned writer seems to be the only one who has taken the right road, for the discovery of the truth. Without loading the Hebrew language with a new animal, already well known to us, he contents himself with reporting whatever he has been able to collect from the Arabian writers relating to the word *Reem*. He confesses, however, for himself, that after having considered what he produces, the animal referred to continues equally unascertained; because, no one of the writers has given a methodical description of it, nor has mentioned those characters, whereby it may be distinguished from other horned creatures, and especially from our Bulls, when they are wild. However, what seems to be certain is, that Golius has badly translated the Arabic *Reem* by *Dorcas*; and that the animal denoted by this term belongs to the Bull kind, with this difference, that it is absolutely impossible to tame it. We see also, that the sacred text supposes a great resemblance between him and a Bull; since Job is asked, whether he would dare to entrust the *Reem* with such or such labours, as were performed by bullocks. The travellers will deliver us from all these doubts, and from our ignorance, by bringing a correct figure of the *Reem*, with a methodical and circumstantial description. I beg them not to forget the manners, the swiftness, and natural ferocity of this animal; and to compare it carefully with the passage, Job xxxix. 9, &c."

The following is Mr. SCOTT'S note on the passage of Job, where the *Reem* is particularly described.

"*The Unicorn] the Wild Bull.* The Hebrew name is *Reem*, which appears from the allusions to it in Scripture to be a creature of great strength, with high and terrible horns, and of the beeve kind. Numb. xxiii. 22. xxiv. 8. Deut. xxxiii. 17. Psalm xxii. 13, 22. xxix. 6. xcii. 11. Isaiah xxxiv. 6, 7. It cannot therefore be the *Unicorn*, which is a *fish* in the North Seas. The *land Unicorn* is a meer fiction. Neither can it be the *Rhinoceros*, which hath but one horn, and that a very short one, placed just over the nose. We learn from Dr. PARSONS in the *Philosophical Transactions* for the year 1743, that there is in Africa a species of *Rhinoceros* that hath always a double horn upon the nose. The Doctor produced to the members of the Royal Society a double horn of this creature, brought from the Cape of Good Hope. But neither Job nor the writer of the poem can be supposed to have heard of such an animal; nor will this circumstance of a double horn intitle it to the description of the *Reem*. Neither is it the Arabian *Reem*, which is a species of *roe*, and a weak timid animal. It is most probably the *Wild Bull*, bred in the Syrian and Arabian Deserts; which answers perfectly well to the cha-

racter of the *Scripture Reem*. The Arab poets are very copious in their descriptions of the hunting of this animal, and borrow many images from its beauty, swiftness, strength, and the loftiness of its horns. They represent it as a very fierce and untameable beast, white on the back, with large shining eyes. The reader however ought to be informed, that one of the Arabian poets joins it with the *roes*; perhaps because they are both wild creatures. Damir, their great naturalist, in the chapter which he entitles *Of the Wild Bull*, describes no other than a *Wild Stag*. But so Cæsar speaking of the *Urus* of the Black Forest in Germany, calls it *bos cervi figura*,—a *beever shaped like a stag*. Schultens, in *loc. Hieroz.* p. i. 965, 966. Clodius, in his *Lex. Select.* says, that the *Reem* occurs nine times in the Hebrew Bible; and that its name is derived from רֵם, *altum esse*, on account of the tallness of its stature, or the loftiness of its horns. The *Reems* are in effect called *Wild Bulls* by the Psalmist, Psalm xxii. For those whom he stiles *Bulls of Bashan*, i. e. of the mountains of Bashan, ver. 13. he calls *Reems*, ver. 21. as though they were synonymous terms. In short the *Reem* must be supposed to be of the *beever kind*; since it is represented, in our author's description, as qualified by its make and strength for the business of agriculture like the tame ox."

"or abide by thy crib?] The original may be rendered, *or, will he lie all night on thy threshing floor?* i. e. to guard it. Mr. Merrick has made it appear probable, that Bulls were in the earliest ages employed, as dogs, to guard fields. Oxen are actually put to this use by the Hottentots."

Mr. PARKHURST has also taken this side of the question; and he thus expresses his opinion.

"As a noun רֵם, and רֵאם, plur. רָאִים, the name of a *horned animal*, Deut. xxxiii. 17. Ps. xcii. 11.; remarkable for his *strength*, Numb. xxiii. 32; and of the *beever kind*, with which he is mentioned, Deut. xxxiii. 17. Psalm xxix. 6. Isaiah xxxiv. 7. In short, the name seems to denote the *Wild Bull*, so called from his *height and size*, in comparison with the tame. The above cited are all the passages wherein this noun occurs; and the LXX. constantly render it μονοκερως, the *Unicorn*, except in Isaiah xxxiv. 7. where they have αἶποι, the *big*, or *mighty ones*. But that it cannot possibly mean a *Unicorn* (if indeed there ever existed such an animal as that is usually described to be), is evident from Deut. xxxiii. 17. where it is said of Joseph, קַרְנָיו, *his horns*, (are) קַרְנֵי הָרֵם, *the horns of a רֵם*, with them he shall push the people (to) the ends of the earth, וְהָרֵם, and these (two horns namely, are) the ten thousands of Ephraim, and the thousands of Manasseh, i. e. the two tribes which sprang from Joseph. The Vulg. in Psalm xxix. 6. xcii. 11. Isaiah xxxiv. 7. renders it after the LXX. by *Unicornis*, but in Num. xxiii. 22. Deut. xxxiii. 17. by *Rhinocerotis*, the *Rhinoceros*. Several learned men, and among the rest, Scheuchzer, embrace this latter interpretation. But first, though it is certain that some *Rhinoceroses* have two horns, (See SHAW'S *Travels*, p. 430, note 1; Buffon, tom. ix. p. 334.) yet many of them have but one, and this being placed on the nose, and bended back towards the forehead, is not formed for *pushing* (דָּגַד) but for *ripping up* the trunks, or bodies, of the more soft and succulent trees; and reducing them into a kind of laths, which constitute a part of the animal's food. (See BRUCE'S *Travels*, vol. v. p. 91.)

"It is inconsistent therefore with the import of Deut. xxxiii. 17. to explain רֵם by the *Rhinoceros*. 2ly. Notwithstanding the remark of Scheuchzer, Numb. xxiii. 22. there seems no sufficient reason to think that the *Rhinoceros*, which is a native (See Buffon's *Hist. Nat.* tom. viii. p. 135. tom. ix. p. 339, 340.) only of the *southern regions*

regions of Asia and Africa, was so much as known to the Israelites in the days of Moses, or even of David.

"I apprehend with the learned Bochart, and others, that רִם, which occurs Job xxxix. 9, 10. and plur. רִמִּים, Psalm xxii. 22. denote the same kind of animal as רָאם; and indeed in the Psalms, more than thirty of Dr. Kennicott's codices read רִאמִּים. The description of Job represents the רִם to be a very strong, fierce, and untameable creature, and implies him to be of the *Beeve* kind (See Scott's notes); and the רִמִּים in Psalm xxii. 22. are mentioned as having *horns*, and correspond to the *Bulls* and *strong Bulls* of Bashan, ver. 3. And since the orthography of these words רִם and רִמִּים shews them more properly to belong to רִם or רִי, they may serve to confirm the relation between that root and רָאם above noted."

The reader is now in possession of the strongest arguments and facts known in favour of their system, when these gentlemen wrote. Since that time Dr. ANDERSON has described in his "Recreations in Agriculture," a much larger animal of the Beeve kind, than had been supposed to exist; which he calls the *Arnee*. As the Dr's information was derived from the reports of a vessel which picked up a floating carcase of this immense animal in an inundation of the Ganges, the habits, and nature of the creature remain unknown; his size and figure only can be determined;—it is said his height was 12 to 14 feet, and his other dimensions answerable to so great a height.

Is it possible that the forests of the Eastern mountains should contain a creature of this prodigious bulk, which though obscurely, and but lately, known to us, was well known in the days of Job; and which formed an object of comparison, and of poetical description, among Arabian writers? Is he, or was he, extant in Persia, for instance, so that the writer of the Book of Job depicts one animal whose residence was to the west of him, (the Leviathan, or Crocodile) and another whose residence was to the east of him? (the Arnee).

It is but fair to mention the possibility of this reference, before we consider some hints in the foregoing extracts; and submit arguments on the other side of this enquiry.

The Arabian description of an antelope, or a deer, can never apply to the *Reem* of Holy Writ; but, if a *Reem* of the beeve kind was *really* known to the Arabian writers, how happens it, that all their descriptions of this terrific animal terminate in a gazelle, or a stag?

Observe also, that though the *sea* Unicorn cannot possibly be the *Reem* of Job, yet it does not follow that the *land* Unicorn is a fable: we have in BARROW'S "*Travels in Southern Africa*," page 313. a partial (Hottentot) delineation of him, and presumptive evidence of his existence, [as a gazelle, not a bull.]

And farther, though what animals are now extant in Southern Africa only, may safely be considered as unknown to Job; yet proofs of their restriction to those countries, anciently, must be produced, before we can admit the impossibility, or improbability, of his being informed of them, from some other part of the world.

This militates effectually against the observation of Mr. PARKHURST, that the double-horned Rhinoceros was known ONLY in the *Southern regions of Asia and Africa*, since certainly he was known to the Romans, who never penetrated to those Southern regions; and we have the testimony of Mr. BRUCE that he inhabits the forests of Ethiopia, in the North of Africa, whence he might easily be known, and well known too, in Egypt, and from Egypt, in Arabia.

We are sure that the Romans had great commerce with Africa, and received from thence many cargoes of wild beasts: among them was the Rhinoceros with two horns; this, I say, we suppose they received from Africa, for to suppose they received it from Asia, would infer the probability of its being still better known in Arabia, and, by consequence, to Job, than it is fair, at present, to infer.

The mention of the DOUBLE HORNED Rhinoceros as known at Rome, leads to a reflection on the hyper-criticism of Bochart, who would vary a line of Martial, *Spect. Epig. lib. iv. No. 82.*

*Namque gravem gemino cornū sic extulit Ursum,
Jactat ut impositas Taurus in astra pilas.*

in which the poet says, “the Rhinoceros tossed up a heavy Bear with his double horn:” to

Namque gravi geminum cornū sic extulit Urum.

“the Rhinoceros tossed up two Wild Bulls with his strong horn:” this *emendation* misled both Mr. Mattaire, and Dr. Mead, for a time.

Besides this testimony of Martial, we have the Domitian medal, in which the figure of the Rhinoceros has *two horns* on the nose, very plainly: and the decisive authority of Pausanias, who says he saw it at Rome. “I saw also the *Ethiopian BULL*, which is also called *Rhinoceros*, because a horn projects from the end of his nose, *and a little ABOVE it* [OR BEYOND it] *another* [και αλλο υπερ αυτο σ μεγα] *not large*; but it has none on its head.” [This is correct; which I notice, because Mr. TAYLOR in his translation of Pausanias has made his author say, “a horn projects from the extremity of its *nostril*, and another *small one UNDER it*.”—which is contrary, as well to probability, as to nature.]

These authorities demonstrate that the *double horned* Rhinoceros was known anciently in Rome:—and if in Rome, why not in Egypt? since he is extant in Ethiopia:—and if in Egypt, why not to the writer of the Book of Job? since this is clearly the African species.

We are now prepared to consider what answers may be given to the objections of Mr. PARKHURST, &c. as 1. that the Rhinoceros stands connectedly distinguished from the beeve kind in Sacred Scripture. Answer, he might even be reckoned by the Arabians, &c. in the days of Job, among the beeve kind, since Pausanias, who was many centuries later, calls him “*the Ethiopian BULL*” [Ταυρος της τε Αιθιοπικης] OR “*the Bull of Ethiopia*,” as if he were known in Ethiopia under the name of a *Bull*: but this name would not alter his character, or his form; the creature though called a Bull, and ranged among the beeve kind, might nevertheless be the Rhinoceros.

2. The strongest argument of Mr. PARKHURST, is, that the Rhinoceros does not *push* with his horns, as the Reem is said to do, but *rips up* boughs of trees, &c. into laths. In answer, it may be queried, Whether the import of the Hebrew word נגח, *negach*, on which Mr. P’s argument is founded, is not fairly and correctly expressed by the *extulit* of Martial; for *negach* properly signifies to drive forward, to propel: some have rendered it by to *toss up*, to *elevate*; and *extulit* signifies to *take up*; but then we may suppose the Rhinoceros did not *carry* the bear on his horns, but endeavoured to *jerk* him as high as he well could, while counteracted by the resis-

tance and struggles of his antagonist. Now, this is precisely what a Bull would have done; no Bull—a *Wild Bull*, especially, would, strictly speaking, *push* his enemy, (which enemy is not understood to be a fellow Bull, but of another kind) but he would strive to thrust his horn into the body of his adversary, and would endeavour to *throw him up*; so far there is a resemblance in the action of these creatures: yet there must be a difference; for Jacob says, with these *two* horns, acting at the same instant, as I understand it, shall he push:—this, Martial informs us, was strictly true of the double horned Rhinoceros, which, taking the bear on both his horns, *threw him up*:—whether a Bull would throw with both horns at the same instant, I do not certainly know; but from the divergence of his horns, should suppose he would not, at least he would not in regard to such little balls as the poet conceives his Bull might throw up; for he seems to say, “The Rhinoceros having raised the bear on his horns, or got him fairly on his two horns, threw him up (*extulit*), as easily as a Bull would throw up little balls placed on his head.” So that, on the whole, the action of the Rhinoceros as described by this ancient writer, may stand as a comment on the action which Jacob attributes to his *Reem*.

3. As to the domestic labours, &c. mentioned by way of *antiphrasis*, as not to be entrusted to the *Reem*, they suit the Rhinoceros quite as well as the *Urus*; since the Rhinoceros when of full age, is as untameable and untractable, as any creature living. “In Bengal, Siam, and other southern parts of India, where the Rhinoceros is perhaps, still more common than in Ethiopia, and where the natives are accustomed to tame elephants, he is regarded as an irreclaimable animal, of which no domestic use can be made.” Buffon’s note, Art. *Rhinoceros*.

Let us now attend to modern information in relation to the Rhinoceros. The first correct intelligence we had of this creature, was from Dr. Parsons, *Phil. Trans.* vol. xli. p. 523. who gave drawings, &c. of a young one, supposed to be only two years old: to these he added delineations of a double horn, then in Sir Hans Sloane’s Collection. The Dr. resumed the subject in vol. lvi. p. 32. on occasion of a double horn, then recently received by Dr. Mead. Mr. Bruce mentions the animal as found in Abyssinia; and Dr. Sparrman depicts him in South Africa. We find him also in the East Indies: and have a description and delineation of him, *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxxiii. p. 8. &c. by Mr. Bell, Surgeon to the East India Company. Buffon and other naturalists, have given figures of the *single horned* Rhinoceros only; but it is much to be wished that men of learning and talents, would exercise toward each other that liberality to which they are respectively entitled: when we read the reflections of Sparrman on Buffon, or those of Bruce on Sparrman, we are ashamed of reading what those authors should have been ashamed of writing:—because animals differ in different countries, therefore their *describers* are not worthy of credit,!! &c. &c. To me it appears, that the North African species of folding-skin Rhinoceros has usually a single horn;—nevertheless, *some* are found having two horns; then, I observe, the Rhinoceros of Bencoolen (East India) has much less of those folding skins, yet has two horns; then, that the South African Rhinoceros has no folding skins, yet has two horns. Now, in this gradual diminution and disappearance of the folding skin, what is there contrary to nature? It is true, this may distinguish *different species*;—but if so, why should naturalists blame each other? Why not accept each other’s information with gratitude? If Nature has variety, where is the crime of reporting it?

RHINOCEROS, REEM, UNICORN. PLATE I.

THE upper figure shews the *URUS*, or Wild Bull, of the Forests of Poland. This animal is of great force and magnitude, and of long life. "It grows to a size, that scarcely any other animal but the elephant is found to equal. The female exceeds the largest of our bulls in size." It is very wild, irritable, and violent; but whether any of the beeve kind may be truly said to be *untameable*, may, I think, be doubted, since this kind seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence, for the companion of man, in all his states of civilization; and in all parts of the world.

The lower figure shews the *RHINOCEROS*, of the ordinary, or at least, of the best known, species, having but one horn. The contradiction is equally great in the *LXX.* whether they designed to describe a Bull, having two horns, by the name of *MONOCEROS*, *i. e.* *ONE-horned*; or whether they designed the double-horned *Rhinoceros*: but, when we consider that a wild Bull having only one horn, would be contrary to the nature of the beeve kind, and indeed would be a monster; whereas a *Unicorn*, or single-horned *Rhinoceros*, would suit some passages of Scripture, and be perfectly well-known to their readers; while another species of *Rhinoceros* having two horns, would suit other passages of Scripture, where a similar animal is meant, and this also was known to their readers; we cannot but approve of the choice they made in preferring the *Rhinoceros* to the *Urus*, as the animal intended by the Hebrew *Reem*. We consider also this choice, and this opinion, of the Egyptian translators, (who certainly knew full as well as modern writers can know the animal most likely to be described by the sacred poet) as no despicable authority on this side of the question.

PLATE II. DOUBLE HORN OF THE RHINOCEROS.

The *DOUBLE Horn* of this creature, being that part of his figure which has been most called in question, and which stands most in need of authorities, to elucidate its nature and form, we have collected on this Plate several delineations of this particular article.

Fig. 1. A copy of the Domitian Medal, in which the Double Horn of this creature is distinctly represented.

2. The Head of the Double Horned *Rhinoceros*, from Mr. BRUCE; who tells us, that this species in Abyssinia differs little, or nothing, in any other respect from the single-horned kind. Mr. BRUCE's figure is a close resemblance to BUFFON's; for which this observation may account.

3. The Head of the Double-Horned *Rhinoceros*, from Mr. BELL's account, in the *Philosophical Transactions*. This figure differs essentially from that of Buffon and Mr. Bruce; in nothing more than in the almost total absence of the folding skins: but we have copied the head only.

No. 4. A Double-Horned *Rhinoceros*, in which the folding skins are by no means obliterated, though they are very much diminished from those of Mr. Bruce's figure. From Harris's *Voyages*, Vol. i. p. 465. He ranks it as an East Indian kind; though he quotes Kolben, who was one of the earliest who mentioned the Double Horned species, as native of South Africa. We have given this at full length, because, by comparing it with the second figure in the former Plate, the diminution of the folding skin is very discernable. This instance agrees sufficiently with that given by Mr. Bell: which is yet considerably smoother, and has, in fact, very slight

traces that any folding skin appertains to the genus; of which characteristic appearance it would never have raised any suspicion, had this species only been known.

No. 5. Double Horns, delineated by Dr. Parsons, from Sir Hans Sloane's Collection. "Whether they crossed each other on the animal, is uncertain. It is most likely they did not; but that by drying they were crossed by the corrugation of the skin that joins them together. However, I have drawn them as they appeared to me. The straight horn is TWENTY-FIVE inches long; the curved one somewhat shorter; and the two diameters of the bases THIRTEEN inches." From this account both Horns appear to be nearly equal in strength, magnitude, &c. The Dr. mentions a Horn in Sir Hans's collection THIRTY-SEVEN inches long:—above three feet! Another *thirty-two* inches long:—and Buffon mentions one *three feet eight inches* in length. What formidable weapons are these! equal in length to the horns of many of our English bulls!

No. 6. Horns delineated by Dr. Parsons from Dr. Mead's Collection. "The length of the anterior Horn,—measuring with a string along the convex fore part is *twenty* inches; perpendicular height *eighteen*: circumference at the base *twenty-one and a half*. The posterior Horn is in perpendicular height *nine inches and a quarter*; circumference round the base *eighteen* inches; length of both bases together on the nasal bones *fourteen* inches; and the weight of both together *fourteen* pounds *ten* ounces." Brought from Angola, in Africa.

No. 7. A Double Horn, from Buffon; the tips not perfect, but the union at bottom very compact.

No. 8. The Skull of a Double Horned Rhinoceros; shewing the connection of the Horns with the *os frontis*: from Mr. Bell's figure in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. lxxxiii. "Both Horns were firmly attached to the skull, nor was there any appearance of joint, or of muscles to move them."

No. 9. The figure of one of those Horns which are worn in Abyssinia by the soldiery, in triumph after a victory. [The Sepoys of India wear a similar Horn of silver, as part of their ordinary military uniform.] If there be any probability in the idea that when the *horn* of a person is mentioned in Scripture, it may allude to the wearing of such a token of exultation, or, indeed, on merely common ideas, without such a reference,—is it more likely the allusion should be to the two horns of a Bull, which project one on each side of the head, than to a *single* horn erect in the middle of the forehead? If the Psalmist had said, "my *horns* (plural) shalt thou *project sideways*;"—the phrase might have alluded to a Bull: but, when he says, "my *horn* (singular) shalt thou *exalt*," or cause to stand erect like the *horn* of a *Reem*,"—we must seek some other animal as the subject of comparison: because a Bull, with the whole beeeve kind, is out of the question; inasmuch as their Horns do not *stand erect*; neither are they, in that sense, *exalted*.

The series of Double Horns here offered deserves notice, as indicating several varieties: in No. 7. they are strongly united: in No. 6. they are pretty closely united at bottom, but not quite: in No. 5. they are somewhat wider asunder; and in No. 8. the distance between them is considerable.

N. B. This enquiry has proceeded on the principle that the *Reem*, or *Rim*, and the *Raam*, are the same animal, though the name be differently written: but, does one denote the *Unicornis*,—the other the *Bicornis*? or,—are they different animals?

Since this article was composed, additional evidence has been adduced on the subject of the Rhinoceros. Capt. WILLIAMSON in his "Oriental Field Sports," Pl. xi.

describes this animal as extremely savage, and absolutely untameable. He reports several instances of its fatal superiority over elephants, which dread its fury. It rips up their bowels; though itself be thrust through by their teeth. It attacks also travellers, horses, and villagers. Various specimens of Double Horns have also been brought to London, from South Africa, by Rev. Mr. CAMPBELL, and others: some of them are of tremendous dimensions.

As this subject is curious, it may be proper to insert the following report of a true Unicorn existing as a species, in the Mountains of Thibet.

“Major Latter, who commands the Rungpore Batallion, has lately had an opportunity of correcting the error into which Naturalists have fallen, by ascertaining that the Unicorn actually exists in the interior of Thibet, and is well known to the inhabitants. This extraordinary fact was first communicated to Colonel Nicol, in February 1820.

“In a Thibetian manuscript, says Major Latter, containing the names of different animals, which I procured the other day from the Hills, the Unicorn is classed under the head of those whose hoofs are divided; it is called the one-horned *Tsopa*. Upon enquiring what kind of an animal it was, to our astonishment the person who brought me the manuscript, described exactly the Unicorn of the ancients. It is a native of the interior of Thibet, about the size of a Tattoo, [small horse] fierce and extremely wild, seldom if ever caught alive, but frequently shot, and the flesh is used for food.

“The person who gave me this information has repeatedly seen these animals, and eaten the flesh of them. They go together in herds like our wild Buffaloes, and are very frequently to be met with on the borders of the Great Desert, about a month’s journey from Lhassa, in that part of the country inhabited by the wandering Tartars.... Upon the person being asked, if he could draw the figure of one, he did so upon paper, and considering the roughness of the execution produced a striking similitude of the Unicorn....

“There are several collateral circumstances which tend to establish the fact of the Unicorn being found in Thibet. Captain Turner in his Embassy to Tishoo Lomboo mentions that the Bootan Rajah told him he had one alive at a short distance from Tassisudon. Bell in his Travels from Moscow to Peking with the Russian Embassy, describes a stray Unicorn having been found near a place on the southern frontiers of Siberia.

“Major Latter has obtained the horn of a young Unicorn from the Saohia Lamia, which is now before us. It is twenty inches in length, at the root it is four inches and a half in circumference, and tapers to a point; it is black, rather flat at the sides, and has fifteen rings, but they are only prominent on one side. It is nearly straight. Major Latter expects to obtain the head of the animal, the hoofs, and the skin, very shortly, which will afford positive proof of the form and character of the *Tsopo*, or Thibet Unicorn.” *Calcutta Government Gazette, August, 1821.*

* * If this species *never has two horns*, it cannot be the *Reem* of S. S.

A true Unicorn is also delineated among the antiquities found at Nineveh, by the late Mr. Rich: this, too is a species, as the female is in the act of suckling her young. It appears to be of the Deer kind. Elsewhere it is hinted.

To conclude, we may refer to our PLATES of MEDALS, for several instances of Bulls with single horns, as MACEDONIA, Nos. 13, 14. TAURUS, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 12, 13. They are frequent among the sculptures at and near Persepolis; see TAURUS, Nos. 9, 10. Comp. also, PLATE of PERSIA, No. 9. &c. with their Explanations.

ON THE WILD ASS: AND OTHER ASSES OF THE EAST.

THE Reader may observe, in several places of this work, a distinction made between the kinds of Asses mentioned in Scripture. Our public version seems to have failed in discriminating them, though it employs beside the term *Ass*, implying the common, or ordinary breed, the terms *Wild-Ass*, and *she-Ass*; the last is descriptive of a *sex*, but not of a *race*, which includes both sexes. It seems most likely, however, that the original word should mean a *race*; and this sentiment is supported by the following authorities.

There are three words referred by translators to the Ass. 1. CHAMOR, the usual appellation, denoting the ordinary kind. 2. PARA, rendered *Onager*, or *Wild Ass*. 3. ATUN, rendered *SHE-Ass*:—To these we must add, 4. OREDIA, rendered *Wild-Asses*, Dan. v. 21. and 5. OIRIM, rendered *young Asses*, Isaiah xxx. 6, 24.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ONAGER, OR WILD-ASS:

Collected by Professor PALLAS, from the Papers of the late Professor GMELIN.

Extracted and translated from ROZIER'S Journal de Physique, Vol. xxi. Supp. 1782.

AFTER observing that very few travellers mention this animal, the Professor proceeds to remark, "Nevertheless, it is a fact well supported by the unanimous testimonies of the Asiatic Nomades, or wandering hordes, the trading caravans which come from Bukharia, and those persons escaped from slavery whom I have occasionally questioned on the subject, that the *Onagers*, or *Wild Asses*, known by all Asiatics under the name of *Koutan*, are still very numerous in the deserts of Great Tartary; and come annually in great troops, which spread themselves in the mountainous deserts, east and north of lake Aral. Here they pass the summer, and assemble in the autumn by hundreds, and even by thousands, in order for their return towards India: where they seek an asylum against winter. A passage of Barboza [Ramusio, *Voy.* Vol. I. p. 300,] seems to trace this migration even to the south of India; but certainly Persia is the ordinary retreat of the troops of *Onagers*, and in the mountains around Casbin they are found at all times of the year. . . . All my endeavours to procure one failed. . . . To the care of the late Professor Gmelin, who died on his return from this expedition, we owe our knowledge of the true *Onager*: especially from a female and a colt, which his attendants brought to Petersburg.

The Persians call this animal *Kourhan*, and *Ischâki*, or *Mountain-Ass*; because he prefers the most arid deserts of the mountains. They, as well as the Tartars, hunt it in various manners: the Tartars for the sake of its flesh, which is considered as delicious; but the Persians, in order to take it alive, as young *Onagers* so taken, sell for a high price to the great men of the country, for their studs.

From the stock of these tamed *Onagers* proceeds that noble race of Asses which serve for the saddle in Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. They are sold at 75 ducats; and Tavernier, [*lib.* iv. *cap.* 3.] says, that fine ones are sold in Persia dearer than horses, even to 100 crowns each. He well distinguishes them from the baser race of ordinary Asses, which serve to carry loads: and the strange whim which the Persians still retain, according to him, of *painting these saddle-Asses RED*, as is also practised in Egypt, with henna, seems to explain the fanciful *red-headed Asses* of India, of which Elian speaks, [*Hist. Anim.* lib. iv. *cap.* 5.] Le Bruyn and Adanson

have not less commended these saddle-Asses, the issue of *Onagers*; and all travellers into the Levant have praised them. Like the wild *Onager*, these Asses of the superior race are extremely swift, and rapid in their course; of a slender form, and an animated gait.

The quality which principally renders them esteemed, is their support of fatigue, in which they greatly excel the horses of the Tartars; and they are quicker than camels. Mr. Niebuhr states the progress of a saddle-Ass when walking a steady pace at 1750 double paces of a man, in half an hour; whereas the larger camels make only 975, and the smaller at most 1500. *Voy. Arab.* p. 311.

The animal which we had at Petersburg, which had been caught when very young, though of small stature, and probably stunted in growth by its captivity, and by want of suitable food, travelled from Astracan to Moscow (1400 *werstes*) with the ordinary post, without any other repose than that of a few nights, she also travelled from Moscow to Petersburg (730 *werstes*) and did not seem to have suffered by this journey; though she died in the autumn following, apparently from the effect of the herbage of a marshy soil, and the cold and humidity of so northern a climate. She had nothing of the dulness and stupidity of the common Ass. *Onagers* are animals adapted for running, and of such swiftness that the best horses cannot equal them. All the ancient writers do justice to their swiftness; and their Hebrew name (*parad*) expresses this quality. As the *Onagers* prefer the craggy mountains, they run with ease on the most difficult ground. the soft soil of Petersburg was soon prejudicial to our *Onager*, whose hoofs cracked, and fell away in shivers.

The Nomades of Asia report of these *Onagers*, that the first of a troop which sees a serpent, makes a certain cry, which brings all his companions around him, when each of them strives to destroy the serpent instantly. They do the same to beasts of prey.

The troops of *Onagers* are conducted by a leading stallion. They have their sight, hearing, and smelling, equally good, so that it is impossible to approach them in an open country. The female *Onager*, I remarked, often passed two days without drinking, especially in moist weather, or when very heavy dews fell. She also preferred brackish water to fresh; and never drank of what was troubled. She loved bread sprinkled with salt, and sometimes would eat a handful of salt. I was told, that when at Derbent, she always ran to drink of the Caspian Sea, though fresh water was nearer to her. She also selected plants impregnated with saline particles. . . or those of bitter juices. She loved raw cucumbers; and some herbs which she refused when green pleased her when dried. She would not touch odoriferous, or marsh plants, nor even thistles. I was informed, that the Persians when taming the young *Onagers*, feed them with rice, barley, straw, and bread. Our animal was extremely familiar, and followed persons who took care of her, freely, and with a kind of attachment. The smell of bread strongly attracted her; but, if any attempt was made to lead her against her will, she shewed all the obstinacy of the Ass; neither would she suffer herself to be approached behind, and if touched by a stick, or by the hand, on her hinder parts, she would kick; and this action was accompanied by a slight grumbling, as expressive of complaint.

“The male *Onager*, which was bought at the same time as the female, but which died in the voyage from Derbent to Astracan, was larger, and less docile. His
length

length from the nape of the neck to the origin of his tail was 5 feet; his height in front, 4 feet 4 inches; behind, 4 feet 7 inches; his head 2 feet in length; his ears 1 foot; his tail, including the tuft at the end, 2 feet 3 inches. He was more robust than the female; and had a bar, or streak, crossing at his shoulders; as well as that streak which runs along the back, which is common to both sexes. Some Tartars have assured me that they have seen this cross bar double, in some males.

“Our *Onager* was higher on her legs than the common Ass; her legs also were more slender, than those of the Ass; and she resembled a young filly: she could also scratch her neck and head easily with her hind foot. She was weak on her fore legs, but, behind she could very well support the heaviest man. Notwithstanding her state of exhaustion, she carried her head higher than the Ass, her ears well elevated; and shewed a vivacity in all her motions. The colour of the hair on the greater part of the body, and the end of the nose, is silvery white; the upper part of the head, the sides of the neck, and the body, are flaxen, or pale isabella colour; this colour does not spread over the front legs, but along the thighs, to the middle joint. The mane is deep brown; it commences between the ears, and reaches the shoulders; its hair is soft, woolly, 3 or 4 inches long, like the mane of a young filly. The coat in general, especially in winter, is more silky and softer than that of horses, and resembles that of a camel. The Arabs, no less than the Tartars, esteem the flesh of the *Onager*; and the Arab writers, who permit the eating of its flesh, make the same difference between this Ass and the domestic Ass, as the Hebrews did, whose law did not permit the coupling of the *Onager* with the she Ass, as being of different kinds.

“The skins of the *Onagers* are sought by the Bukharians, for the making of shagreen. Rauwolf says the same of those of Syria, whose skins are brought to Tripoli.” Such is the account of the celebrated Professor; and such his description of an animal, of which he was the first to communicate correct information to the learned of Europe.

That the Wild-Ass was known and valued for its *mettle*, appears from a passage in Herodotus, (*Pol.* 86.) where that writer says “The Indian horse were well armed like their foot; but beside led horses, they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and *Wild-Asses*.” The reference of these animals to the troops from India, [a province at the head of the Indus, not our Hindoostan,] deserves attention; because, the troops of the *Onager* are said by the Professor, to “return towards India, where they winter.” They might then be taken, in such their return, by the hunters, perhaps in considerable numbers.

Aristotle, *Hist. lib.* vi. *cap.* 36. mentions the wild-Ass, which is said to exceed horses in swiftness; and Xenophon says (*Cyrop. lib.* i.) that he has long legs, is very rapid in running, swift as a whirlwind, having strong and stout hoofs. Elian says the same; but that he may be tired, and when taken is so gentle that he may easily be led about. Martial gives the epithet “handsome” to the wild-Ass,

Pulcher adest Onager.....

Lib. xiii. Epig. 100.

Oppian describes this creature as “handsome, large, vigorous, of stately gait, and his coat of a *silvery colour*.” “He has,” says he, in another place, “a black band along the spine of his back; and on his flanks, patches as white as snow.”

NAT. HIST.

E

St. Chrysostom says (*in Catena.*) "this animal is strong and *untameable*; man can never subdue him, whatever efforts he may make for that purpose." Olympiodorus and Polychronius coincide with this opinion; but Varro, (*Re Rust. lib. xi. c. 6.*) affirms, on the contrary, that "the wild Ass is fit for labour; that he is easily tamed; and that when he is once tamed, he never resumes his original wildness." Pliny (*lib. viii. c. 43.*) writes, that mules are the offspring of a mare, and a wild Ass tamed; and Anatolius says expressly, (*in Hippiatric. c. 14.*) that it is very useful to domesticate and tame wild Asses; because the progeny obtained from them is *excellent*." Most of this information is confirmed, in the present article.

Let us now attend to some of those passages, which imply distinct kinds of Asses in the Hebrew Scripture. [Comp. Ass in the *Dictionary*.]

1. CHAMOR, is the common name for an Ass; such as is employed in labour, carriage, and domestic services. *Vide* Gen. xxii. 3. Abraham saddled his Ass—*chamor*. xxx. 43. Jacob had many Asses. xxxvi. 24. Anah fed the Asses of his father, *et. al. freq.*

2. The WILD-Ass, called *Para*, Job xi. 12. "Vain man would be wise though he be born a wild-Ass's colt:" [פָּרָא עֵיר פָּרָא *oir para.*] The more wild the creature here mentioned be supposed, the greater opposition to wisdom is expressed by the simile. If this be correct, very strong indeed is the character attributed to Ishmael, Gen. xvi. 12. "he shall be a wild-Ass man, [פָּרָא אָדָם *para Adam,*] not merely a *wild man*, as in our translation, but a man rough, untaught, libertine, as a wild-Ass. Nor perhaps is this all; but it may imply farther, that as the wild-Ass loves to be at the head of his troop, to order and govern it, so shall Ishmael be desirous of supremacy, and brook no rival. *Vide* No. CCCCLXXXII.

The wild-Ass, *Para*, is said "not to bray over grass," (*green grass, Desha.*) Job vi. 5.—and we may connect with this by contrast, the description of a drought by the prophet Jeremiah, xiv. 6. "Insomuch that the Hind [female deer] dropped her calf, in the forest field, and forsook it; to such a degree was *green grass (Desha)* wanting: and the wild-Asses (*Paraim*) stood on the rising grounds, blowing out their breath like *Taninim* [*vide* TANNIM] while their eyes failed, because there was no vegetable of any kind." Both these passages seem to imply, that the wild-Ass feeds in silence, principally on grass, and usually in plenty.—That this *Para* is a creature roaming at large, in the forests, appears from Job xxxix. 5. "Who dismissed the *wild-Ass* to his liberty? and the chains of the *Orud*, who struck off?" This *Orud* will engage our enquiries hereafter.

We have this word in a feminine form, *Pareh* פָּרָה, Jer. ii. 24. "A *female* wild-Ass, used to [*lit.* learned in] the wilderness, in her desire snuffeth up the wind of her occasion: who can turn her away? all who seek her, shall they not be tired? in her month they shall find her."

Job xxiv. 5. says, *Paraim*—"male wild-Asses—go forth in the desert;" and the Psalmist, civ. 11. says, springs of water run among the hills [or mountains]: the *Paraim*—wild-Asses—quench their thirst at them." The prophet Isaiah, xxxii. 14. describes excessive desolation, by saying, the wild-Asses—*Paraim*—shall rejoice where a city had stood. The whole of this evidence attaches to a creature roaming at liberty—in the desert—or on mountains; feeding on grass—blowing out its breath when vexed, and of such swiftness as to weary every pursuer, yet to be found in her—[*return to her former state. i. e.* after the occasion which impels her to such friskiness is over. This seems to be at least as rational, as the rendering of

month; for what *month* is meant, and what has any *month* to do with this creature? Her pregnancy lasts more than a month: and after delivery does she keep a month? Surely not.]

But, there is another kind of Ass, called in Hebrew ATUN, ATUNUTH: may the same informant contribute to ascertain this also? for we find, that the breed, or immediate descendant of the wild-Ass (which indeed is caught alive, for the purpose of obtaining a breed) is excessively valued by the great men of the East, and forms an object of their researches, for their own personal dignity and accommodation. In fact, the high price of these Asses excludes them from the purchase of the commonalty, and restricts the possession of them to the great, or the affluent.

Our second breed of Asses, we find then, is called *Atun*, *Atunuth*. Now let us enquire how Scripture alludes to these. Gen. xii. 16. Abraham had *Atunuth*. Numb. xxii. 23. Balaam rode on an *Atun*; and we find, from information noted above, that the breed from the *Onager* is very fit for performing a long journey, like that of Balaam; that this kind is endowed with vigorous faculties, so as to discern obstacles readily, is also obstinate to excess, when beaten behind, or when put out of its way, or when attempted to be controuled against its will; and that at the sight of danger it emits a kind of cry: it is also familiar, and attached to its master; these particulars agree correctly with certain incidents in the history of Balaam's Ass.

We find Deborah, Judges v. 10. addressing those "who rode on WHITE Asses; those who sit in judgment;"—men of dignity, no doubt. Agreeably to this, our extract informs us, that the *Onager* is of a *silvery white*, for the most part; and we ought to observe, that the word rendered *white* occurs also (and only) Ezek. xxvii. 18. "*white wool*;" now the colour of this kind of wool, seems to correspond exactly to the colour of the animal described by GMELIN; *silvery white*. N.B. This corrects an error in HARMER, vol. ii. p. 63.

From 1 Chron. xxvii. 30. we learn, that David had an officer appointed to superintend his *Atunuth*; not his ordinary Asses, but those of a noble race: which implies at least equal dignity in this officer, as in his colleagues, mentioned with him.

This notion of the *Atun*, gives also a spirit to the history of Saul, who when his father's *Atunuth* were lost, was at no little pains to seek them:—Moreover, as beside being valuable they were *uncommon*, he might the more readily hear whether they had been noticed and *picked up* by any one; and possibly, this leads to the true interpretation of the servant's proposed application to Samuel, chap. ix. 6. *g. d.* "In his office of magistracy this honourable man may have heard of these strayed rarities being found, and secured by some one; *peradventure he can shew us the way we shall go.*" This keeps clear, both of expected fortune-telling, and of the exercise of prophetic prediction, in Samuel, on this occasion; which, I apprehend, is desirable. It implies the competence, if not the wealth, of Saul's family.

We have now to remark the allusion of the dying Jacob to his son Judah, Gen. xlix. 11. "Binding his fole (*Oireh*) to the vine, and his son of his *Atun* to his vine of Sorek." This idea of a *capital* kind of Ass, and of Judah's possessing *young* of the same breed, implies a dignity, or fertility, with a prolongation of both, which does not appear in the usual phraseology of the passage.

Thus we see that these *Atunuth* are found in Scripture in the occupation only of judges, patriarchs, and other great men; insomuch, that where these are there is

dignity, either expressed or implied. They were also a present for a prince; for Jacob presented Esau with *twenty*, Genesis xxxii. 15. What then shall we say to the wealth of Job, who possessed a *thousand*! Could any greater proof of unlimited prosperity exist? We may enquire also, in what part should that country be sought, which had such a troop in it?—where they were so *common*; or, where so great a number could well be assembled, pastured, tended, &c.

But we must proceed to notice another word which is rendered Wild-Ass by translators, the *ORUD*, Job xxxix. 5. This seems to be the same as in the Chaldee of Dan. v. 21. is called *OREDIA* (or, *ORUDIA*) the plural of the former. Mr. PARKHURST supposes that this word denotes “the *brayer*,” and that “the animal is spoken of as *one* only; which proves *Para* and *Orud* to be only two names for the same animal,” in this place;—but, these names *may* perhaps refer to different races, though of the same animal; so that a description of the properties of one may apply to both, admitting a slight variation.

Who hath sent out free—the *Para*—the wild-Ass?
Or, who hath loosed the bands of—the *Orud*—the wild-Ass?
Whose house I have made the wilderness (*solitude*)
And the barren land (—*salt deserts*) his dwellings;
The range of open mountains are his pasture,
And he searcheth after every green thing.

The reader has seen how fond the *Onager* was of salt; and we find a reference to the *saltings*, in the Hebrew here, which is lost in our translation; whether these are salt *marshes*, or salt *deserts*, seems to be of little consequence, as we find salt was an article of which that animal could eat a handful. This greatly adds to the expression and correctness of the Hebrew Naturalist. Animals which inhabit the Desert, must often be at a loss for water; and this animal, says the Professor, would often pass two whole days without drinking.

Beside the above, in Daniel we read, that “Nebuchadnezzar dwelt with the *Orudia*—Wild Asses.” Certainly, this monarch was not banished to the desert, the open mountains, of Job’s *Orud*, but was at most remitted for safety to an enclosure in his own park; in which curious and exotic animals were kept, for state and pleasure. If this be correct, then this *Orud* was somewhat at least, of a rarity and dignity at Babylon—and it *might* be of a kind different from the *Para*; as it is denoted by another name. May it be the *Gicquétéi* of professor PALLAS, the “Wild-Mule” of Mongolia, which surpasses the *Onager* in size, beauty, and perhaps, in swiftness?—(*Nov. Comment. Acad. Petrop.* vol. xix.)—for we remark, that the Professor advises to cross the breed with that of the *Onager*, as a mean of perfecting the species of the Ass: consequently, it is allied to this species, and *may* be alluded to in the passage of Job, where it is associated with the *Para*, [unless some other exotic breed of the Ass were better known to Job; or in the countries connected with Babylon.] It is the *hemi-onos*, or half-Ass, of Aristotle; that was found in his days in Syria; and he celebrates it for swiftness and fecundity (a breeding mule being thought a prodigy). Pliny, from the report of Theophrastus, speaks of this species as found in Cappadocia. Its general description is that of a mule: its colour light yellowish grey, growing paler toward the sides; length from the tip of the nose to the base of the tail 6 feet 7 inches: height 3 feet 9 inches. Inhabits the south of Siberia, the vast plains and deserts of western Tartary, and sandy deserts. Lives in small herds; each male having four, five, or more females.

Is absolutely untameable by the Tartars; even those taken young: is proverbial for swiftness; exceeds even the antelope. The history already given of the manners of the *Onager* may supply the rest of the description: as it greatly resembles that animal.

Thus we have proposed those authorities which induce us to adopt distinctions of breeds, or races, if not of kinds, in the Ass; and the reader will judge on the propriety of maintaining such distinctions, as countenanced by Scripture, and Natural History.

As to the *Oirim*, rendered "young Asses," Isaiah xxxvi. 24. we need not suppose that they were a distinct breed, or species: but merely the Ass in its state of maturity, strength and vigour, as they are spoken of as carrying loads, tilling the ground, and assisting in other labours of husbandry: yet we cannot help remarking a variation in the manner of spelling this word, which is rather suspicious. In Isaiah xxxvi. 6. it is spelled *Ourim*; in verse 24. we read of *Oirim* labouring the earth in conjunction with oxen; this requires strength, and strength seems to be the character attributed to Ishmael; who was to be the *Oir* of the wild-Ass, *i. e.* in its state of power, liveliness, and *mettle*—perhaps *restiveness*. This will allow also of a poetical climax in the words of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 11. "Binding his *Oirch*—female foal of an Ass, at her best estate, to the vine, the common vine, in its best estate, also; and his son of his *Atun*, the superior kind of Ass, that most highly valued, to his *sorek*, the superior kind of grape vine, that which he most esteemed: here the parallelism is perfect, as well as the climax is regular.

The upper figure on our Plate is the Male *Onager*, or wild Ass; the lower figures are views of the Female. Copied from ROZIER.

* * I understand, that an Ass of the superior breed was brought from Egypt, by the Colonel of one of the Highland regiments which accompanied General ABERCROMBIE on his expedition to that country against the French invaders of it. The newspapers of Edinburgh mention the arrival of the regiment in the month of June, 1802. and notice this creature as being of fine proportions, and standing fourteen hands high. As this regiment passed through part of that city at 6 o'clock in the morning, the corps itself was not seen by all the town, and this Ass was seen by still fewer persons, as it was pretty much hid by the troops. Report valued this animal at 1000 guineas.

Mr. MORIER says, "We gave chase to two wild-Asses, which had so much the speed of our horses, that when they had got at some distance, they stood still and looked behind at us snorting with their noses in the air, as if in contempt of our endeavours to catch them." *Second Journey in Persia*, p. 200.

The latest traveller who has described the *Onager* is Sir R. K. PORTER, in his "Travels in Persia," who also gives a figure of the animal. The mode of hunting it is, as it was in Xenophon's time, by means of several horses relieving each other, till the *Onager* is completely tired. The colours of Sir Robert's figure differ from those described by the Professor; being a bright bay: and this may suggest a derivation of the name *Atun*, of the race, rather than the sex: *fire-colour*, or bright bay. It is by no means credible, that female Asses, only, should be collected in such great numbers, should be so often referred to, as we find them in S. S. and should imply wealth and dignity in their owners, without any reference whatever to the males of the same race.

NAPTHALI.

NAPTHALI IS A HIND LET LOOSE:
HE GIVETH GOODLY WORDS. Genesis xlix. 21.

THAT this passage requires illustration, will be evident, from a slight examination of its grammar, and import. "Naphthali is a *hind*—a *hind* is a *female* deer: "He," the sign of the *masculine* gender, "giveth goodly words." Naphthali is here both masculine and feminine: but in what sense can it be said of a deer, whether male or female, he giveth *words*? And how are these words *goodly*? When did a deer speak? and speak, too, with propriety and elocution?—What idea may we gather from this phraseology?—Where is the unity of the allusion, or the propriety of the parts?—How does it correspond with Nature, or with the subsequent situation, or history, of this tribe?

The versions, ancient or modern, afford little assistance. The Vulgate, one of the Greek versions, the Persian, the Arabic, concur in this rendering. The LXX. Bochart, Houbigant, Durell, Dathe, Michaëlis, render "Naphthali is a spreading [Terebinthine] tree, giving beautiful branches." This renders the simile uniform; but the symbol of a tree seems to be purposely reserved by the venerable patriarch for his son Joseph, who is compared to the boughs of a tree. Now Joseph would be assimilated to an *inferior* object, if Naphthali had been compared to a parent tree before him; the repetition too, is very unlikely.

Those who support the Hebrew points, and the opinion of the Masora critics, *i. e.* the present reading, support the former version, which is according to them. They say also, that the idea of a tree is too general, and not specific enough to become the characteristic of a tribe; since fertility, &c. which it implies, belonged equally to all the tribes. Gen. xliv. 21. This has engaged later interpreters to identify this tree as the Terebinthine.

It is certain, also, that the Hebrew *Ail*, אֵיל, is the usual name for a Stag. The Greeks seem to have changed this word, by prefixing a hard sounding letter, D, *Dial*. Hence Hesychius says, Διαλ την Ελαφον Χαλδαιοι: *The Chaldeans call a deer Dial*. The Arabs write *jial*, *igial*, &c.

Having seen, though briefly, the embarrassment of interpreters, let us endeavour to derive an explanation of this passage from Natural History.

1. It is likely, that the word *Aileh*, like our word *Deer*, may be applicable to either sex, though custom might appropriate it to one; as we do not always correctly, in common speech, distinguish the sexes of domestic animals, sheep, goats, horses, dogs, &c.: or of wild animals, rats, wolves, bears, &c. So our word *deer* does not denote the *species*, as we have several kinds of deer, nor the sex, &c.: and the Greek *elaphos* denotes a deer, *i. e.* whether a *stag* or a *hind*. The Latin also looks the same way; *dama*, a deer, a fallow deer, whether buck or doe: and Dr. SHAW, *Travels*, 414. 4to. understands the whole *genus* of deer, as included in the word *Ail*, though this *genus* comprises many *species*. Our professed naturalists, also, accommodate themselves in their writings to this manner of expression. GOLDSMITH has a division "Of the COW kind;" under which he includes *Bulls*, no doubt: but PENNANT is little short of unnatural or absurd, for under a division, "Of the OX," he includes bulls and cows; but bulls or cows are not oxen, neither are oxen bulls or cows, but mutilations contrary to nature.

2. The word rendered *let loose* (שלח) imports an active motion, not like that of the branches of a tree, which, however freely they wave, yet continue attached to the parent stem, but an *emission*, a *dismission*, a *sending forth*; in the present case a *roaming*—roaming at liberty.

3. *He giveth*. The term may denote *shooting forth*: it expresses production; as of the earth, which shoots forth, yields—her increase, Lev. xxiv. 4. So trees shoot forth branches, Psalm viii. 7. Prov. xii. 12; and so to *place*, *set*, or *appoint*.

4. *Goodly words*. Other versions render “beautiful branches,” and we acquiesce in their idea. The word rendered *goodly* signifies *majestic*, *noble*, *grand*, *magnificent*: and that rendered *branches* radically signifies to *diverge*, to *spread about*. The passage, translated on these principles, will read thus—

Naphthali is a Deer roaming at liberty,
He shooteth forth noble branches [*majestic antlers*.]

The English word *branches* is applied to the Stag, with exactly the same allusion as the Hebrew word: the French say *bois* (wood) for a Stag's horns. The horns of a *Stag* are annually shed, and reproduced; they are ample, if his pasturage has been plentiful and nutritious; or are stunted in their growth, if his food has been sparing, or deficient in nourishment. Buffon reasons at length on this subject, *Art. CERF*.—“There is so intimate a relation between nutrition and the production of the antlers, &c. that we have formerly established *its entire dependance on a superabundance of nourishment*. In animals in general, and in the Stag in particular, this superabundance shews itself by the most evident effects; *it produces the horns*, the swelling of the throat, the accretion of fat, &c. After the first year, in the month of May, the horns begin to shoot, and form two projections, which lengthen and harden, *in proportion as the animal takes nourishment*. . . This effect [of nourishment] appears especially on the summit of the head, where it manifests itself more than every where else, by the production of the horns. . . Another proof that the production of the horns arises wholly from the superabundance of nourishment, is the difference which is found between the horns of Stags of the same age, of which some are very thick and spreading, while others are thin and slender, which depends absolutely on the quantity of nourishment; for a Stag which inhabits a plentiful country, where he feeds at his will; where he is not molested by dogs or by men; where, having eaten quietly, he may afterwards ruminate at his ease, will always shew a head beautiful, high, and spreading; palms large and well furnished: the stem of his horns thick, well pearly, with numerous antlers, long and strong: whereas, he who inhabits a country where he has neither quiet nor nourishment sufficient, will shew but an impoverished head, few antlers, and feeble stems; INSOMUCH, THAT IT IS ALWAYS EASY TO DETERMINE BY EXAMINING THE HEAD OF A STAG, WHETHER HE INHABITS A PLENTIFUL AND QUIET COUNTRY, AND WHETHER HE HAS BEEN WELL OR ILL FED.”

We now direct these remarks to the prediction of Jacob: “Naphthali shall inhabit a country so rich, so fertile, so quiet, so unmolested, that, after having fed to the full, on the most nutritious pasturage, he shall shoot out branches, *i. e.* antlers, &c. of the most majestic magnitude.” Thus does the Patriarch denote the happy lot of Naphthali; not directly, but indirectly; not by the energy of immediate description, but by inevitable inference, arising from observation of its effects. In fact, the lot of this tribe was rich in pasture, and “his soil,” as CALMET observes, “was very fruitful in corn and oil.” So that we have both correct verbal propriety, and subsequent fulfilment of the prophecy, in favour of this interpretation.

The residence of Napthali was a beautiful woodland country; it extended to Mount Lebanon, and produced fruits of every sort.—Moses says, *Deut.* xxxiii. 23. Napthali shall enjoy abundance of favour, and be filled with the blessings of the Lord. Josephus, *de Bello*, lib. iii. cap. 2. speaks highly of the fertility of Galilee, which comprised the lot of Napthali; and, *de Vita sua*. p. 1017, he reckons two hundred and fourteen towns in this province.

We consider the source of the Jordan as rising in the territory of Napthali; and from the name of the city near which it rose, *Paneas*, (thought to originate from the deity *Pan*) may be inferred the nature of the country; for *Pan*, as the god of rural economics, delighted in woodlands, forests, groves, &c.—and William, Archbishop of Tyre, in his “History of the Holy Wars,” lib. xviii. cap. 2. informs us, that there was around this city a vast forest, called in his time the forest of *Paneades*. It was adapted to feed and fatten flocks; and a prodigious number of Arabs and Turcomans, after a convention of peace with Godfrey of Boulogne, by permission of that hero, entered and resided in this forest, with their flocks and cattle; among which, says the historian, there was an infinite number of horses.

This forest extended even to Mount Hermon, as the writer last quoted observes; and he supposes it to be a part or continuation of the famous forest of Lebanon. It needs little proof that such a country was likely to yield abundance of nourishment for Deer, which might display its prolific effects in the growth and magnitude of the horns, and their branches; so that this country might *literally* fulfil the Patriarch’s blessing; which is not always to be expected in *figurative* language. It may be added, that about a mile distant from *Paneas*, stood Laish or Dan, the inhabitants of which dwelt careless, quiet, and secure, Judges xviii. 7. which implies a plentiful country, to say the least.

Of the adjacent district of Kesroan, which Volney tells us is similar to this side of Mount Lebanon, Le ROQUE says, p. 220. “Nothing equals the fertility of the lands in Kesroan: mulberry-trees for the silk-worms; vineyards, yielding excellent wine; olive-trees tall as oaks; meadows, pasturages, corn, and fruit of all kinds. Such are the riches of this agreeable country, which besides abounds in cattle, large and small, in birds of game, and in *beasts of chace*. So beautiful a country, situated in a climate which I think is the mildest and most temperate of Syria, seems to contribute, in some manner, to the kindness of disposition, to the gentle inclinations, and to the praiseworthy manners of the inhabitants.”

He proceeds to say yet stronger things of the inhabitants of that country, whereof he is particularly speaking; but, I presume, what has been quoted sufficiently justifies the patriarch Jacob in allegorizing the character and the situation of Napthali, by allusion to a Deer, rather than to any wild beast of a savage and ferocious nature; as he does some of his other children.

It has been supposed, that the branching horns of this Deer allegorically denote fertility in children; and remarked, that though only four sons are reckoned to Napthali, when he went down to Egypt, Gen. xvi. 24. yet his tribe at the Exodus numbered above 50,000 men.

There is then no necessity for recurring to the simile of a Tree, in order to reduce this passage to clear and simple meaning: neither are we obliged to retain the mistaken rendering of our public translation, which presents an *impossibility*, and a *contradiction*.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

The figures are from RIDINGER.

A. The Head of a *Hind*, or *female* Deer, which sex *usually* has no horns; though some have been found with small horns; probably from abundant feeding. The attitude of this figure is listening, braying at the same time.

B. A Stag of four years old; at which period he is well able to seek his own provision, and to roam at large in the forest. The antlers, with which he is furnished, are now in fair condition, and not unequal to those of the generality of his age and species.

C. The Head of a Stag, which, from having fed at pleasure in one of the forests of Germany, has acquired very large antlers, very thick stems, very broad horns, and so spreading, that the points they form amount to no less a number than **SIXTY-SIX**. Let him, then, stand as a proof of the effects of liberty and plenty, like the son of Jacob, to whom he forms an object of comparison,

NAPTHALI IS A DEER ROAMING FREELY IN THE FERTILE FOREST;

And, by the effect of plentiful feeding

SHOOTING OUT AMPLÉ ANTLERS! [*majestic Branches.*]

OF THE ROCK GOAT, OR IBEX.

THERE are three places in Scripture where an animal of the Goat kind is mentioned, either directly, or by allusion, which it is desirable to identify.—1 Sam. xxiv. 2. "Saul went to seek David and his men on the rocks of the *Wild Goats*:" literally, on the superficies, or *on the face of the rocks of the IOLIM*. Psalm civ. 18. "The high mountains to the Ibices, [*le Iolim*] are a refuge; rocks are the refuge to the *Saphanim*." [*Vide SAPHAN, CONEY, and PLATE.*].—But there is a third passage where this creature is more distinctly referred to, and its manners are described at greater length: in our translation, "Knowest thou the time when the *Wild Goats of the rocks* bring forth? Canst thou mark when the *Hinds* do calve? Canst thou number the months they fulfil? or, knowest thou the time when they bring forth? They bow themselves; they bring forth their young ones; they cast out their sorrows. Their young ones are in good liking; they grow up with corn: they go forth and return not to them."——

A fourth passage, Prov. v. 19. presents this creature, the IOLEU, in a *feminine* form: "Let thy wife be as the loving hind, and the pleasant *Roe*."

These two passages seem to be unhappily rendered: for, 1. what is in one the *Wild Goats of the rocks*, is in the other the *pleasant Roe*; a creature so very different, that one rendering or the other must be erroneous. 2. The *Wild Goat of the rocks* is said to nourish its young with *corn*; but corn is not cultivated on or about the rocks where these Wild Goats are found; and still more unluckily, the original word if taken in the sense of *corn*, denotes corn which has been threshed, and stripped of its husk; this state of preparation is every way ill associated with the barrenness intended to be described, as marking the residence of the Wild Goats of the rocks.

Without scruple we take the *Iol*, *Iolem*, *Ioleh*, for the *Ibex*, or *Rock-Goat*; to this agree all the manners attributed to the creature in Scripture; which describes it as inhabiting rocks and mountains, and of a strongly affectionate disposition.

NAT. HIST.

F

But, before we proceed, it is proper to discharge the passage in Job from its *corn*; in fact, the word rendered *corn*, [*bar*, בַּר] signifies a wild desert place, an open CLEAR country; a *roaming* track. So Dan. ii. 38. and 1 Kings iv. 33. animals of a wild country have the epithet *bar*: and the Targums use it frequently, in this sense; *bar*, and *bara*, in the Chaldee form. Kimchi, and Levi Ben Gershom, *in loc.* maintain this opinion. This correction leads to a different view of the passage; and probably, it might be still farther improved, by taking the import of the term *knowing*, in Job, as including direction and appointment, at least *appropriate* superintendence.

Knowest,—*i. e.* *directest*—thou the time of delivery of the *IBICES* of the rock?
 And the parturition of the *HINDS* hast thou noted?
 Hast thou numbered the months they fulfil?
 And knowest thou the period when they bring forth?
 They bow themselves; they discharge their conceptions;
 They cast forth their burdens;
 Their offspring increase in strength;
 They augment in size in the wilds,
 They go off, and return to them [*their dams.*] no more.

This paragraph, then, it appears, forms the continuation of one enquiry; a representation perfectly accordant throughout, which agrees with matter of fact, and therefore is entitled to be received as correct. The force of the enquiry consists in the circumstance, that the *IBICES* inhabit rocks and mountains, the very *summits* of rocks and mountains; far from the residence of man; farther still from the level country of Arabia; how then could the care, the superintendence of Job, or indeed of any man, dwell where he might, contribute to the sustenance, the fertility, the security of these wanderers, frequenting haunts so distant, and so dissimilar from human abode? How could *he* ease the parents? How preserve the young, and advance their growth to maturity?

It deserves notice, that in these two passages the *Hinds* (*Ailath*) are associated with the *Iber*:—is it because this Hind (wild female deer) inhabits the forest, and roams amid its wildernesses, as the *Iber* roams amid the fastnesses of the mountains? or, is this *Ailath*, a mountain animal, and therefore consorted with another mountain animal, the *Iber*? It can hardly mean the common female deer, since the number of her months, the period of her gestation, and the time of her parturition, could not, one should suppose, be unknown in the days of Job.

The correspondents of the Abbe Rozier, in his Journal, have given much information relative to the *Iber*; Mr. Cox in his “Travels in Switzerland,” vol. ii. has had recourse to those authorities; and has added some remarks of his own; his article therefore, it may be presumed, is the most complete, that hitherto has been published on this subject.

“As this animal is extremely rare, and inhabits the highest and almost inaccessible mountains, the descriptions of it have been very inaccurate and confused. But a new light has been lately thrown on this subject by Dr. Girtanner of St. Gallen, and by M. Van Berchem, secretary to the Society of Sciences at Lausanne; and although these two naturalists differ in some instances, yet their joint labours have assisted in ascertaining the nature and œconomy of this curious animal. The following account, therefore, of the Bouquetin, is drawn principally from their observations in Rozier’s Journal, and from additional information obligingly communicated to me by M. Van Berchem himself.

“This animal is now chiefly found upon that chain which stretches from Dauphiné through Savoy to the confines of Italy, and principally on the Alps bordering on Mont Blanc, which is the most elevated part of that chain.

“The several names by which the Bouquetin is known in different languages, are, in Greek, by Homer and Ælian, Αἰξ ἀγρία. [Most naturalists affirm that Homer calls this animal Αἰξ ἔαλος, whereas he styles it Αἰξ ἀγρία, or the Wild Goat, adding the epithet ἔαλος, or wanton.] Latin, *Ibex*, which name has been adopted by most modern naturalists; Italian, *Capra Selvatica*; German and Swiss, *Steinbock*, or Rock-Goat; the female, *Étagne*, or *Ybschen* and *Ybschgeiss*, perhaps from the Latin *Ibex*; Flemish, *Wildgheit*; French, *Bouquetin*, anciently *Boucestain*, the German name reversed. Belon named it *Hircus Ferus*; Brisson *Hircus Ibex*; Linnaeus, *Capra Ibex*; Pennant, the *Ibex*; and Dr. Girtanner, *Capra Alpina*. I have adopted the name of Bouquetin, because it is the provincial appellation of the animal in the Alps.

“The systematic naturalists agree in taking the specific character of the Bouquetin from the beard, and the horns, which they describe as knobbed along the upper or anterior surface, and reclining towards the back.

“The male Bouquetin is larger than the tame goat, but resembles it much in the outer form. The head is small in proportion to the body, with the muzzle thick and compressed, and a little arched. The eyes are large, round, and have much fire and brilliancy. The horns large, when of a full size weighing sometimes 16 or 18 pounds, flatted before and rounded behind, with one or two longitudinal ridges, and many transverse ridges; which degenerate towards the tip into knobs; the colour dusky brown. The beard long, tawny, or dusky. The legs slender, with hoofs short, hollow on the inside, and on the outside terminated by a salient border, like those of the Chamois. The body short, thick and strong. The tail short, naked underneath, the rest covered with long hairs, white at the base and sides, black above and at the end. Space under the tail, in some tawny, in others white. The coat long, but not pendent, ash-coloured, mixed with some hoary hairs; a black list runs along the back; and there is a black spot above and below the knees. Its colour, however, like that of other animals, must necessarily vary according to its age, and to local circumstances.

“The female has been little noticed among naturalists. She is one-third less than the male, and not so corpulent: her colour is less tawny: her horns are very small, and not above eight inches long. In these, and in her figure, she resembles a goat, that has been castrated while young. She has two teats, like the tame she-goat, and never has any beard, unless, perhaps in an advanced age.

“The young ones are of a dirty grey colour, and the list along the back is scarcely discernible.

“There is a stuffed specimen of the male Bouquetin of the Alps in Mr. Parkinson's, late Sir Ashton Lever's, Museum.

“In a state of tranquillity, the Bouquetin commonly carries the head low; but in running it holds it high, and even bends it a little forward. He mounts a perpendicular rock of fifteen feet at three leaps, or rather three successive leaps, or three successive bounds of five feet each. It does not seem as if he found any footing on the rock, appearing to touch it merely to be repelled, like an elastic substance striking against a hard body. He is not supposed to take more than three successive leaps in this manner. If he is he seen two rocks which are near each

other, and wants to reach the top, he leaps from the side of one rock to the other, alternately, till he has attained the summit. He also traverses the glaciers with rapidity; but only when he is pursued, for otherwise he avoids them.

"The Bouquetins feed, during the night, in the highest woods: but the sun no sooner begins to gild the summits, than they quit the woody region, and mount, feeding in their progress, till they have reached the most considerable heights. They betake themselves to the sides of the mountains which face the east or south, and lie down in the highest places and hottest exposures; but when the sun has finished more than three quarters of its course, they again begin to feed, and to descend towards the woods; whither they retire when it is likely to snow, and where they always pass the winter. The Bouquetins assemble in flocks, consisting at the most of ten, twelve, or fifteen; but more usually in smaller numbers. The males which are six years old and upwards, haunt more elevated places than the females and the younger Bouquetins; and as they advance in age they are less fond of society; they become gradually hardened against the effects of extreme cold, and frequently live entirely alone.

"In summer they feed principally on the *genipi*, and other aromatic plants which grow in the high Alps; and in winter they eat the lichens, and browse on bushes and the tender shoots of trees. They prefer those spots where the dwarf birch and alpine willows grow, and where *rhododendron*, *thalictrum*, and *saxifrages*, abound.

"The Bouquetins having their fore legs somewhat shorter than the hind legs, naturally ascend with greater facility than they descend; for this reason nothing but the severest weather can engage them to come down into the lower regions; and even in winter, if there are a few fine days, they leave the woods and mount higher.

"Winter is the season of love with them, and principally the month of January. The females go with young five months, and consequently produce in the last week of June, or the first of July. At the time of parturition they separate from the males, retire to the side of some rill, and generally bring forth only one young, though some naturalists affirm that they occasionally produce two.

"The common cry of the Bouquetin is a short sharp whistle, not unlike that of the Chamois, but of less continuance; sometimes it makes a snort, and when young bleats.

"The season for hunting the Bouquetin is towards the end of summer, and in autumn, during the months of August and September, when they are usually in good condition. None but the inhabitants of the mountains engage in the chase; for it requires not only a head that can bear to look down from the greatest heights without terror, address and sure footedness in the most difficult and dangerous passes, and to be an excellent marksman, but also much strength and vigour, to support hunger, cold, and prodigious fatigue.

"The female shows much attachment to her young, and even defends it against eagles, wolves, and other enemies; she takes refuge in some cavern, and presenting her head at the entrance of the hole, thus opposes the enemy.

"It is not improbable that the *Hircus Ferus*, or Bouc-estain of Belon, the Bouquetin of the Alps, the Siberian Ibex, and the *Ægagrus*, both so accurately described by Pallas, and the tame Goat in all its different forms, are only varieties of the same species. Perhaps also the *Capra Caucasica*, described by Pallas, from the papers of Guldenstaedt, and which he represents as differing from the *Ægagrus*, with which it has been confounded by some naturalists. See *Act. Petr.* for 1799.

“The horns of the Bouquetin, as has been before observed, are sometimes found to weigh sixteen or eighteen pounds, to be three feet in length, and to have twenty-four transverse ridges.

“Buffon extends the goat genus still further, and comprehends under it even the Chamois, conjecturing that the Bouquetin is the male in the original race of Goats, and the Chamois the female. The French naturalist having, at the time when he described the Bouquetin, never seen it in a full grown state, was probably induced to entertain this opinion from a faint resemblance between the female Bouquetin and the Chamois. But there does not seem the least foundation for this notion, the Chamois being an animal totally distinct from the Goats, never coupling with them, and judiciously classed by Pallas and Pennant in the genus of Antelopes. His conjecture, however, that the Bouquetin is the original source of all the tame Goats, seems to be well founded; and has been adopted by the greatest part of succeeding naturalists. And as, according to the just observations of Pallas, the *Ægagrus* approaches nearer than the Bouquetin to the tame Goat in its form and horns, the *Ægagrus* may be the link which unites the Bouquetin and the tame Goat.

“If these observations should be well founded, the Goat genus, or race of the Bouquetin, is found in a wild state along the chain of mountains that traverses the temperate parts both of Europe and Asia; on the Pyrennees and Carpathian mountains; on the Taurus and Caucasus; on the mountains of Siberia and Tartary; in Kamtschatka; on the islands of the Archipelago; in Hedsjeas in Arabia; in India; perhaps in Egypt and Lybia.”

The reader will gather from these accounts, that the Rock-Goat feeds on plants sufficiently distinct from the nature of *corn*; insomuch that *corn* can never be considered as the food allotted by Providence for the support of its young. Also, that the time of its gestation is *known*—being five months.

But, *direct* proof is still wanting of the affectionate constancy of the female *Ibex*, which, it has been supposed might be the reference intended in Prov. v. 19. However, the general nature and habits of both sexes of this Rock-Goat are undoubtedly so similar, that the *circumstantial* evidence to this effect is little short of *positive* testimony.

Moreover, it may be remarked, that PENNANT informs us, that “the females at the time of parturition *separate from the males*, and retire to the side of some rill, to bring forth.” This looks as if the females *usually* kept company with the males; and where the creature is scarce, it is probable they associate in pairs. Neither is this probability diminished by observing that the female *Ibex* has usually one kid, very rarely two. This, if admissible, sets aside the objection of MICHAELIS, who says, *Quest. No. LXXXI. p. 152.* “The only passage, where *Ioleh* may appear not to agree with the *Ibex*, is Prov. v. 19. This difficulty may be removed, if it be possible, or customary, among the Orientals, to consider the female *Ibex* as an emblem of a beautiful woman: but I cannot conceive how an animal so uncomely can, in any language, be adopted as an image of the fair sex.”

There is another species of *Ibex* the horns of which are smooth, not having those knots which mark the Alpine kind. It inhabits the mountains of *Caucasus* and *Taurus*, all *Asia Minor*, and perhaps the mountains of *India*. It abounds on the inhospitable hills of *Laar* and *Khorasan* in Persia. It is an animal of vast agility. Monardus saw one leap from a high tower, and fall on its horns; then springing on its legs, leap about, without having received the least hurt. PENNANT, from whom

the above is taken, thinks this creature may be the origin of the tame goat. Perhaps the tame goat may be derived from both; as it appears certain that the offspring of the *Ibex* and the female goat is fruitful. The female of this kind is either destitute of horns, or has short ones.

The figure on our Plate, is that of a full grown Male *Ibex*, from RIDINGER. Mr. Cox says, this "is the best representation of the Bouquetin of the Alps which has fallen under my observation." He adds his testimony to the general correctness of RIDINGER's animals; in which we cordially agree with him.

The Horns above are from ROZIER's Journal, where they are given by Dr. GIRTANNER; but as Mr. Cox has compared the sizes of several horns, we insert his remarks.

"The Horns being so remarkable a part of this animal, I shall here add the measurement, not only of those belonging to Mr. Parkinson, but of several pairs which are deposited in the British Museum.

"Dimensions of the Horns in Mr. Parkinson's, late Sir Ashton Lever's, Museum, (n. 1.) and in the British Museum.

| | No. 1. | | No. 2. | | No. 3. | | No. 4. | | No. 5. | |
|---|--------|-----|--------|-----|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. |
| Rectilinear direction, or chord, from the root to the tip | 2 | 1½ | 1 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 6 |
| Arc, or length measured along the curvature..... | 2 | 8 | 2 | 6½ | 3 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| Circumference at the base..... | 0 | 9½ | 0 | 3 | 0 | 10½ | 0 | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| Distance between them at the base..... | 0 | 0½ | 0 | 1 | .... | .... | .... | .... | 0 | 6½ |
| Distance between them at the tips..... | 1 | 9½ | 2 | 2 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Number of transverse ridges..... | 24 | | 12 | | 20 | | 24 | | | |

"It is a common notion among hunters, adopted by many naturalists, that the age of a Bouquetin may be estimated by the number of transverse ridges, or knobs, in the horns. M. Van Berchem, however, assures me, from his own observations, that this is a vulgar error; and that its age can only be ascertained by the number and form of the teeth, as in sheep and goats. This mistake has also occasioned its term of life to be supposed much longer than it really is. This animal increases in bulk to the age of four years; according, therefore, to the system of the Count de Buffon, that the age is about seven times the growth; its life is twenty-eight or thirty years.

"Some naturalists are of opinion, that the diminution of the race of Bouquetins in the Alps is owing to his size, the monstrous length and weight of the horns, which impede him in his course; because, he is driven into places where he can scarcely procure sufficient nourishment, during great part of the year, where his sight becomes debilitated, and is frequently lost by the strong reflection of the sun from the ice and snow. They consider this animal rather as a native of the sub-alpine regions, which are covered during summer with the finest herbage, and where the Bouquetins and Chamois probably pastured in tranquillity, when only the lower valleys and plains were inhabited.

"On the contrary, it is maintained by others, that the Bouquetin is endued with strength proportionate to its size; and though he is inferior to the Chamois in liveliness and agility, yet he is by no means deficient in activity; that his horns, though large and weighty, yet from their reclined position do not seem to be an impediment, but rather render him essential service when he happens to fall, or

purposely throws himself down precipices to avoid his pursuers. They add, also, that his natural food is rather lichens than herbs; that he is particularly fond of the young shoots of trees and shrubs: and that in all places where he inhabits, he is found in the coldest and rudest mountains, and on the steepest rocks. From these circumstances, it is not improbable, that his present situation and manner of life is an effect of nature rather than of necessity. Besides, why do the Chamois, who are more hunted than the Bouquetin, still inhabit the less elevated regions; and why are they not driven into the glaciers?

As the *Ibex* has been confounded with the *Roebuck* by some, and with the *Chamois* by others, including even BUFFON, it may be useful to add the distinctions between the two latter animals, as given by Dr. GIRTANNER.

1. By size: the *Ibex* being much larger.
2. By the horns. The longest horns of the *Chamois* are only nine inches: those of the *Ibex* are three feet. The horns of the *Ibex* incline backward, over the hinder parts of the animal; those of the *Chamois*, contrary to the horns of most animals, stand forward, are inclined outward, and bend backward into a hook, at their extremities. The horns of the *Chamois* are round: those of the *Ibex* are grooved.
3. The female of the *Chamois* has four teats; the female *Ibex* has only two.
4. The *Ibex* taken young may be domesticated; which the *Chamois* cannot be.
5. The *Ibex* produces one young one; the *Chamois* has usually two.
6. The *Ibex* is bearded; the *Chamois* is not.

Our translators have inserted the *Chamois*, where it is evidently improper, Deut. xiv. 5. The Hebrew word is *tzamor*; which the LXX. render *Camelopardalis*; to this the Vulgate agrees, and what is extraordinary, the Arabic says the same, rendering *Ziraffe*. The *Ziraffe*, or *Giraffe*, however, being native of the Torrid Zone, and of Southern Africa, it is equally unlikely, from its attachment to hot countries, that it should be abundant in Judea, and used as an article of food, as that the *Chamois* which inhabits the chilly regions of mountains, only, and seeks their most retired heights, to shelter it from the warmth of summer, preferring those cool retreats where snow and ice prevail, should be known among the population of Israel. It is probable that we must yet wait for authorities to justify a conclusive opinion on this animal, the *tzamor*; but, I think the class of Antelopes bids fairest to contain it, though Mr. PARKHURST inclines to seek it among the goat kinds; and he thinks it may be called *tzamor*, which signifies to *cut off*, or to *prune*, from its *browsing on the shoots and twigs of plants*, whereby it prunes or breaks them off. At any rate, the *tzamor* must have been a common animal in Syria; as we can by no means suppose the sacred Legislator would prohibit from being used as food, a creature hardly seen from century to century, and of which the nature and history were at best but dubious, and barely to be ascertained, by the most skilful naturalist; such however, was the case with the *Camelopardalis*; whose very existence was admitted with hesitation, a hundred years ago, though its figure appears on certain ancient medals, and on the Prenestine Pavement; which demonstrates that the ancients had seen and known the animal. *Vide* No. cclxxviii. MISCELLANIES, Plate IV, No. 4.

THE HYÆNA.

IT is rather extraordinary that a creature so well known in the East, as the Hyæna is, should be so seldom mentioned in Scripture. It is understood to be named in two places: the first is 1 Sam. xiii. 18. "the Valley of *Zeboim*." Aquila renders "of the *Hyænas*:" the second place is Jer. xii. 9. where the LXX. render the "speckled bird" of our translation, by "the cave of the *Hyæna*." BOCHART exerts himself to establish the *Hyæna* in this place, and Mr. PARKHURST, with great satisfaction, supports him. SCHEUZER also looks this way: they would render—"Is then my heritage to me as a fierce Hyæna? Is there a wild beast all around upon her?" Without depreciating this version, let us examine the passage. "*I have forsaken my [VERY] house, my constant abode: I have left my heritage. Why so? for what cause? My heritage was to me as a lion's lair in the marshy places of the forest; its inhabitant gave out its growl against me, thereby repelling me when I approached to visit it; insomuch that therefore I hated it. Like the OITH TJEBUO is mine heritage to me: the OITH turns himself every way round upon it, forbidding my approach at any part. Therefore, go, assemble yourselves all ye wild beasts of the field; proceed to devour it, rushing into it on all sides.*" But, I could almost wish to connect the *field* with the following words; to this purpose:—"Go, in a general body, all wild beasts; proceed to devour (what should be) *THE fertile field*;" which is the meaning of the word *shadai*, rendered "field;" and fixes the subject to be devoured. The idea seems to be that of a person who having met with ingratitude, leaves the ungrateful to all calamities;—his field having admitted the residence of one wild beast in it, he relinquishes it to wild beasts of every description. The question is, What is this wild beast, this *oith tjebug*?—To answer this requires a careful investigation of the words.

The word *oith* signifies "the rusher;" whether bird, beast, or man: and *tjebug* signifies *striped*, or *streaked*:—the "striped rusher," then, is the literal rendering of these words. Is this *rusher* a beast or a bird? It is taken for a bird by our translators, and by Jerom, who has led the modern versions; on the contrary, the LXX. took it for a beast, and that beast the *Hyæna*: but why is the heritage described as the *cave* of this beast? and this *cave*, as the LXX. seem to say, *circular* in it. Nevertheless, this meets the idea above suggested, of a fruitful field in which a wild beast has established himself, and wherein he turns himself every way, to repel the proprietor. It is acknowledged, that this obliges us, by parallelism, to take the lion of the former verse, for the lion's *lair*, or den, which is not mentioned, though it may be implied, in the original. The *Hyæna* is the animal most probable to be this *Tjebug*, at present; and as such we receive it. "It is well known at Aleppo," says RUSSELL; "lives in the hills at no great distance from town; and is held in great horror." Is the size of a large dog. Is remarkably *striped*, or *streaked*. Has much similitude to the wolf, in nature and form; but has only four toes on each foot, in which it is very nearly singular. Is extremely wild, sullen and ferocious; will sometimes attack men; rushes with great fury on flocks and cattle. Ransacks graves; devours dead bodies, &c. Is untameable."

I cannot refrain from suggesting the *possibility* that that very obscure animal the *Sheeb*, may be the TJEBUO of this place. RUSSELL, vol. ii. p. 185. gives the following account of it: "The natives talk of another animal, named *Sheeb*, which they consider as distinct from the wolf, and reckon more ferocious. Its bite is said to be mortal; and that it occasions raving madness before death... is like a wolf..."

is perhaps only a mad wolf. Long intervals elapse in which nothing is heard of the *Sheeb*. In 1772, the fore-part and tail of one was brought from Spheery to Dr. Freer. It was shot near Spheery; was one of several that had followed the Bassora caravan over the Desert, from near Bassora to Aleppo. Many persons in the caravan had been bitten, all of whom died in a short time, *raving mad*. It was reported that some near Aleppo were bitten, and died in like manner; but the Doctor saw none himself. The circumference of the body and neck rather exceeded that of the wolf. Colour yellowish grey." If an animal of properties so terrible had fixed his abode in any person's heritage, no wonder he should take an absolute aversion to it. As the creature was scarce, (never seen by Dr. RUSSELL, or his brother) may this account for the rare insertion of it in S. S. and the ignorance of travellers? Were a mad dog to establish himself in any person's house in England, would he and his family not be terrified, and abandon it? This creature, coming from the Desert, agrees with "the valley of *Zeboim, toward the wilderness*," in 1 Sam. xiii. 18. No mention of *streaks*.

It is proper here to remark, that Dr. BLAYNEY, *in loc.* adheres to the rendering of Jerom, and finds a *Bird* in this place: "As the ravenous bird Tseboa." He admits that this term frequently signifies the Hyæna, also a species of serpent; both deriving name from the *streaks* with which they are marked: therefore, a Bird may with equal reason be so denominated. He admits, that "there is no determining with certainty the particular species of bird to which the name is given; the Hebrew name is therefore left in the version." The reader will choose between this uncertainty and the decision of the LXX. to me, it seems most likely that those translators should be best acquainted with the creature intended. There are two varieties of Hyæna, the striped and the spotted. Whether one of these may be more fierce and dangerous than the other, I do not know; nor whether one of them, the more savage, may be the *Sheeb*, the maddening inhabitant of the desert, of Dr. RUSSELL.

OF THE JACKALL: THE FOX OF SCRIPTURE.

WE have elsewhere given reasons for supposing that the true Fox was rare in Judea, and that it is scarcely, if at all, mentioned in Scripture. The Jackall is the creature meant by the Hebrew word SHUOL; and having an opportunity, we translate from Rozier, a few extracts from the natural history of the Jackall, by M. GULDENSTÆDT, *Nov. Comment. Acad. Petrop.* vol. xx. 1775.

The country of the Jackall is Asia Minor, and the regions around it. . . . The instinct of this creature leads it to mountainous, or hilly parts, rather than to open countries. Yet its boldness is so great, that it not only prowls into inhabited places, but approaches travellers, whether during the day time, or when they repose at night under their tents; it even accompanies them sometimes, in their journey, for a considerable length of time.

The Jackall is less dangerous than the wolf; he is carnivorous, kills smaller animals, devours carcasses, even those of mankind; swallows greedily whatever is made of leather; *loves grapes*, yet can live long on food, of which farinaceous vegetables and bread are the principal part.

The ears of the Jackall are *brown* not *black*; which distinguishes it from the fox. The Jackall hardly exceeds the fox in size; in his general appearance he holds a

middle station between the wolf and the fox. GMELIN mentions some three feet in length: but rarely do Jackalls attain such dimensions.

I do not think the colour of this animal, is so beautiful as authors have described it: and certainly, I see not in it the brilliancy of gold. The upper part of the animal is a dirty yellow, deeper on the back, lighter on the sides: whitish yellow on the belly. The feet are of one colour, a reddish brown: The tail is of the same colour as the back, black at the tip. Each hair of the back is marked with four bands; white at the base, then black, then foxy and black at the point. The hairs of the tail are white at the base, the rest is black. The length of a Jackall, is about twenty-nine inches; height in front, nineteen inches; height behind, nineteen inches and a half: length of the head, six inches.

The figure which we have copied is taken from the German work of Mr. SCHREBER, (*Saugthière*,) as seeming to be better than that which accompanies the memoir of Mr. GULDENSTÆDT.

The following is from Mr. GMELIN, the younger.

"The Jackall is a carnivorous animal; yet *he loves fruits*, and becomes very fat in autumn. The Jackalls keep themselves during the day-time in the woods, which are in the neighbourhood of mountains; at night-fall they quit their retreats, and infest the villages, towns, farm-houses, &c. They never appear without some of their associates in company. When they are out on the scout for prey, they assume the manners of a creeping animal, stretching out the head, the better to discover their object: in attacking which, they run with extraordinary rapidity, and surpass the wolf in swiftness.

"Poultry is their natural prey. Their cries during the night are horrible, insupportable, and resemble frightful howlings, which they intersperse with barkings like those of a dog. Many are always heard howling at the same time."

The reader will recollect and compare those passages of Scripture which mention the Fox; such as that of the Psalmist, lxi. 10. who, speaking of his enemies, says, "they shall be a portion for *Foxes*:" i. e. the Jackalls shall tear them out of their graves. We have also in these extracts additional evidence that the Jackall is *fond of grapes*, and even gets fat (on fruits, no doubt) in autumn: compare this with Cant. ii. 15.

The following is from Mr. Jackson's "Account of Morocco:" it strongly distinguishes the fox from the Jackall.

"*Thaleb*.—The animal called Thaleb is the red Fox; it emits the same strong scent as the Fox of Europe, and is found in all parts of the country; but is far from being so common as the Deeb, which some have compared to the Jackall, others to the brown Fox.

"It is certain, that the Deeb emits no offensive smell; it is a very cunning animal, and its name is applied metaphorically to signify craft, which it possesses in a greater degree than any other animal: this circumstance alone seems to ally it to the Fox species. It is very fond of poultry; and at night, a little after dark, the still air of the country is pierced with its cries, which alternately resemble those of children, and that of the Fox. They assemble in numbers, and abound all over the country, particularly *in the environs of plantations of melons and other vinous plants*. Some of these Deeb have longer hair than others, and their skins are particularly soft and handsome. The provinces of Shedma, Haha, and Suse, abound with this animal: the Arabs hunt it, and bring the skins to the Mogodor market.

“The Dubbah and the Deeb resemble each other in their propensity to devour dead bodies; so that whilst the plague ravaged West Barbary in 1799 and 1800, these animals were constant visitors of the cemeteries.

The reader will observe the metaphorical application of this creature's name, “to signify craft;” but craft conjoined with voracity, or cruelty: this was certainly the character of Herod, whom our Lord describes under an allusion to this animal, —“Go tell that Fox,” Luke xiii. 32.

OF THE SAPHAN OR CONEY; AND THE MOUSE, OR JERBOA.

EXTRACT FROM THE APPENDIX TO BRUCE'S TRAVELS. P. 139 TO 146.

“THE ASHKOKO.”

THIS curious animal is found in Ethiopia, in the caverns of the rocks, or under the great stones in the Mountain of the Sun, behind the Queen's Palace at Koscam. It is also frequent in the deep caverns of the rock in many places in Abyssinia. It does not burrow or make holes, as the Rat or Rabbit, nature having interdicted him this practice by furnishing him with feet, the toes of which are perfectly round, and of a soft, pulpy, tender substance; the fleshy parts of the toes project beyond the nails, which are rather sharp, much similar to a man's nails ill grown, and these appear given him rather for the defence of his soft toes, than for any active use in digging, to which they are by no means adapted.

His hind foot is long and narrow, divided into two deep wrinkles, or clefts, in the middle, drawn across the centre, on each side of which the flesh rises with a considerable protuberancy, and is terminated by three claws, the middle one the longest. The forefoot has four toes, three disposed in the same proportion as the hind foot; the fourth, the largest of the whole, is placed lower down on the side of the foot, so that the top of it arrives no farther than the bottom of the toe next to it. The sole of the foot is divided in the centre by deep clefts, like the other, and this cleft reaches down to the heel, which it nearly divides. The whole of the fore foot is very thick, fleshy, and soft, and of a deep black colour, like the rest of its body, down to where the toes divide; there the hair ends, so that these long toes very much resemble the fingers of a man.

In place of holes, it seems to delight in less close, or more airy places, in the mouths of caves, or clefts in the rock, or where one projecting, and being open before, affords a long retreat under it, without fear that this can ever be removed by the strength or operations of man.

The Ashkoko are gregarious, and frequently several dozens of them sit upon the great stones at the mouths of caves and warm themselves in the sun, or even come out and enjoy the freshness of the summer evening. They do not stand upright upon their feet, but seem to steal along as in fear, their belly being nearly close to the ground, advancing a few steps at a time, and then pausing. They have something very mild, feeble like, and timid in their deportment; are gentle and easily tamed; though, when roughly handled at the first, they bite very severely.

This animal is found plentifully on Mount Libanus. I have seen him also among the rocks at the *Pharan Promontorium*, or *Cape Mahomet*, which divides the *Elanitic* from the *Heroopolitic* Gulf, or Gulf of Suez. In all places they seem to be the same; if there is any difference, it is in favour of the size and fatness, which those in the Mountain of the Sun seem to enjoy above the others. What is his food I

cannot determine with any degree of certainty. When in my possession he ate bread and milk, and seemed rather to be a moderate than a voracious feeder. I suppose he lives upon grain, fruit, and roots. He seemed too timid and backward in his own nature to feed upon living food, or to catch it by hunting.

The total length of this animal as he sits, from the point of his nose to his anus, is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The length of his snout, from the extremity of his nose to the occiput, is $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. His upper jaw is longer than his under; his nose stretches half an inch beyond his chin. The aperture of the mouth, when he keeps it close, in profile, is a little more than an inch. The circumference of his snout around both his jaws is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and round his head, just above his ears, $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches; the circumference of his neck is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its length one inch and a half. He seems more willing to turn his body altogether, than his neck alone. The circumference of his body, measured behind his fore legs, is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and that of his body where greatest, $11\frac{3}{8}$ inches; the length of his fore leg and toe is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the length of his hind thigh is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the length of his hind leg to the toe taken together, is 2 feet 2 inches. The length of the fore foot is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches; the length of the middle toe 6 lines, and its breadth 6 lines also. The distance between the point of the nose and the first corner of the eye, is $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches; and the length of his eye from one angle to the other, 4 lines. The difference from the fore angle of his eye to the root of his ear is $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches, and the opening of his eye $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines. His upper lip is covered with a pencil of strong hairs for mustachoes, the length of which are $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and those of his eyebrows, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

He has no tail, and gives at first sight the idea of a rat, rather than of any other creature. His colour is a grey mixed with a reddish brown, perfectly like the wild or warren Rabbit. His belly is white, from the point of the lower jaw, to where his tail would begin, if he had one. All over his body he has scattered hairs, strong and polished like his mustachoes; these are for the most part two inches and a quarter in length. His ears are round, not pointed; he makes no noise that ever I heard, but certainly chews the cud. To discover this was my principal reason for keeping him alive; those with whom he is acquainted he follows with great assiduity. The arrival of any living creature, even of a bird, makes him seek for a hiding-place, and I shut him up in a cage with a small chicken, after omitting feeding him a whole day; the next morning the chicken was unhurt, though the Ashkoko came to me with great signs of having suffered with hunger. I likewise made a second experiment, by inclosing two smaller birds with him for the space of several weeks; neither were these hurt, though both of them fed, without impediment, of the meat that was thrown into his cage; and the smallest of these, a kind of titmouse, seemed to be advancing in a sort of familiarity with him: though I never saw it venture to perch upon him, yet it would eat frequently, and at the same time, of the food on which the Ashkoko was feeding; and in this consisted chiefly the familiarity I speak of, for the Ashkoko himself never shewed any alteration of behaviour on the presence of the bird, but treated it with a kind of absolute indifference. The cage, indeed, was large, and the birds having a perch to sit upon in their upper part of it, they did not annoy one another.

In *Amhara* this animal is called *ASHKOKO*, which I apprehend is derived from the singularity of those herinacious hairs, which, like small thorns, grow about his back, and which in *Amhara* are called *ashok*. In Arabia and Syria he is called *Israel's Sheep*, or *Gannim Israel*, for what reason I know not, unless it is chiefly from his frequenting the rocks of Horeb and Sinai, where the children of Israel made

their forty years peregrination; perhaps this name obtains only among the Arabians. I apprehend he is known by that of *Saphan* in the Hebrew, and is the animal erroneously called by our transtators *Cuniculus*, "the Rabbit," or "Coney."

Many are the reasons against admitting the animal mentioned by Scripture (*i. e.* the *Saphan*) to be the Rabbit. We know that this was an animal peculiar to Spain, and therefore could not be common either in Judea or Arabia. They are gregarious indeed, and so far resemble each other, as also in point of size, but in place of seeking houses in the rocks, we know the *Cuniculus*' desire is constantly sand. They have claws indeed, or nails, with which they dig holes or burrows, but there is nothing remarkable in them, or their frequenting rocks, so as to be described by that circumstance; neither is there any thing in the character of the Rabbit that denotes excellent wisdom, or that they supply the want of strength by any remarkable sagacity. The *Saphan* then is not the Rabbit, which last, unless it was brought to him by his ships from Europe, Solomon never saw. It was not the Rabbit's peculiar character to haunt the rocks. He was by no means distinguished by feebleness, or by being unprovided with means of digging for himself holes. On the contrary, he was armed with claws, and it was his character to dig such, not in the rock, but in the sands. Nor was he any way distinguished for wisdom, more than the hare, the hedge-hog, or any of his neighbours.

Let us now apply these characters to the *Ashkoko*. He is above all other animals so much attached to the rock, that I never once saw him on the ground, or from among large stones in the mouths of caves, where is his constant residence; he is gregarious, and lives in families. He is in Judea, Palestine, and Arabia, and consequently must have been familiar to Solomon. For David describes him very pertinently, and joins him with other animals perfectly known to all men: "The hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the *Saphan*," or *Ashkoko*. Psalm civ. ver. 18. And Solomon says, "There be four things which are little upon earth, but they are they are exceeding wise."—"The *Saphanum* are a feeble folk, yet they make their houses in rocks," Prov. xxx. 24, 26. Now this, I think, very obviously fixes the *Ashkoko* to be the *Saphan*, for this weakness seems to allude to his feet, and how inadequate these are to dig holes in the rock, where yet, however, he lodges. These are, as I have already observed, perfectly round; very pulpy, or fleshy, so liable to be excoriated or hurt, and of a soft fleshy substance. Notwithstanding which, they build houses in the very hardest rocks, more inaccessible than those of the Rabbit, and in which they abide in greater safety; not by exertion of strength, for they have it not, being truly as Solomon says, a *feeble* folk, but by their own sagacity and judgment, and are therefore justly described as wise. Lastly, what leaves the thing without doubt is, that some of the Arabs, particularly Damir, say, that the *Saphan* has no tail; that it is less than a cat, and lives in houses, that is, not houses with men, as there are few of these in the country where the *Saphan* is; but that he builds houses, or nests of straw, as Solomon has said of him, in contradistinction to the Rabbit, and Rat, and those other animals that burrow in the ground, who cannot be said to build houses, as is expressly said of him.

The Christians in Abyssinia do not eat the flesh of this animal, as holding it unclean, neither do the Mahometans, who in many respects of this kind in abstinence from wild meat, have the same scruple as Christians. The Arabs in Arabia Petræa do eat it, and I am informed those on Mount Libanus also: those of this kind that I saw were very fat, and their flesh as white as that of a chicken. Though

I killed them frequently with the gun, yet I never happened to be alone so as to be able to eat them. They are quite devoid of all smell and rankness, which cannot be said of the Rabbit.

I have no doubt that the *El Akbar* and the *El Webro* of the Arabs, are both the same animal. The *El Akbar* only means the largest of the *Mus-montanus*, under which they have classed the Jerboa. The *Jerd*, and *El Webro*, as also the *Ashkoko* or *Akbar*, answer to the character of having no tail."

Such is the account, and such the opinion of Mr. BRUCE; whose figure, with its feeble feet, occupies the upper part of our Plate. Undoubtedly, many of his coincidences are striking, and might lead to the adoption of his opinion: but before we determine decisively, let us hear the other side. The following extracts are from Mr. PENNANT, *Hist. Quad.* p. 427, &c. *Quarto Edit.*

"The Egyptian Jerboa, with thin, erect, and broad ears: full and dark eyes: long whiskers: fore legs an inch long; five toes on each; the inner, or thumb, scarce apparent; but that, as well as the rest, furnished with a sharp claw; hind legs two inches and a quarter long, thin, covered with short hair, and exactly resembling those of a bird; three toes on each, covered above and below with hair; the middle toe the longest; on each a pretty long sharp claw: length from nose to tail, seven inches and one quarter; tail ten inches, terminated with a thick black tuft of hair; the upper part of the body thin, or compressed sideways: the part about the rump and loins large; the head, back, sides, and thighs, covered with long hair, ash-coloured at the bottom, pale tawny at the ends: breast and belly whitish: across the upper part of the thighs is an obscure dusky band: the hair long and soft.

"Inhabits Egypt, Barbary, Palestine, the deserts between Balsora and Aleppo, the sandy tracts between the Don and the Volga, the hills south of the *Irtish*, from fort *Janiyschera* to the *seven palaces*, where the *Altaic* mountains begin: as singular in its motions as in its form: always stands on its hind feet; the fore feet performing the office of hands: runs fast; and when pursued, jumps five or six feet from the ground: burrows like rabbits: keeps close in the day: sleeps rolled up: lively during night: when taken, emits a plaintive feeble note: feeds on vegetables: has great strength in its fore feet. Two, which I saw living in London, burrowed almost through the brick wall of the room they were in; came out of their hole at night for food, and when caught, were much fatter and sleeker than when confined to their box.

"This is the *Daman Israel*, or the *Lamb of the Israelites* of the *Arabs*, and is supposed to be the *Saphan*, (Bochart displays a vast deal of learning on the subject. *Vide Hierozoicon*, lib. iii. cap. 33. p. 1001.) the "Coney" of Holy Writ: our Rabbit being unknown in the Holy Land. Dr. Shaw met with this species on Mount Libanus, and distinguishes it from the next species. (*Travels*, 376.) It is also the *Mouse* of Isaiah, chap. lxvi. 17. (Bochart, 1015.) This animal was a forbidden food with the Israelites. *Achbar* in the original signifies a male *Jerboa*.

"Middle species; of the size of a rat: of the colour of the former, except that the rump on each side is crossed with a white line.

"There is again a variety of this with a more lengthened nose, shorter ears, and broader; tail thicker, and not so elegantly tufted: the hind legs shorter: the coat longer and thicker.

"This middle species is found only in the eastern deserts of Siberia and Tartary, beyond lake *Baikal*; also in Barbary (Shaw's *Travels*) and Syria, (Haym's *Tesoro Brit.* ii. p. and tab. 124.) and even as far as India, (Pallas.)

"These three agree in manners: burrow in hard ground, clay, or indurated mud: not only in high and dry spots, but even in low and salt places. They dig their holes very speedily, not only with their fore feet but with their teeth, and fling the earth back with their hind feet, so as to form a heap at the entrance. The burrows are many yards long, and run obliquely and winding, but not above half a yard deep below the surface. They end in a large space or nest, the receptacle of the purest herbs. They have usually but one entrance; yet by a wonderful sagacity they work from their nest another passage to within a very small space of the surface, which in case of necessity they can burst through and escape.

"It is singular, that an animal of a very chilly nature, should keep within its hole the whole day, and wander about only in the night.

"They are the prey of all lesser rapacious beasts. The Arabs, who are forbidden all other kinds of mice, esteem these the greatest delicacies. As those people are often disappointed in digging after them, they have this proverb, "To buy a hole instead of a *Jerboa*."

"Animals of this genus were certainly the *two-footed Mice*, and the *Egyptian Mice*, of the ancients, which were said to walk on their hind legs; and to use the fore legs instead of hands. These with the plant *Silphium*, were used to denote the country of *Cyrene*, where both were found; as appears from the figures on a beautiful gold coin preserved by Mr. Haym, (*Tesoro Brit.* ii. 124,) and which I have caused to be copied above the animal, in the plate."

The reader will now judge on the reasons of these Gentlemen respectively. If we admit with Mr. BRUCE's "no doubts," that the *Akbar* is the *Ashkoko*, we may ask, How comes it that the prophet Isaiah uses this word to denote the *Saphan*? Why does he not call that animal by its usual appellation? On the other hand, he admits, that *Akbar* signifies the largest of the kind of mountain mice, including the *Jerboa*, and this seems to coincide with the opinion of Bochart. Beside this, the word *Akbar* is used Lev. xi. 29. 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5, 11, 18. as well as Isaiah lxvi. 17. Now it is hardly likely that in all these places it means the *Saphan*, and in some of them it clearly does not.

As the length of tail assimilates the *Jerboa* to the Mouse, so the absence of tail in the *Ashkoko* assimilates that animal to the Rabbit kind, and therefore I incline to think, that the upper figure on our Plate is that of the *Saphan*, rendered by our translators "Coney;" and the lower figure (the smaller) is the *Akbar* of Scripture, rendered by our translators "Mouse."

Possibly, Mr. PENNANT in appealing to the testimony of Dr. SHAW, has not correctly understood that writer, as I think his expression, "of the same size and quality with the Rabbit," &c. can hardly describe the *Jerboa*; nor is the name of *Daman Israel*, "Israel's Lamb," likely to be given to that animal. The following is Dr. SHAW's account: *Travels*, p. 376. *Folio Edit.*

"The *Daman Israel* is an animal likewise of Mount Libanus, though common in other places of this country. It is a harmless creature, of the same size and quality with the rabbit, having the like incurvating posture and disposition of the fore teeth. But it is of a browner colour, with smaller eyes, and a head more pointed. The fore feet likewise are short, and the hinder near as long in proportion, as those of the *Jerboa*. Though it is known to burrough sometimes in the ground; yet, as the usual refuge of it is in the holes and cliffs of the rocks, we have so far a more presumptive proof that this creature is the *Saphan* of the Scriptures than the *Jerboa*. None of the inhabitants, whom I conversed with, could inform

me why it was called *Daman Israel*, i. e. *Israel's Lamb*, according to their interpretation." This gentleman certainly distinguishes the *Daman Israel* from the *Jerboa*, to which he compares it: and his expression "*far more presumptive proof* that this creature is the *Saphan*," agrees with Mr. BRUCE against the *Jerboa*.

It is difficult to account for this appellation, from the Arabic, in which *daman* signifies *constant, stable, firm, unmoveable*; unless it refers to the *rocky* habitation of this animal, which is certainly *constant*, and *unmoveable*. I partly incline to derive this name from the Hebrew *dameh*, importing *quiet, silent, tranquil*, such being the character of a lamb, which "before its shearers, is dumb, and openeth not his mouth;" not even when being slain: but this is a direct opposition to the active character of the *Jerboa*; to which no one could ever think of applying the term *tranquil*, or *patient*, or *STILL*.

The following is HASSELQUIST'S description of the *Jerboa*: translated from his "Travels in the Levant."

"*Mus Jaculus*, Leaping Rat. This animal is the size of a large Rat. He only uses his hind legs: for which reason he moves only by leaps and jumps. When he stops, he brings his feet close under his belly, and rests on the juncture of his leg. He uses when eating, his fore paws, like other animals of his kind. He sleeps by day, and is in motion during night. He eats corn, bread made of corn, and grains of *Sesamum*. Though he does not fear man, yet he is not easily tamed, for which reason he must be kept in a cage. I saw one at Cairo, which had been so kept during several months. He is found in Egypt, and between Egypt and Arabia. —The Arabs call him *Garbua*; the French who are settled in Egypt, call him *Mountain Rat*."

Assuming that the *Achbar* of Isaiah lvi. 17. is the *Jerboa*, we see that the eating this creature as food is properly connected with the guilt of eating swine's flesh, and is in direct opposition to a positive precept; Lev. xi. 27. "*Whatsoever goeth upon ITS PAWS, among all manner of beasts that go on ALL FOUR*, those are unclean to you," &c.—It is strange, at first sight, how a creature going on *all four*, can be said to go on *its paws*, i. e. on two feet only; but the *Jerboa* answers this description precisely; and though with propriety reckoned among quadrupeds, yet by its mode of going on its hind feet only, it has been, and still is, called a *biped*; *Μυς διπας*. Theophr. *Opusc.* 295. *Ælian*, *Hist. An. lib. xv. cap. 26.* *Mus bipes*, Pliny, *lib. x. cap. 65.*

[There is just such another perplexity a few verses earlier in the same chapter: "all fowls, (*Eng. Tr.* but rather, all flying creatures) that creep, going on *all four*"—what a confusion of natures! fowls—creeping—all four!! yet this is not only correct, but even technically accurate, so far as we can ascertain the meaning of the ancient terms.]

The reader will observe, that the uncleanness contracted by touching the carcasses of these animals, required washing of clothes; and lasted till evening: nor can he fail of remarking how effectually difficulties, uncouthnesses, of phraseology and language are dispersed, when the proper object of which they are descriptive is submitted to our inspection.

We conclude these remarks by observing,

1. That the *Rat*, i. e. the European Rat, is not known in Scripture; at least, I am ignorant of any passage where it occurs.

2. That we may safely take the Hebrew *Akbar* to import the whole of the *Jerboa* kind; which, though forbid to the Israelites, apparently on account of its peculiarity
of

of conformation, [as already noticed on the distinction between animals, clean and unclean, as marked by divisions, &c. of the foot] yet was formerly, and still is, eaten by the Arabs, as delicious food. The Arabic version of Isaiah lxvi. 17. renders the word *Akbar* by *Jerboa*; which shews the opinion of that translator; and Jonathan, in his Paraphrase of Lev. xi. 29. certainly understood the word in the same sense, as he speaks of "Rats which are black, and red and white." It should seem moreover, that the Mouse also was unknown; but, this animal being found wherever mankind has fixed habitations, however scarce it may be in a land of tents, where the residents are shifting abode almost daily, the inference is not without difficulty. Notwithstanding, if this were just, it would give a very different aspect to the history of the [Mice] *Jerboas* which "marred the land" of the Philistines, 1 Sam. vi. 5. and would require a knowledge of the manner in which the *Jerboa* could effect those ravages to which the Philistines allude: but whether as an immediate visitation resulting from the presence of the sacred Ark, or from other causes, is not, that I perceive, clearly specified. It is true indeed, that the Alexandrian and Vatican copies of the LXX. mention these Mice, in verse 1. but, whether these are not rather notes, as they do not agree in expression, may be doubted; the edition of Alcalá wholly omits them: yet Josephus inserts the mention of these destructive little animals, as being sent by Divine anger. Whatever might be the fact in that instance, we are convinced that the *Jerboa*, no less than the Mouse, was competent to inflict whatever penalties it had in commission from Omnipotent Wisdom. Nevertheless, this action of "marring the land," seems to be peculiarly fit for the *Jerboa*, which digs its habitation in the sand, &c. something after the manner of our *Moles*, and as these creatures yearly do much mischief in our fields, &c. by digging, and turning up the soil, so might the *Jerboas* do by some analogous activity: whereas, the *Ashkoko* cannot dig, but inhabits rocks only; and therefore on the whole, we consider this animal as most likely to be the *Saphan* of Holy Writ.

N. B. Dr. SHAW observes, with Mr. BRUCE, that he never saw the *Jerboa* among rocks.

THE PORCUPINE, OR HEDGE-HOG.

I WILL MAKE BABYLON A POSSESSION FOR THE BITTERN, AND POOLS OF WATER. ISAIAH XIV. 23.

THE word *kephod*, rendered *Bittern*, has been a sad stumbling-block to commentators: "three elements," says SCHEUZER, "may dispute its property, earth, air, and water." The *weight* of interpreters is in favour of the *Hedge-Hog*, or the *Porcupine*, which may stand at the head of the Hedge-Hog species. A long list of names might be inserted, including the LXX. and Jerom. Mr. PARKHURST has taken unusual pains on this subject; and it must be acknowledged, that the Arabic terms *kenfud*, *kunphud*, *canfed*, &c. sufficiently resemble the Hebrew *kephod*. [which, possibly, was pronounced with N inserted, as *lampad*, written *lapad*, &c.] It may be thought different from the common Hedge-Hog, because the manners of that creature do not agree with those attributed to the *Kephod*: for the Hedge-Hog is resident in more verdant and cultivated places, than we are led to place the *Kephod* in.

It appears, however, from Dr. RUSSELL's *Aleppo*, vol. ii. p. 159. that the Porcupine is called *kunfud*: "It is sometimes, though rarely, brought to town by the peasants." "The notion of his darting his quills still prevails in Syria. I never met with any person who had seen it; but it stands recorded in books, and the fact is not

doubted." "The Hedge-Hog is regarded by the natives as the same species; is found in the fields in abundance, but serves only for medicinal purposes." I conclude, from these hints, that the Porcupine is *wilder* than the Hedge-Hog, in Syria. The same inference arises from comparing the accounts of these animals given by BUFFON; Hedge-Hogs he placed in his garden; and I have known Hedge-Hogs kept in kitchens as devourers of black beetles; they abound most in temperate climates: the north is too cold for them. The Porcupine is native of the hottest climates of Africa and India, perhaps, is originally of the East, yet can live and multiply in less sultry situations, such as Persia, Spain, and Italy. Agricola says, the species has been in late ages transported into Europe. It is now found in Spain, and in the Appenine Mountains, near Rome. Pliny, and the naturalists, say, that the Porcupine, like the bear, hides itself in winter. It eats crumb of bread, cheese, fruits, and when at liberty, roots, and wild grain; in a garden it makes great havock, and eats pulse with greediness; it becomes fat toward the close of summer, and its flesh is not bad eating.

We should now enquire what associates Scripture has given to the *Kephod*? It is here connected with "pools of water," according to our translation. This we shall consider hereafter. In chap. xxxiv. 11. it is associated with *Kaat*, the Pelican; with *Ianshuph*, which is supposed to be the lesser *Bittern* or *Ardea Ibis*; and with *Oreb*, or the raven kind; together with thorns, nettles, and brambles; with *Tannim*, and with Ostriches. If only water-birds had been connected with it here, we might have been led to conclude that it denoted a water-bird, also: but, as Ravens and Ostriches, to say nothing on the thorns and nettles, are found in *dry places*, nothing hinders this from being an animal of dry places, also. In Zephaniah ii. 14. the *kephod* is coupled only with the *kaat* or Pelican; but, though the Pelican be a water-bird, yet she builds her nest in open places distant from water; and the prophet had said, in the former verse, "Nineveh shall be dry like a wilderness;" so that creatures inhabiting dry places, may readily be supposed to reside there. This association, therefore, is not conclusive for a water-bird; though we must own it looks rather like a bird of some kind as a fellow to the Pelican, with which it is matched.

It appears, then, that both Babylon and Nineveh are threatened with desolation, and with becoming the residence of the *kephod*. To ascertain, if it might be done, this *kephod*, I have taken some pains to discover what creatures breed in ruins in these countries, and would be glad to know more precisely, what actually breed in the ruins of these ancient cities themselves. The result has proved not very satisfactory. Storks, owls, bats, and a bird, which is probably, the locust bird, are all I find identified. Bats, it should seem, we might naturally expect in vaults and caverns; but whether Porcupines, also, may be questioned. The following extracts are submitted to the reader. If they do not answer our desires, they may give hints for farther enquiries:

At *Chytor*---"The ruins of above an hundred [temples] to this day remain of stone, white, and well polished, albeit now inhabited by storks, owls, bats and like birds."—G. Herbert, *Travels*. p. 95.

———— "Here in ancient times stood the famous city of *Nineveh*, which, having repented on the preaching of *Jonah*, forty years afterwards relapsed into its former disorders; wherefore the people of the country say, that God overturned the city and its inhabitants, who were buried in the ruins with their heads down, and their feet upwards. There is nothing now to be seen but some hillocks which (they say)

are its foundations, the houses being underneath. These reach a good way below the city of Mosul." Thevenot, *Part II.* p. 51.

"*Nineveh* was built on the left shoar of the *Tigris*, upon *Assyria* side, being now only a heap of rubbish, extending almost a league along the river. There are abundance of vaults and caverns uninhabited; nor could a man well conjecture, whether they were the ancient habitations of the people, or whether any houses were built upon them in former times; for most of the houses in *Turkie* are like cellars, or else but one storie high."—Tavernier, *Book II.* p. 72.

The latest account of the ruins of *Babylon* which I am acquainted with, is that by M. BEAUCHAMP in the *European Magazine*, May 1792. where he informs us, that "this place and the Mount of Babel, are commonly called by the Arabs *Mak-Coube* that is, "*topsy-turvy*:" (which is almost the same as Thevenot mentions respecting *Nineveh* and its inhabitants; and which, could we trace it to its origin, very probably would be found deserving our notice.) "The master mason led me along a valley—I found in it a subterranean canal—these ruins extend several leagues." Vaults and under-ground constructions, then, remain of ancient *Babylon*, and these may well afford shelter for Bats. I understand that trees grow in parts of the space formerly occupied by *Babylon*; and, if so, they may afford shelter for Porcupines. Against this interpretation of *kephod* it must be observed, that in the *Chaldee* this word denotes a *bird*—taken for the Bittern, as by our translators; and so in the *Talmud*. The root of the word signifies, *to cut off*, *to terminate*, which, as applied to animals, teaches nothing; for we cannot admit with SCHEUZER, that "the Beaver is what best agrees to the import of the word."

It is probable that the Porcupine does not inhabit dusty ruins, or dry, or desert places; but rather common lands or forests, where vegetables and grain may be its food: yet, as vegetables may grow where towns have stood, perhaps this is not a decisive objection. Moreover, this objection becomes still less decisive, if the remark of Bochart confirmed by PARKHURST, be correct, that the (now) *pools of water* are to be (hereafter) a possession for the *kephud*; and these "pools of water," are, according to the most probable notion of the word, artificial, or *fish-ponds*, as in *Isaiah xix. 10*. I would, therefore, understand them here of *garden-CANALS*, forming parts of pleasure-grounds; fed no doubt, originally from the river; and long after the destruction, or rather the abandoning of the city, retaining moisture enough to support vegetables, on which Porcupines might feed. In fact, *Babylon* became a park, wherein the kings of *Parthia* hunted, in after ages, and the same land which supported wild boars, might equally well support other wild animals; including those native of hot climates, such as the Porcupine or *kephod*, undoubtedly is. In a former chapter, the prophet takes some pains to consort creatures of the dry desert, with creatures of the watery marshes; and from the local situation of *Babylon*, all these classes might dwell there together.

It would have been fortunate, if the etymology of this word had afforded means of determining the creature intended; but, what can "cut off" denote, as the name of a bird? if any bird had no tail, or were otherwise *apparently* mutilated, this name might express that appearance; neither is this notion very applicable to the *Porcupine*, though it may be taken not unaptly in reference to the Hedge-Hog, whose *spines* being very short, when compared with those of the Porcupine, have the appearance of being *cut off*; and in some kinds, cut off closely. The reader will give its proper weight to this remark. It is necessary only to add, that in Arabic, the class *Kanfud*, or *Kenfud*, includes three kinds:—1. *Kanfud al bari*, the Land Hedge-Hog.

—2. *Kanf al bachari*, the Sea Hedge-Hog; what we call the *Urchin*, as indeed, we call the former, also by this name.—3. *Kanf al gebeli*, the Hedge-Hog of the Mountains; which is, no doubt, the Porcupine. Seing then, the *determination* of this language, in behalf of this word, can we do better than be guided by it, in this instance? Yet, with some reluctance, as this is not precisely that creature, which, on principles of arrangement, seems to answer the requisitions of *every* place in Scripture.

We conclude therefore, though wishing for farther information, with the idea of Bochart:

And I will make it [Babylon] a possession for the Porcupine;
Even the garden-canals of water.

The reader will pardon the evident embarrassment marked strongly enough in the course of this article: the general reasoning is now reduced to a certainty, by the testimony of the late Mr. RICH, who says expressly, in his “Memoir on Babylon,” p. 30. “I found QUANTITIES of PORCUPINE-Quills; and in most of the cavities are numbers of Bats and Owls.” *Quantities* of quills imply the existence of many PORCUPINES, in these deserted desolations. Comp. No. Dxcvii.

THE MOLE.

OUR Translators have rendered by *Weesel*, the Hebrew word *choled*, in conformity with other versions, and not a few commentators; and they have rendered by MOLE, the Hebrew word *tinshemet*; from which renderings we have ventured to differ. Having, as we presume to think, established the regularity of the system of the sacred writer, in reference to Natural History, it should appear, that the word *tinshemet*, at the close of a list of lizards, must denote a lizard, like its fellows; and that the Mole is too distant in its nature to be properly placed in such connection.

But we ought, perhaps, to give some reasons for differing from our worthy Translators, in rendering by *Mole* what they have rendered by *Weesel*; and this we attempt, by observing,—1. That the present name of the Mole in the East is *khuld*; which is undeniably the same as the Hebrew *choled*. 2. That the import of the Hebrew *choled*, *chold*, or *chuld*, is *to creep into*; and that the same Syriac word implies *to creep underneath*, to creep into *by burrowing*, i. e. under ground; it is so used, 2 Tim. iii. 6. in the Syriac version, “creeping into houses, by going—*burrowing* under them,” which is the correct idea of the Greek, and a very expressive phraseology. It is well known that such is the disposition of the Mole; a creature formed expressly for the action of *burrowing*, and appointed to this mode of life; and not merely, as some creatures are, to *burrowing* above ground, but to *burrowing* under ground. For this purpose it has, as the reader will observe in the figure, a very large, broad, and powerful fore foot: it is short, thick, and muscular; while the hind-foot, though strong, much more resembles that of other quadrupeds. Its general history is as follows:

The Mole is formed to live wholly under the earth, that no place should be left untenanted. Is fat, sleek, and glossy; and, though denied many advantages of other animals, enjoys some of which they are but scantily possessed.

Less than a rat, and bigger than a mouse, with a coat of fine, short, glossy, black hair; its nose long and pointed; its eyes scarcely possible to be discerned. Instead

of ears it has only holes. Its neck is short; body thick and round; small short tail; legs also very short; as it rests on its belly, the feet appear growing out of its body. The ancients, and some moderns, thought the animal utterly blind; but Derham, by a microscope, discovered all the parts of an eye. *The fore-legs are very short and strong, furnished with five claws each, turned outwards and backwards; the hind-legs are longer and weaker than the fore.*

By the breadth, strength, and shortness of the fore-feet, which incline outwards, *it throws back the earth with ease*; had they been longer, the falling in of the earth would have prevented the quick repetition of their strokes, and they would have required a larger hole for their exertion. The fore-part of the body being thick, and very muscular, gives great strength to the action of the fore-feet, *enabling the animal to dig its way with amazing force and rapidity.*

Little vision is sufficient for a creature *which lives in darkness*; had the organ been larger, it would have been perpetually liable to injury by falling earth: that inconvenience is avoided by its being very small, and very closely covered with hair.

Buried in the earth, it seldom stirs out, unless forced by violent rains, or when in pursuit of prey it gets into the open air, which is hardly its natural element: *it chooses the looser softer grounds, beneath which he can travel with greater ease*; where also it finds most worms and insects, on which it chiefly preys. It is most active, and casts up most earth, immediately before rain; and, in winter, before a thaw; at those times worms and insects being in motion, and approaching the surface. In dry weather, the Mole seldom forms hillocks, but penetrates deeper after its prey.

The Mole is rarely found, except in cultivated countries.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

Fig. 1. Represents the Mole, as it usually appears when out of the earth.

Fig. 2. Is the Skeleton of its Fore-Foot; from the *solid*, short, and powerful construction of which, an idea may be formed of its strength, when exerted in scooping out the earth.

Fig. 3. The Skeleton of its Hind-Foot.

There is another passage, Isaiah ii. 20. where our translation adopts the word *Mole*:—"idols shall be thrown to the *Moles*, and the Bats;" but the original word here is not *choled*, but (as it stands in our printed copies) in *two* words, (חפר פרות) *chaphar pharut*. Bochart, however, inclines to read these two words as one; and so three copies collated by Dr. KENNICOTT read it. In this case, these *chaphar-pharut* will derive from the word *chaphar*, to sink, to delve, to *dig down into*, to *penetrate*; a very expressive and characteristic name for the Mole; which, as we have observed, ranks among the best of diggers. But, is it likely the Mole should have in Hebrew *two* names? This is scarcely credible; and therefore, having appropriated to it the name *choled*, it becomes necessary to enquire what these *chaphar-pharut* can be; and this the rather, as the versions have been utterly perplexed about it. Montanus, keeping the words as two, renders *to dig depths*; the LXX. *μαραια*, *vanities*; Aquila *ὄρυγας*, *depths*, or *ditches*. Theodotion, not knowing to what to incline, preserves the original word.

The general scope of the passage is a threatening against pride, and a denunciation of vengeance on idols and idol worshippers.

NATURAL HISTORY:

Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust,
For fear of the Lord, and the glory of his majesty.

.....

For the day of the Lord of Hosts is upon all that is proud and lofty.

.....

And the idols he shall utterly abolish.
And they shall go into the holes of the rocks—CAVERNS,
And into caves of the earth,—*hollow places of the dust.*
In that very day a man [THE CHIEF] shall cast
His [VERY] idols of silver, and his [VERY] idols of gold,
Which they had made for him to worship,
To the MOLES [*‘hapharpharut*] and [*even*] to the BATS [*Othelaphim.*]
To go into the clefts of rocks,
And into the tops [rather *cavities*] of the rugged rocks;
For fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, &c.

Apparently, this describes the action of a public personage, a chief, for whom public idols had been provided, to be objects of worship in an ostentatious manner; with parade, in temples, exalted on high, magnificently decorated, and numerous attended. This is contrasted by two ideas:—1. The chief himself shall be so terrified, as to seek shelter in caves and dens. 2. These valuable idols shall be taken from their shrines, and thrown into places as dark, dismal, and abominable, as their former residences had been brilliant, splendid, and venerable.

All commentators have perceived this sense to be included in the passage. Bishop LOWTH says, “They shall carry their idols with them into the dark caverns, old ruins, or desolate places, to which they shall flee for refuge; and so shall give them up, and relinquish them to the filthy animals that frequent such places, and have taken possession of them as their proper habitation.” I fear there is a confusion of ideas in this note of the learned author; because, 1. those who fled did not flee to *old* ruins, to places already ruined, already desolated; but to rocks; 2. their “carrying their idols with them,” in order to leave them behind when they came out again,—“relinquish them to the filthy animals,”—seem directly contrary to the prophet’s meaning; which implies a getting rid of these idols as fast as possible—instantaneously: neither is it very natural after their fright is over, to leave their deities behind them.

SCHEUZER has approached much nearer, probably, to the import of the passage; and indeed has given it very fairly, though without perceiving it:—“In that day men shall cast down (the idols) from the top of the altar to the bottom of it; and to avoid all occasion of defilement and superstition, shall hide them in dark places, and at the bottom of caverns.” I would somewhat vary this: considering that vengeance and punishment are the matters of the prophecy, perhaps it might be understood to imply, that “in such a day of terror, the chief, the sovereign, who had been used publicly to worship gold and silver idols, shall cast them away into the underground vaults, the drains, the *sinks* of the temple, where they had been honoured; in order to avoid detection, to remove all evidence that ever he had been guilty of doing homage to them.” Can a greater reverse, a stronger contrast, be imagined? Moreover, these *sinks* are at hand, are the readiest places for concealment; and, in fact, history informs us that such have been actually used, on emergencies, for this purpose.

Since then the word *chaphar* explicitly means *to sink*, and this is its proper idea, why not accept it here also, and dismiss the *Mole* from this passage; considering *chapharpharut* as a duplication, an emphatical augmentation of the original idea;—*sinks*, DEEP SINKS:—the deepest of cavities.

If it be admitted that the first word means not an animal, but a place, then we must, in all reason, consider the second as meaning a place also: not *Bats*, but places where Bats inhabit, where they breed; as they do in obscure and dark caverns of ancient buildings; such, for instance, as the caverns in Babylon, as Mr. RICH notices; and in the pyramids of Egypt, where they abound; in our old churches also; and, in short, in all subterraneous places, or rather parts of buildings—*subterraneous vaults*: which agrees perfectly with the *sinks*, expressed by the former word. “The chief shall cast his very idols of silver, and his very idols of gold—into sinks and subterraneous vaults, [Bat-residences,] and shall himself flee to the caverns of rocks, &c. Otherwise, the passage may be understood very properly, “he shall cast his idols into sinks, even to the Bats,” which inhabit such under-ground vaults and passages. In either rendering we exclude the *Moles*, which never inhabit *rocks*, or ruins, or dwellings, or where the Bats inhabit (*but, beneath the looser softer grounds*, in the open field); and we confine the Hebrew name of the Mole to one word, *choled*, by which we suppose it is expressed in the prohibitory passage in Leviticus.

THE BAT.

HAVING considered creatures legally unclean, as well beasts as birds, we have remaining one, the equivocal properties of which seem to exclude it from the list of either:—it is too much a bird to be properly a beast, too much a beast to be properly a bird; the BAT, therefore, is extremely well described in Deuteronomy xiv. 18, 19. (as I conceive the passage should be read): “Moreover, the BAT, and every *creeping thing that flieth*, is unclean to you: they shall not be eaten.” This character, which (thus understood) fixes to the BAT the name used in both passages, is omitted in Leviticus: nevertheless, it is very descriptive; and places this creature at the head of a class, of which he is a very clear, and a very well-known instance.

The genus BAT, is very numerous: some of them are very violent, very powerful, and very injurious; but, without adverting to those of foreign countries, we shall only remark on the conformation common to all; whereby they are enabled to fly; and are in consequence distinguished from quadrupeds, or as Deuteronomy expresses it, “creeping things.”

We have already ventured to assert, that the leading rule adopted in characterizing animals as unclean, was taken from their feet and toes; this subject adds another support to our principles. To justify this idea, we translate from Buffon the remarks of M. Daubenton, on the conformation of the Bat: referring to the figures on our Plate.

Fig. 1. “The legs of the Bat appear to be absolutely different from those of other quadrupeds; and, indeed, they are directed, and even formed, in a very particular manner. When the creature is at rest, the *elbow* of the arm A, approaches the *knee* of the leg, B. The fore-arm, A C, is very long, and inclines obliquely from above to below, from behind to before. The wrist, C, rests on the ground; and in the fore-arm only one toe (rather *thumb*) is visible; which stands backward. The knee,

B, rises as high as the rump. The hind-leg, B G, has a vertical direction from above to below; and the five toes, G, of the hinder foot are directed outwards, and are of commensurate lengths. The upper arm is directed *horizontally*, from forward to backward; and the thigh *vertically*, from below to above. The upper arm is hid behind the fore-arm, and the thigh behind the leg; beside this, *they are together with the fore-arm and the leg; enveloped in a wrinkled membrane, which conceals the tail, and almost all the hinder parts of the creature.* In this state of repose, the breast and belly rest on the ground; for the four legs do not support any part of the weight of the body, but only prevent it from tottering, and falling on either side.

“In order to advance, the Bat raises both his front legs with coincident motion, and places them at a small distance forward; at the same time, the thumb of each points outward, and the creature catches, with the claw of it, at any thing which it can lay hold of; then he stretches behind him his two hind-legs, so that the five toes of each foot are also directed backward: he supports himself on the sole of this foot, and secures himself by means of the claws on his toes; then he raises his body on the front legs, and throws himself forward, by folding the upper arm on the fore-arm, which motion is assisted by the extension of the hind-legs, which also push the body forward. This gait, though heavy, because the body falls to the ground at every step, yet is sometimes pretty quick, when the feet can readily meet with good holding-places; but when the claw of the front foot meets with what is loose, the exertion is inefficient. Such is the motion of the Bat when fatigued, or in the daytime, when too powerful light prevents him from distinguishing objects accurately; but when the light is suitable to the weakness of his sight, and the temperature of the atmosphere inclines the insects on which he feeds to come abroad, then he displays his capacious wings, launches into the air, and rising and falling, he rapidly traverses considerable distances.

“We have said, that when the Bat is in a state of rest, only the thumb of his front foot is visible; but, in reality, he has also four very long fingers, connected with it, lying along the fore-arm, which are enveloped in a membrane. When the creature takes to flight, he diverges his four long fingers from each other, spreads the membrane between them; and this now answers the purpose of a wing. This membrane is supple, thin, semi-transparent, but so strong that it is not to be torn without exertion.

Fig. 2. Represents the Bat in the act of flying: A, the arm; B, the fore-arm; C, D, E, F, the fingers. The first finger, C, is near to the second, D; but the second, D, is farther from the third, E; and the third, E, is farther from the fourth, F; as appears by the increasing intervals of the hollow sweeps, G, H, I. The references, K and L, shew the membrane enveloping the rump and tail: M is the thumb.

Fig. 3. Shews the Skeleton of the Bat, in this attitude and action: *a*, the shoulder-blade; *b*, the clavicles; *c*, the arm; *d*, the fore-arm, which, instead of *two* bones, as usual in quadrupeds, has only *one*, answering to the *radius* in other animals; *e*, the system of the hand and fingers, comprising four very long fingers, 1, 2, 3, 4, and one shorter, the thumb, 5.

Fig. 4. In order to render this formation of the front foot more distinct, and more impressive on the mind of the reader, this figure shews the front leg, or arm, at large. A, the arm; B, the fore-arm; C, D, the carpus; E, F, G, H, the metacarpus; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, the fingers and thumb, each divided into its phalanges, *a*, *b*, *c*.

Fig.

Fig. 5. The formation of the hind foot of the Bat:—A, the thigh-bone; B, the tibia; C, the peroneum; D, E, the tarsus; H, I, the metatarsus: K, L, the toes, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

This structure of the Bat's foot, agrees with what we have observed on animals considered as unclean, that the evident and most conspicuous mark of unlawfulness was apparent to the meanest capacity, in the structure of the foot; whether it were only *grooved*, but not thoroughly divided, as the camel; apparently divided *externally*, but not correctly internally, as the swine; formed into more divisions than two, as the saphan, which has three toes; into four divisions, as the hare; or into five divisions, as the bat.

We shall offer a remark on the Hebrew name of the Bat, OTHELAPH, (ֶשֶׁלֶף) which has been usually derived from OTH, (שָׁף) *to fly*, and OLAPH, (עָלַף) *obscurity, duskiness*:—as if it described the “flyer in duskiness,” *i. e.* in the evening. This derivation supposes that *oth* is put for *oith*, which certainly might be; yet perhaps it may be deduced from a word spelled without the *i*, *oth*,—*to turn aside*: So we read, 1 Sam. xiv. 32. “The people *turned aside* to the spoil,” in our translation, they *flew upon*: and the same, chap. xv. 19, “Thou didst *fly upon* the spoil,” *i. e.* *turn aside* to seize it; for it is evident, that this was a prevarication, not a direct flight, in a straight line, as it were; but, a turning aside, an irregularity. This very word *oth*, in Isaiah xxii. 17. signifies *to hurry* with rapidity—with impetuosity; connecting the notion of irregularity, unsteadiness, wavering:—and this gives an idea of the passage very different from that in our version, but perfectly agreeable to the scope of the place:

Behold the Lord will carry thee away with a mighty captivity;
And will hurry thee off with hurrying.——
Rolling, he will roll thee with revolution:
Like as a ball in a wide ground *is rolled* by the hand,
There shalt thou die; and there shall the—*marecabuth*—chariots of thy glory
Become the shame of thy lord's house.

After *querying* whether this passage may contain an allusion to such a game as our game of bowls (of which possibly the subject of the prophecy, Shebna, was fond, and at which he was expert)—I would remark, that the *hurry* introduced into the description of this carrying captive is very expressive and very *à-propos*; that it implies an irregularity of motion, and herein agrees with the former instances of the use of the word *oth*. Now, whoever will take an opportunity of watching the motion of a Bat in its flight, will perceive that its progress is extremely hurrying, extremely irregular, and perpetually turning aside: he is not steady, like a bird, in his action, but leaps, as it were, in flying; he does not prolong any one line of progress, but *zig-zags* about in various obliquities, in flying a hundred yards. In short, the Bat is well described by the provincial appellation of FLITTER-mouse; for he rather *flitters* than flies; and it should seem that this idea of *flittering* was attached by our translators to the word *oth*, when they rendered it by “*flying upon the spoil*.”

The word *olaph* is capable of two senses, either of which may describe the Bat:—1. To *cover over*, and that *closely*, to wrap up: we have seen that the Bat is very much, if not almost wholly, covered by a membrane, which when extended serves for wings. It appears by Fig. 2. that this membrane encloses the front legs wholly, the hind legs in great part, the rump, and the tail: so that from the shoulders

to the loins, (proceeding down the back) is the only part of the body not included in this envelope; but especially the fore-legs are wrapped in it. To be sure, this is not so complete a concealment as Tamar employed, Gen. xxxviii. 14. where this word is used: but it may be as complete as the overlaying of the ivory girdle of the bridegroom with sapphires, where also this word occurs. Cant. v. 14.

The second sense of the word *olaph* coincides with our word *velop*, whence *envelop*, *develop*, says PARKHURST; hence, perhaps, *wolf*, which *envelops* himself in some dark dwelling during the day, and prowls forth to prey in the shades of *evening*. Hence the Latin *vulpes*, a fox, for the like reason.—Is not this also descriptive of the Bat, which all the day long, conceals himself in his hole, unable to bear the effulgence of day-light; and only when the scarcely enlightened atmosphere is tempered down to a very moderate tone of brilliancy, when

———— Evening grey
Has in her sober livery all things clad,

ventures to *flitter* abroad; concealed, if not secured, by the duskiness of closing day, by the glimmering shades of departing twilight, fading into night. Accordingly, it should be remembered, that several nations have named the Bat from his flying by night: so the LXX. Νυκτερίς, *Nukteris*, from νύξ, *nux*, night; and the Vulgate, *Vespertilio*, from *vesper*, the evening: according to Ovid,

———— Lucemque perosi,
Nocte volant, seroque trahunt a vespere nomen. Metam. lib. iv. 415.

.....

Most nations have fixed on certain animals as less fit for human food, than others, in other words, as unclean, and this, independent of their properties, as more or less salutary, or injurious to health. Yet we find considerable variations of opinion and practice, even among nations inhabiting the same countries. The Horse, held unlawful by the Hebrews, is eaten by the Tartars; the Camel, forbidden to the Jews, is eaten by the Arabs; as is also the Hare, and others. In general, it may be observed, that whatever was forbidden as ordinary food was still more strongly prohibited from the altar; and, among other reasons, because as sacrifices were eaten either in whole or in part, by the Priest or offerer, or both, it is evident, that the admission of animals legally impure would have spread impurity under the sanction of the altar, itself. And farther, that as the altar partook of the sacrifice, the fat, &c. which were consumed by its fire, that fire with the sacred implement itself, would have been absolutely desecrated by such unwarrantable departure from the instituted rites. See the histories of this in the Maccabees, &c.

The flesh of the Swine was usually the pollution forced by persecutors, on the Jews; but, it is evident that any kind of prohibited food from whatever class derived, would have produced the same effect.

Not many kinds of Birds were allowed in sacrifice; perhaps not all that custom admitted as food: yet, on some occasions, the purity of the feathered tribes seems to have been esteemed superior to that of animals; and they were held to be endowed with cleansing virtues, after the most dangerous and evident pollutions. The food of Domestic Birds is usually clean, in itself; and that of Birds less domesticated, yet under the care of man, is unexceptionable: but of the kinds entirely wild this cannot be said, generally; and these, as we shall find, have much engaged, if not engrossed, the attention of the Legislative Naturalist.

OF BIRDS.

FROM the Legislator who had issued the strictest injunctions on the subject of Animals clean and unclean, we might naturally expect directions equally strict respecting Birds, a class no less distinguished among themselves, by their qualities, and their modes of life. But, here his characteristics derived from the feet failed; nor was it easy to fix on marks which should, in every instance, guide the learned and the unlearned, the country rustic and the respectable citizen. Hence we meet in the Mosaic institutes with no reference to conformation, as the means of distinguishing Birds into clean or unclean, lawful or unlawful; but a list of exceptions forms the sacred directory, and certain kinds are forbidden, without a word concerning those which are allowed.

It will be observed, that the number of species of Birds is greater than that of animals; that animals are more fixed to places, more resident, more homestead; whereas Birds, possessing greater powers of extensive migration, and many of them being, in fact, temporary visitants, in their passage to various distances, according to the seasons, they might give rise to many difficulties on their lawfulness as food, &c. which without fixed regulations would become not a little perplexing. Birds, also, are less confined in their mode of life than animals are; some are attached to the land, and even to the desert; others take to the water naturally, and spend their lives, mostly, on that element; while not a few are free to the enjoyment of both land and water, and derive their sustenance from either, as accident or inclination leads them. The sacred Legislator was not unacquainted with these diversities, and he has, virtually rendered them subservient to his leading intentions.

In effect, it may be taken as certain, that Birds which live on grain are not prohibited; and, these, as is well known, comprize the species which have been domesticated by mankind; the wilder game are lawful, or not, according to the nature of their food. Birds of prey, whether they subsist on lesser fowls, or on animals, or on reptiles, or on any other creature having life, or having had life, are decidedly rejected: this includes all with crooked beaks and strong talons; it takes in also those which are now known under the appellation of *waders*; Birds of the marshes, of the shores, and many of the open sea, as well as of lakes and rivers. The same principle, of admitting no second digestion of flesh, which had its influence in distinguishing animals, has its influence, also, here; though we cannot trace it in all cases, and, indeed, in some cases, the exception seems to have been occasioned by less obvious causes.

The reader will not be surprized, if, under these circumstances, considerable difficulty should be found in identifying the Birds enumerated in the Mosaic list of exceptions: they have occasioned no small diversity of opinion among the learned; and none who is competently acquainted with the subject, will pronounce without hesitation, on the species under consideration, though his opinion may incline to this or the other, and he may reckon general probabilities in his favour. We have, therefore, thought it advisable, to submit a few words in elucidation of the prohibitory list inserted in Leviticus chap. xi. verses 13, *et seq.* previous to introducing such Figures of the most important as may contribute to mark most distinctly the general nature and character of the genus, though we do not presume in the present state of our knowledge, to identify the species.

The EAGLE. This bird is well known, as taking a kind of pre-eminence among birds of prey. There is no difficulty in determining the genus intended.

The OSSIFRAGE. Interpreters are not agreed on this bird: some read *Vulture*, others the *Black Eagle*, others the *Falcon*: the name *Peres*, by which this bird is called in the Hebrew, denotes *to crush, to break*; and with this agrees our version, which implies "the bone-breaker." This name is given to a kind of Eagle, from its habit of breaking the bones of its prey, after it has eaten the flesh; some say also, that he swallows the bones thus broken.

Onkelos uses a word which signifies *naked*, and leads to the *Vulture*: indeed, if we take the classes of birds in natural order, in the passage before us, the Vulture should follow the Eagle as unclean. The Septuagint and Vulgate also render *Vulture*: and so do Munster, Schindler, and the Zurick versions.

The OSPREY. The Hebrew name of this bird is derived from a root signifying *force or impetuosity*; it may therefore be the *Osprey*: but there is much reason to doubt whether we are correct, in distinguishing and applying these different kinds of Eagles; for such they are, to which we have been attending.

The probability is, that this is the *Haliæetus*, or *Sea-Eagle*: or, perhaps the *Black-Eagle*; which, though among the smallest of its tribe, is, among the strongest. So Homer speaks, *Il. xxi. verse 252*. "Having the rapidity of a black-eagle, (*μελανος*), that bird of prey which is at the same time the strongest and the swiftest of birds."

If this hint be admissible, then the Vulture, distinguished by its bald head and neck, is excluded, on one side; while the class of Eagles which have a superfluity of feathers on the throat and head, are excluded on the other side. Of these BRUCE offers two, the *Nisser Werk*, which has a kind of beard of feathers under his chin; and the *Nisser Tokoor*, which has a long crest, or tuft, on the back of his head. See the half Plate marked *Bird*.

The VULTURE.—This word appears in this place written with *ר*, *Daah*, (*דאח*) but, in Deut. xiv. with *ר*, *Raah*, (*ראח*): if the first of these be correct, it leads us, not to the *Vulture*, but to the *Hawk*; as the import of it is the *swift* or *rapid*; and this is countenanced by the Samaritan version, which reads *Daithah*. This tends much to support the opinion, that the second eagle of the list is the Vulture; since the Vulture could hardly be omitted; and its station among its associates should seem to be earlier than this.

As modern naturalists, this is the proper place where we should expect to find the Hawk; and the order is so natural, that little seems to be risked in assuming it for the days of Moses; for, though we are well aware that the Natural History of that ancient writer must not be judged by the principles of the *Linneæan* system; yet where nature has appointed an order, as we may safely say, in this instance, What should forbid the earliest naturalists from observing it?

In favour of the Hawk are Jerom, the Arabs, Munster, Castalio, Junius, Diodati, Buxtorff, Schindler, and others.

The KITE.—This follows the Hawk with propriety. The Hebrew name implies *rapacity*; and agrees well with the Kite. As there are several kinds of these birds, we shall not particularize any; no doubt but all their classes were intentionally included under one name that was best known. Whoever should have eaten one species of eagle, or of hawk, because another species was named in the text, would have found the consequence of his transgression in the punishment of his prevarication.

Every RAVEN after his kind.—This genus no doubt includes the *Crow*, the *Pie*, &c. and therefore, coming after the hawk and kite, closes this list of birds of prey with great propriety.

It will be observed that the foregoing are birds of wing, *high-flyers*, such as roam to great distances, and prey wherever they can. Mr. Bruce describes multitudes of birds as following the armies in Abyssinia; and I should think it likely that among them would be found most, or all of those here enumerated. Perhaps some are not only birds of prey, but they feed on *human* carcasses; which would be a farther cause of their pollution and prohibition.

We are now directed to a very different class of birds, which commences with—the *Owl*,—say our translators; but this is clearly a mistake: the word describes “*the daughter of screams*,” *i. e.* the OSTRICH. See No. CXLIV.

Is it not astonishing that this bird, whatever it be, should have been described as, 1. The *Ostrich*, by the LXX. 2. The *Sirenes*, apparently creatures of fancy; 3. The *Owl*; and 4. The *Nightingale*.—What have these birds in common, that can justify such variations? The three Chaldee versions, Onkelos, Jonathan, and the Jerusalem Paraphrase, read *Naamah*, which is the Arabic name for the Ostrich: Maimonides and the Talmud agree with them.

The NIGHT-HAWK.—That a voracious bird is intended seems clear from the import of its name; and interpreters are generally agreed to describe it as flying by night. On the whole, it should seem to be the NIGHT OWL, *Strix Orientalis*; which Hasselquist thus describes: “It is of the size of the common owl, and lodges in the large buildings or ruins of Egypt and Syria, and sometimes even in the dwelling houses. The Arabs settled in Egypt call it *Massasa*, and the Syrians, *Bann*. It is extremely voracious in Syria; to such a degree, that if great care is not taken to shut the windows at the coming on of night, he enters the houses and kills the children: the women, therefore, are very much afraid of him.”

The Cuckoo. —The strength of the versions is in favour of the *Sea-Mew*; the original name may denote a *slender* bird; but the *Sea-Mew*, as a water bird, seems to be very ill placed in this part of the list: I should be almost tempted to adopt the notion of Dr. SHAW, (transcribed below,) but that I do not see for what reason a granivorous and gregarious bird should be excluded from human food;—can his want of the hinder toe be a sufficient reason? I hardly think it.

“The *Rhaad*, or *Saf-Saf*, is a granivorous and gregarious bird, which wanteth the hinder toe. There are two species of it; the smaller whereof is of the size of an ordinary pullet, but the larger is near as big as the *Hoobaara*, differing also from the lesser in having a black head, with a tuft of dark blue feathers immediately below it. The belly of them both is white, the back and the wings of a buff colour, spotted with brown; whilst the tail is lighter, marked all along with black transverse streaks. The beak and the legs are stronger than in the partridge kind. *Rhaad*, which denotes thunder, in the language of this country, is supposed to be a name that hath been given to this bird from the noise it maketh in springing from the ground; as *Saf-Saf*, the other name, very naturally expresses the beating of the air, when it got upon the wing:” “*And is not unlike in name to the Sahaph, or Sah-haf, which, Lev. xi. 16. we translate Cuckow.*” *Travels*, p. 252. fol. edit. Note.

Dr. GEDDES renders, “the Horn-Owl;” but—is this distinct enough from the foregoing?

The **HAWK**, after his kind.—This bird seems to be strangely placed here; we had *kites* of all sorts in the former lists (verse 14.) now, after the *ostrich*, and the *owl*, birds of no flight comparatively, we have the *hawks*, a genus much more likely to have been included before, following the eagles and vultures.

The **Ibis**, a bird so common in Egypt, could hardly be omitted in the list; or, can it be the *Plover*? Hasselquist mentions the *Plover* of Egypt, and the three-toed *Plover*. We should seem to want a wild bird.

If Mr. Bruce's *Abou Hannes* (vol. v. p. 172.) be, as he supposes, the **ANCIENT IBIS** of Egypt, perhaps it still retains the Hebrew name *Netj*, for *Abou* is merely the Arabic word for *father*, and *Ha-nes* resembles the Hebrew appellation here used, q. *ha-Netj*.

Mr. Bruce begins his account of the *Abou Hannes* by saying, "The ancient and true name of this bird seems to be lost; the present is fancifully given to it," &c.—Perhaps, it is rather disguised than lost; but this is conjecture, and nothing more.

This bird is not now found in Egypt, though anciently it was worshipped there, and was very numerous; it is therefore not the *Ibis* of Hasselquist. I suspect that the Arabic title, *father*, is a vestige of the ancient idolatry, of which this bird was the object.

The **LITTLE OWL**.—Such is the translation of the **LXX.** *Aquila*, Theodotion, and Jerom; but why should the *Owl* be introduced here? he was named in the former verse. Our translators seem, to have thought the *Owl* a convenient bird, as we have *three Owls* in two verses.

Dr. GEDDES thinks this bird is the *Cormorant*, and that the following is the *Sea-Gull*: as I rather take the following for the *Cormorant*, I should incline to render this the *Sea-Gull*. This begins the list of water-birds, whatever bird it be.

The **CORMORANT**.—Dr. GEDDES renders, the "Sea Gull;" and observes, "That this is a *plunging* bird I have little doubt. Some modern critics think it is the *Pelican Bassanus* of Linnæus. The Chaldee and Syriac versions, *fish-catcher*, favour this rendering; nor less the Greek *Cataractes*, which, according to Aristotle, draws for its food fishes from the bottom of the sea." I think, this is a clear description of the *Cormorant*, which certainly is one of the best of *plungers*; and lives wholly on fish: moreover, this bird in some parts of Asia is used as *fish-catcher* for its master; who by putting a collar round its neck, prevents it from swallowing the fish it has caught, which the bird, therefore, brings to the boat, and is afterwards fed with a part of its prey. To this also agrees the description of Aristotle. Suidas says, "the *Cataractes* is a kind of sea-bird;" Aristotle says, "smaller than a hawk." Appian (*in Ixeuticis*) describes the *Cataractes* exactly according to the manner of the *Gannet* on the coast of Scotland. At any rate the Hebrew legislator intended a water-bird; and therefore the impropriety of rendering the preceding and following bird "owl" is evident.

The **GREAT OWL**.—This is strangely placed, after the *little owl*, and among water-birds. The **LXX.** render *Ibis*; and the place seems to be very proper for the *Ibis*; which yet, I suppose, is not the *ancient Ibis* of Egypt, but that which in later ages received the name. The following is Hasselquist's account of this bird. "*Ardea Ibis*: This bird is about the size of a raven-hen. It is found in Lower Egypt, especially in places not overflowed by the Nile: and at length in those from which the water is withdrawn. He feeds on insects and small frogs, which abound

in Egypt, both before and after the inundation of the Nile; in which he is of great service to the country. They assemble morning and evening, especially in the gardens, in such great numbers, that the palm-trees are covered with them. When he reposes himself, he sits *upright*, so as to cover his feet with his tail, and to *straighten* his neck and breast." As a bird of this character and description, suits the situation assigned him here, I should think him preferable, at any rate, to "the Great Owl." Mr. PARKHURST, admitting that it should be of the *Ibis* kind, supposes it may be the *Bittern*, from the *droning* noise which that bird makes by *blowing*, which is one of the significations of the root of its Hebrew name.

The SWAN.—This bird, in Hebrew *Tinshemet*, is extremely doubtful: the LXX. render *Porphyron*, or *purple hen*, which is a water-bird, not unlike in form to those which have preceded it. His name is derived from his general colour. Dr. GEDDES observes, that "the root signifies to *breathe out*, to *respire*. If etymology were our guide, I would say it points to a well known quality in the Swan, that of being able to respire a long time with its bill and neck under water, and even plunged in the mud." Mr. PARKHURST thinks, the conjecture of Michaelis not improbable, "that it is the *Goose*, which every one knows is remarkable for its manner of *breathing out*, or *hissing*, when provoked:" or even when under a small degree of apprehension, without being provoked. Michaelis observes, p. 221. "What makes me conjecture this is, that the same Chaldee interpreters, who, in Leviticus, render *Obija*, do not employ this word in Deuteronomy, but substitute "the *white Kak*," which, according to Buxtorf, *Dict.* p. 2107. denotes the *Goose*." Perhaps Egypt has birds of the wild-goose kind; one of which is here alluded to. Norden, vol. ii. p. 36. mentions, "a Goose of the Nile, whose plumage was extremely beautiful. It was of an exquisite aromatic taste, smelled of ginger, and had a great deal of flavour."—Can a bird of this kind be the Hebrew *Tinshemet*?

The PELICAN: in Hebrew *Kaat*, in the Eastern versions, *Kik*, *Kok*, or *Kak*. As the preceding bird was called the *white Kak*, it seems to suppose a similarity between that and this, though it infers a difference of colour. The Talmud describes it as a water-bird, with a long neck; the LXX. read *Palecas*, and the Vulgate, *Onocrotalus*; on the whole this bird is pretty well determined.

The GIER-EAGLE. No Eagle is a water-bird; for this reason, were there no other, in this list of water-birds, we ought not to expect an Eagle. Most interpreters are willing to render the Hebrew *Racham* by that kind of Egyptian vulture which is now called *Rachami*, and is abundant in the streets of Cairo; *Vultur percnopterus*. The description which Hasselquist gives of this bird is horrible; but, especially, it does not agree with a *water-bird*, which is here wanted: "It is hardly ever seen in the fields, or around the lakes: it is an impure bird, and a carrion-eater." Mr. PARKHURST wants a water-fowl; and Dr. GEDDES says, "It is not easy to conceive how this bird came by its name, *Racham*." But I think by tracing it, we may advance some way toward ascertaining this bird. Jonathan and the Syrian interpreter translate, *Serakreka*; Onkelos, *Jerakreka*; the Talmud, *Serakrak*. Meninski, in his Lexicon, mentions a bird named by the Arabians *Sirikrak*, *Sikirrak*, &c. It is not of the *pie* kind, though so understood by Meninski. I observe Dr. SHAW mentions "the *Shaga-rag*, of the bigness and shape of a jay, though with a smaller bill, and shorter legs. The back is brownish; the head, neck, and belly of light green; and upon the wings and tail there are several spots or rings of a deep blue. It makes a squalling noise; and builds in the banks of the *Shelliff*, *Booberak*, and other rivers."

This description approaches that of the *King-Fisher* or *Alcyone*: the name is sufficiently coincident with those of the versions; and if the *Alcyone* may represent the *Racham*, we see at once that it is a water-bird; and the stories of this bird's tender affection unite in the character of the *Racham*. "The King-Fisher frequents the banks of rivers, and feeds on fish. To compare small things with great, it takes its prey after the manner of the osprey, balancing itself at a certain distance over the water for a considerable space, then darting below the surface, brings the prey up in its feet. It makes its nest in holes in the sides of the cliffs. The nest is very foetid, by reason of the remains of fish brought to feed the young." Pennant's *British Zoology*, vol. ii. p. 247. See Ovid, *Metam. lib. xi.* for the tenderness of the Alcyone; and Theoc. *Idyll. vii. 57.* Virg. *Georg. iii. 338.* Silius Ital. *lib. xiv. 275.* There are many kinds of *Alcyones*; that some are known in Egypt we are informed by Hasselquist, who gives this account of them: "*Alcedo Rudis*, frequents the banks of the Nile, and takes the fish by thrusting his long bill into the water like the gull. *Alcedo Aegyptia*, is found in Lower Egypt, makes his nest on the date-trees, and the sycamores, which grow around Cairo. Feeds on frogs, insects, and fish which it finds in the fields. Its voice resembles that of the raven." Without determining on the probability of this conjecture, I think we may be sure that the *Rachami* of Cairo is not the *Racham* of Moses; as a bird so well known, and hardly capable of being lost, would certainly have been acquiesced in by commentators, were it the bird designed, notwithstanding the remarks of Bruce, vol. v. 163. &c.

The STORK. It is pretty well agreed that the Hebrew *Chasidah* is either the *Stork*, or the *Heron*; the *Stork* is by much the most probable: and indeed, as the Heron is not a bird of passage, which the Stork is well known to be, I think we may acquiesce in this bird as the *Chasidah*. Vide PARKHURST, *Dictionary*, p. 253. 4to.

The HERON. This bird should rather be included among the Storks, as it resembles them closely. As commentators are quite at a loss on this subject, inasmuch that Dr. GEDDES retains the original word, "*Anaphas* of every kind," I shall be excused if I extract from Dr. SHAW the description of a bird which answers to what the passage and order require. It is probable some bird very near akin to this was the reference of the sacred writer.

"The *Boo-onk*, or Long-Neck, is of the bittern kind, somewhat less than the lapwing. The neck, the breast, and the belly are of a light yellow: but the back and upper part of the wings are of a jett black. The tail is short; the feathers of the neck are long, and streaked with white, or a light yellow. The bill, which is three inches long, is green, in fashion like the stork's; and the legs, which are short and slender, are of the same colour. In walking and searching for food, it throweth out its neck seven or eight inches; whence the Arabs call it *Boo-onk*, the Long-Neck, or, the Father of the Neck."

This is reckoned by the Dr. among water-birds: it seems to be a smaller bird, but allied in form and manners to the kinds under prohibition.

The LAPWING, or UPUPA. This is pretty generally considered as the bird designed by the original word *Dukiphath*, so called from its crest. It seems, that the Egyptians call the Hoopoe, *Kukupha*, and the Syrians, *Kikupha*; both are near enough to the Hebrew *Dukiphath*; which, therefore, we conclude is the Hoopoe.

The BAT. This rendering has the authority of most versions, and commentators.
The

The number of birds prohibited is twenty. For the sake of shewing the correct natural order in which Moses has placed them, we shall range them systematically;—it will prove that the system of Moses was that of Nature. Those which we have tolerable authority to imagine are correctly rendered, are distinguished by small capitals.

BIRDS OF THE AIR.

Rendered by English Translators.

Probable Species.

| | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| Eagle | EAGLE. |
| Ossifrage..... | VULTURE. |
| Ospray | <i>Black Eagle.</i> |
| Vulture | HAWK. |
| Kite..... | KITE. |
| Raven | RAVEN. |

BIRDS OF THE LAND.

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| Owl..... | OSTRICH. |
| Night Hawk | NIGHT OWL. |
| Cuckow | <i>Saf-Saf.</i> |
| Hawk | <i>Ancient Ibis.</i> |

BIRDS OF THE WATER.

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Little Owl | <i>Sea-Gull.</i> |
| Cormorant | CORMORANT. |
| Great Owl | IBIS <i>Ardea.</i> |
| Swan | <i>Wild-Goose.</i> |
| Pelican | PELICAN. |
| Gier Eagle | <i>Alcyone.</i> |
| Stork | STORK. |
| Heron | <i>Long-Neck.</i> |
| Lapwing | HOOPOE. |

| | |
|-----------|------|
| Bat | BAT. |
|-----------|------|

If the reader consults the paralel passage, Deut. xiv. 12. he will find several variations, sufficiently inconsistent:—the *glede* and the *kite*, two names of the same bird, are made to denote two kinds of birds, because a bird additional is introduced into the list. Dr. GEDDES is guilty of equal confusion: he inserts “the *falcon*; *kites* and *glades* of every kind,”—afterwards he adds “*hawks* of every kind.” He also duplicates, “the owl,” by “the howlet.” But, in his *Critical Remarks* on Lev. xi. he apologizes for this duplication as accidental in his transcribed copy; and, in his Notes, he warns his reader “not to imagine that all his English names of birds correspond exactly with the Hebrew.” He has, generally, preferred to follow the LXX.

EXPLANATION
OF THE PLATE OF
UNCLEAN LAND BIRDS.

No. 1. The OSTRICH. This bird has been substituted for the *Owl*, with little hesitation, where the “daughter of screams” is mentioned by the sacred writers. That this is a bird of the desert, in some respects inconsiderate and stupid, is well known.

No. 2. The *Night-Owl*, or SCREECH-OWL. We are not without difficulty in *determining* this bird, which is the second in the series of the Hebrew writer. It is usually understood to be a *night* bird; therefore, few birds can come in competition with it: the *Goat-Sucker*, or *Night-Swallow*, might be thought of; but the story of that bird’s sucking of goats is a fable; nevertheless, the passage requires a voracious *land* bird, by consent of all versions and interpreters. The genus Owl is sufficiently numerous, important, and generally distributed, to render it very proper for notice on a legislative occasion, like the present; and, on the whole, an Owl of some kind may safely be accepted as the bird designed by the sacred writer. This figure of the Screech-Owl may pass for a fair representation of the genus, without pretending to fix the species intended.

No. 3. The *Rhaad*, or *Saf-Saf*, from Dr. SHAW. We have nothing to add to the extract given from the Doctor; but a wish for more satisfactory information.

No. 4. The ABOU-HANNES of BRUCE, which he supposes to be the ancient *Ibis* of Egypt. Many circumstances concur to support his opinion; and it is far from unlikely its plumage may differ a little in Ethiopia from what it might be in Egypt. For representations of the Ibis from Egyptian pictures, *vide* Plate, No. cxxviii.

This opinion has subsequently received confirmation from the Observations of several intelligent Travellers; and appears to be well supported.

EXPLANATION
OF THE PLATE OF
UNCLEAN AIR BIRDS.

No. 1. The EAGLE. This is usually placed first by naturalists, in the order of Rapacious Birds: it possesses immense powers of flight, and strength of limb. It has a strong hooked bill, the base covered by a *cere*, or naked skin. The Golden Eagle, which is the kind given in our print, weighs about twelve pounds; is in length three feet; extent of wings seven feet four inches; bill three inches long, of a deep blue colour; *cere* yellow; irides hazel; sight and smell very acute, *her eyes behold afar off*, as remarked, Job xxxix. 27. in which passage the natural history of the Eagle is finely drawn up:—

Is it at thy voice the Eagle rises?
And therefore maketh he his nest on high?
The rock he inhabits;
And he abides on the crag of the rock, and on the place of strength:
From thence he pounces on the prey;
His eyes inspect afar off;
Even his young suck down blood:
And wherever slaughter is, there is he.

This description almost supersedes the necessity of farther research. Eagles are very destructive to fawns, lambs, kids, and all kinds of game, particularly in their breeding season. It is very unsafe to leave infants in places frequented by these birds, there being instances of Eagles carrying them away. It is a long-lived bird; KEYSER mentions an Eagle which had lived in confinement at Vienna 104 years; but, when the Psalmist says, "thy youth is renewed like the Eagle's," he probably refers to the revival experienced by this bird after moulting his feathers.

There are many kinds of Eagles; we presume that this very name, *Nisser*, includes several.

No. 2. The VULTURE. We have seen that there is some hesitation in taking the second bird of the Hebrew writer's list for the Vulture. The usual idea of the Hebrew name *peres* is, that of *breaking, separating into bits*: and beside what is said of the *Ossifrage*, or *Bone-breaker* of its prey, we are informed, that "the Osprey, or Bone-breaker, '*Procellaria Maxima*,' has a very remarkable beak, which appears as if it was fractured, or composed of several pieces like joints: I suppose it to be a bird of prey, as we found the legs, wings, and other parts of small birds in its stomach." Cox's *Voyage to the South Sea*, p. 9. It was but fair to insert this remark, because, this conformation of its beak seems to strengthen the propriety of the name; and if this be adopted, we must then say the Vulture is included among the Eagles of the former Number: which seems indeed plausible, from the expression of Micah, i. 16. "*Enlarge thy baldness as the Eagle*," [*Nesher*], if the nakedness of the Vulture's neck be here referred to. Against this it is answered, that *baldness* is a privation of hair from the *pate*, or upper part of the head; whereas, the Vulture, though bare of feathers, is not absolutely without a downy kind of covering; also, that his *neck* is bare, not his *head*, which is the proper seat of *baldness*. The prophet directs to a token of mourning; but to have made the *neck* bare, like that of a Vulture, would not have answered his idea. Moreover, in justification of the prophet, we should enquire whether a proper *baldness* may not be found among genuine Eagles; and this indeed is consistent with fact.

Mr. BRUCE, *Travels*, vol. v. p. 155. describes an Eagle, known in Ethiopia only by the name *Nisser*, Eagle; but, by him called "the Golden Eagle;" by the vulgar *Abou duch'n*, Father Long-beard, from the tuft of hair under his chin: he is a very large bird. "A forked brush of strong hair, divided at the point into two, proceeded from the cavity of his lower jaw at the beginning of his throat. He had the smallest eye I ever remember to have seen in a large bird, the aperture being scarcely half an inch. *The crown of his head was bare, or bald; so was the front where the bill and skull joined.*" This then is the Eagle of the prophet, who advises to extend the baldness of mourning over the whole head, as this bird's baldness occupies not only the crown of his head, but his forehead also.

It may be said likewise, that the habits of the Vulture not inaptly answer the import of the name *peres*, as some Vultures carry away pieces of flesh from the carcase of a large animal, to separate places, and there feed in security. All the Eastern versions render this word in allusion to *strength of body*, or *strength of claws*, or *rapacity*: ideas which coincide perfectly with the Vulture; it is even probable that this class yields birds, in size and rapacity superior to Eagles; witness the *Condor* of America, said to stretch eighteen feet. The versions are not specific.

It may be considered as certain, 1. That the *Vulture* could not be unknown in the countries where Moses wrote. 2. That it was likely to form a *distinct* class of

birds, though reckoned among Eagles. 3. That modern naturalists are often at a loss whether to determine some kinds of birds to the Eagle, or to the Vulture tribe. *Vide* LATHAM'S *Synopsis*, vol. i.

No. 3. The figure of that Eagle which BRUCE calls *Nisser Tokoor*; but, of whose manners he gives no history. This is inserted merely on the conjecture, that as the Vulture is distinguished among Eagles, by deficiency of feathers (on the neck), so the *Atzniah* of this passage *might* be distinguished by superfluity of feathers (on the head). Beside this bird, which has a tuft on the back of his head, the *Nisser* of BRUCE has a beard under his chin; and we know of another, often called "the Bearded Vulture;" which having feathers on the neck is as often ranged among Eagles. Might this peculiarity form these birds into a class opposed to that of the Vulture?

No. 4. The OSPREY, or SEA-EAGLE, copied from BUFFON; who says, it differs from other Eagles, 1. By the colour and shape of its claws, which are [exceedingly large and strong, *Pennant*.] of a shining black, and form a perfect semicircle. 2. By the legs, which are naked in the lower parts, and covered with small scales of a bright yellow colour. 2. By a beard of feathers under his chin, which has procured him the name of "the Bearded Eagle." But PENNANT says, "underneath his bill grow several short, but strong hairs, or bristles, forming a sort of beard;" and this seems to be more correctly descriptive of this bird, which is ill entitled to the name of "Bearded Eagle" (though he seems to introduce those thus distinguished,) when others have this appendage so much more ample. In fact, this *beard* is not shewn, either in the figure of BUFFON, or in that of PENNANT. This bird, in extent of wings, is nine or ten feet; it feeds principally on fish, by darting itself down on them. MARTIN, speaking of the great Eagles in the Western Isles, says, they fasten their talons in the back of the fish, commonly salmon, which are often above water, or on the surface. Those of Greenland will take a young seal out of the water. It preys also on water-fowl, and on game of most kinds. It always builds near water, either the sea, or inland lakes, where it finds its prey.

We are now able to appreciate another reason for the order here adopted, and to support the propriety of rendering the second Eagle, *Vulture*: for if we note the kind of food principally selected by each bird, we find the first, the Eagle, feeds on *living* game of all kinds; *i. e.* it catches them while *living*, and *kills them itself*: so that it may be correctly said of this bird, which carries *living* prey to his nest, "its young ones suck down blood,"—fresh blood from the expiring subject. On the contrary, this cannot be said of the *Vulture*, which forms the second class of Eagles, for this feeds on *dead* prey, prey *dead* before the bird attacks it; nay even *putrid* food; for LATHAM says, "Of this circumstance *I am clear*, from the *Carrion Vultures of Jamaica*, two of which I kept for some time. They would indeed eat any raw flesh, *but expressed a particular happiness when any tainted food was offered them; fluttering with expanded wings without ceasing, and falling on with double the appearance of appetite, as well as devouring twice the quantity as at other times.*" vol i. p. 3. The third class of Eagles feeds on fish; so that the permanent distinctions of Nature afford authority in vindication of our order, independent of the meaning of names, and the rendering of translators; while perfectly coincident with the opinions of those naturalists and commentators, who appear to have understood the subject most correctly.

No. 5. The HAWK, or Hebrew SWIFT. The *Rough-legged Falcon*, from PENNANT.

Supposing that this name includes the whole *genus* [as do the other instances], we have rather chosen this, which is a wandering Hawk, than one more stationary, or fixed.

As there is no difficulty in admitting this bird to be the *Hawk*, if the second bird in the list be the *Vulture*, this Number requires no additional observations.

The KITE is regularly placed with the Hawk, and closely resembles it in figure and manners. It generally breeds in large forests, or wooded, mountainous countries. Its motion in the air distinguishes it from all other birds, being so smooth and even as to be scarcely perceptible; sometimes it remains quite motionless, for a considerable space; at other times it *glides* through the sky, without the least apparent action of its wings: hence is derived its old name *glede*, or the glider. It eats lesser birds, game, also offals, &c. Its tail is *forked*.

The versions agree in marking the Kite as the bird intended: the Chaldee terms imply *rapaciousness*; the Syriac, a bird of *high flight*. It is in length about twenty-seven inches; breadth five feet.

No. 6. The RAVEN, CROW, &c. are certainly designated by the generic name in the original. They generally build in trees, and are held in some respect for devouring carcasses and filth, that would otherwise prove a nuisance. The Raven is a very docile bird, flies in pairs, a great height, making a deep, loud noise. Its scent is remarkably good. It is very long-lived. The Raven (and Crow) *will pick out the eyes of lambs just dropped*; for which reason it was formerly, in England, called *Gor*, or *Gore-Crow*; and so Ben Johnson says, (*For, Act 1. Scene 1.*)

.....Vulture, Kite,
Raven and *Gorcrow*, all my birds of prey.

The reader will perceive, in this description, sufficient reason for associating the Raven and Crow among birds of prey,—with Eagles and Vultures; nor can I refrain from observing, that Solomon has well consorted the Raven with the Eagle. Prov. xxx. 17.

The eye which mocketh his father,
And despiseth to obey his mother,
The Ravens of the valley shall pick it out,
The young Eagles shall eat it.

The Rook feeds entirely on grain and insects, not on carrion; is a sociable bird, living in vast flocks. We need not introduce others of this class, as our own country affords numerous specimens, which are well known among us.

EXPLANATION

OF THE PLATE OF

UNCLEAN WATER BIRDS.

No. 1. The GANNET is a large bird, weighing seven pounds; in length three feet; remarkable for quickness of sight. Beneath the chin is a kind of bag, dilatable, capable of containing five or six entire herrings, which it carries in the breeding season to its nest. It soars to a vast height, then darting headlong into the sea, makes the water foam and spring up, with the violence of its descent. The title of *Cataracta*, a name borrowed from Aristotle, admirably expresses the rapid descent of this bird on its prey. Some years ago, a Gannet flying over Penzance in Cornwall, seeing some pilchards lying on a fir-plank, it darted down with such violence as to strike its bill through the board (an inch and a quarter thick,) and broke its neck. They are sometimes taken at sea by a similar trap. Linnæus classes this bird with the *Pelican*. Among the Rabbins, some have taken the *first* bird in the list of Water-Birds for the *Pelican*. Bochart thought the same: but, if this bird, though not properly a Pelican, yet has so much resemblance as to have influenced Linnæus, Bochart and the Rabbins may stand excused; whose opinion, nevertheless, coincides with our own.

No. 2. The CORMORANT, is about three feet in length, has a slight kind of pouch under the chin; inhabits the highest cliffs over the sea; is remarkably voracious; has a rank and disagreeable smell, even while alive; its voice is hoarse and croaking; has been trained to fish for its master, to whom it forms a considerable source of profit in China:—the same formerly in England. Whitelock tells us, he had a cast of them *manned* like hawks, which would come to hand. This agrees with the versions as to the character of the *second* bird in this list; and being, like the former, a sea bird, seems to follow with propriety.

No. 3. The small HERON, or rather a kind of BITTERN, the “little Bittern,” of PENNANT. The reader has seen the account of this bird given by Hasselquist. Our figure is copied from Dr. RUSSELL, (*Aleppo*, vol. ii. p. 200.) who observes, that “it is not represented in its proper attitude; for the bird, when alive, stands with his body perfectly *erect*, as well as his head and neck.” This singular attitude is hinted at by the sketch, No. 4. The length of the bird is about fifteen inches. It is common near Aleppo. The history of this bird in PENNANT, informs us, that it is very retired, concealing itself in the midst of reeds and rushes, in marshy places. It is slow of flight. It has two kinds of note; one croaking, when it is disturbed; the other bellowing, which it commences in spring, and ends in autumn. Mr. WILKUGHBY says, that in autumn it soars into the air with a spiral ascent, making, at the same time, a singular noise. The ancients mention three kinds of Heron: 1. *Leucon*, the white Heron. 2. *Pellos*, thought to be the common sort. 3. *Asterias*, the *starry*, the Bittern; supposed to derive this name from sometimes aspiring, as it were, to reach the stars, though at other times meriting the epithet *onos*, lazy. The noises made by this bird seem to correspond with its Hebrew appellation; to which perhaps they gave occasion.

The Goose should be the next article; but, 1. It remains doubtful whether this be the bird intended. 2. The bird is too well known to need a figure.

No. 5. The PELICAN. I believe there is scarcely any hesitation in considering this bird as that intended by the Hebrew writer. When of full age, he is greatly superior in size to the Swan; will weigh twenty-five pounds, and extend fifteen feet. The upper mandible is flat and broad, hooked at the end; the lower mandible has appended to it a very dilatable bag, reaching eight or nine inches down the neck: of these bags some are capable of containing many quarts of water. Is common in warm countries; on the coasts of the Mediterranean, &c. The female makes a nest of grass in *mossy, turfy* places, in the islands of rivers or lakes, far from man. Its food is fish, taken by diving. When, hovering over the water, it sees a fish, it dives instantly, and seldom fails of catching it, in which the enormous gape of its bill greatly assists. When it has filled its pouch, it flies to some convenient point of a rock, and swallows the fish at leisure. It sometimes fishes in company with Cormorants and Gulls. The notion of the Pelican's feeding her young with blood from her breast, has arisen from seeing it discharge the pouch of water, or fish, for their nourishment.

No. 6. Shews the Bag distended. This bird is used for domestic fishing, like the Cormorant.

No. 7. The KING-FISHER. This bird is inserted, merely to shew how aptly he would fill the station, and answer the description, of a bird here wanted. He is therefore, to be considered as *conjectural* only. The reader has seen his general description and manners.

No. 8. The ROLLER of Europe, the *Shagarag* of Dr. SHAW. This species is diversified, and spread in Africa. Mr. BRUCE gives another *Shagarag*, which he calls *Sheregrig*, distinguished by an appendage of two long tail feathers. Being of opinion, that the description given of the *Shagarag* is very applicable to the *King-fisher*, while the stories of the affection, &c. of the *King-fisher* are allied to the character of the *Racham* of Scripture, I cannot help suspecting, that a bird of the King-fisher kind, in some of its varieties, is the subject intended, rather than the *Shagarag*.

No. 9. The STORK, is the size of a Turkey, or larger; length three feet three inches; bill seven inches three quarters, colour of it a fine red; plumage mostly white. It is a bird of passage; moving southward in autumn, to winter in Egypt. Is very rare in England; but in Holland they every where build on the tops of houses, where boxes are made to receive their nests. In Persia, at the ruins of Persepolis, the remains of the pillars serve them to build on, "every pillar having a nest of them," says Fryer, *Trav.* p. 251. They are common at Aleppo. Dr. SHAW saw three flights of them leaving Egypt, passing over Mount Carmel, towards the north-east, in the middle of April, each flight half a mile in breadth, and they were three hours in passing over. They eat fish, frogs, snakes, and various reptiles; hence the veneration they have enjoyed, as relieving mankind from such pests and vermin. The Hebrew *chasidah* has generally been understood to signify the Stork; the meaning of the word is to *swell*, and taken metaphorically it expresses *swelling* beneficence. We have ventured, however, in No. CCLXXXV. to query, whether it might not be derived from an attitude assumed by the bird—a *swelling* attitude. Passing this, we remark that the Stork may stand in this list as the representative of the whole genus, including the Heron and its varieties.

The strongest argument against accepting the Stork as the *Chasidah* of the text is used by Michaelis, who thought the Stork did not roost, or dwell in trees; yet

the Psalmist says, civ. 17. "the *fir-trees* are the house of the *Chasidah*." To this it is answered, that Doubdan mentions "the resting (*i. e.* roosting) of Storks on trees, between Cana and Nazareth;" and Dr. SHAW says expressly, "The Storks breed plentifully in Barbary; the *fir-trees*, and other trees likewise, when those are wanting, *are a dwelling for the Stork*, Psalm civ. 17." It is therefore probable, that the Stork conforms its manners to circumstances; that, wherever it obtains rest, security, and *accommodation*, there it resides, whether in a ruin, or a tree; but, in countries not so completely inhabited as Holland, or most parts of Europe, the tall trees may be most convenient for it. Alkazuin, an Arabian writer, remarks, "that it always makes its nest on some elevated spot, whether it be a tall building, *or a tree*." Heldelinus assures us, that "it builds on the tops of houses, or on dry trees, which, however, is rare." Olympiodorus, on Job, asserts the same. So that, on the whole, we need not hesitate, on account of the infrequency of the Storks of Europe, inhabiting trees, to admit, nevertheless, that the Stork may be the *Chasidah*.

No. 10. The *Boo-onk* of Dr. Shaw. This bird is given only by way of conjecture; what may be said of it is already inserted.

No. 11. The HOOPOE. This bird is thought to be pretty well ascertained; yet we might suppose, that a bird which frequents water more than the Hoopoes of Europe do, would not be misplaced at the close of this list. It is open to remark, how accurately the sacred writer has treated this part of his subject; an accuracy which will some time or other, lead to satisfactory conclusions in determining the birds he enumerates. All these birds being fish-eaters, afford no distinction arising from diversity of food; but, the Hebrew naturalist begins with those which inhabit the sea and its rocky cliffs: the GANNET (or Sea Pelican, so to term it,) and the CORMORANT; then he proceeds to the marsh birds, the BITTERN; then to the river and lake birds, the PELICAN; the KING-FISHER, or the *Shagarag*; then the STORK, which is a bird of passage, lives on land as well as on water, and feeds on frogs and insects as well as on fish; then to another, which probably is a bird of passage also, because the last on the list: the HOOPOE is certainly of passage, feeds less on fish than any of the former kinds, and has indeed no great relation to the water. It may, however, be said, that the last *two* on the list are not intended to be merely water birds, but are of kinds prohibited for other reasons: as the BAT, which concludes the list, clearly is.

On the whole, it may be thought, that we have traced the system of the writer, whether we have, or not, pointed out *every* bird in his catalogue; and have opened the way for judicious observation to identify them: *that* can only be satisfactorily accomplished in the countries to which these regulations more specifically apply.

.....

In addition to the larger Plates of "Unclean Birds," we have added representations of some particulars which have been incidentally mentioned; these are offered in the smaller Plate marked BIRD.

No. 1 Head of the *Nisser*, which BRUCE distinguishes as the "Golden Eagle." He describes him as "surely one of the largest birds that flies: From wing to wing eight feet four inches. From the tip of his tail to the point of his beak, when dead, four feet seven inches. Weighing twenty-two pounds." His *baldness* is the reason of our introducing him; it has already been described in the words of Mr. BRUCE, and is very apparent in the print.

No.

No. 2. The *Bearded Vulture* of the Alps, from COXE's *Travels in Switzerland*. Mr. COXE informs us, that this is from a female bird, which measured seven feet from the tip of the beak to the extremity of the tail; eight feet six inches its expanded wings. "This bird, though always called a *Vulture*, yet differs from that genus, and is referable to the *Eagle*, in having the head and neck covered with feathers. It inhabits the Alps, makes its nest in clefts of rocks, inaccessible to man, usually produces three young ones, sometimes four. Lives on animals which inhabit the Alps, the chamois, white hares, marmots, snow-hens, kids, and particularly lambs, from which circumstance it is called the *lamb Vulture*. Report says, it sometimes attacks man, and carries off children."

No. 3. The *Sea-Eagle* or *Osprey*, from PENNANT; shewing that no beard, deserving the name of beard, is attached to its beak, or chin.

No. 4. The Talons of the Osprey, shewing their curvature and strength.

No. 5. The *Racham* of Egypt, as delineated by Norden. This figure agrees well with the account of Hasselquist, who says, "this bird has the most hideous figure that can be imagined; the face skinny and wrinkled, eyes large and black, beak black and crooked, and the whole body covered with impurities. His aspect inspires I know not what of horror. He eats carrion: mingles among the dogs; does not fly high; is never seen among the lakes," &c. On the contrary, BRUCE has given a figure (No. 6.) of a much *cleaner* appearance than the description of Hasselquist would lead us to expect. "It is called by Europeans *Pharaoh's Hen*; in Egypt, and all over Barbary, *Rachamah*. This bird has been mistaken nearly by all the interpreters, Hebrews, Syrians, and Samaritans, and especially the Greeks. The point of the beak of this bird is black, very sharp and strong, for about three quarters of an inch; it is then covered by a yellow, fleshy, wrinkled membrane, as likewise is the fore part of the head and throat. The body is white. The large feathers of its wing all black. It has three toes before, one behind. It has no voice that ever I heard; generally goes single, and oftener sits on the ground than upon trees. It delights in the most putrid and stinking kind of carrion; has itself a very strong smell, and putrifies very speedily!" Mr. BRUCE has some remarks on the Hebrew word *racham*; but if his bird be not the *Racham* of Moses, they do not apply to our object.

*• Compare with the Mosaic prohibitions, as well of beasts as of birds, those ordained by *Menu*. (Vide No. CCCXLII.)

A POISONOUS REPTILE, NOT A SERPENT.

THEIR WINE IS THE POISON OF DRAGONS;
AND THE CRUEL VENOM OF ASPES. Deuteronomy xxxii. 33.

IN reference to the *tanin* and *tannim* of the Hebrew, the reader will find a doubt suggested whether the term *properly* denotes a Serpent; and if not a Serpent, then surely not a Dragon; which is understood to be a large *old* Serpent. Though perhaps, the term itself is general, and includes the whole class of *amphibia*, when used in its most extensive sense; in a more confined application, it denotes fresh-water reptiles of a lengthened shape. But, the passage under consideration by mentioning a *liquid poison* as proceeding from the *Tanin*, seems so plainly to imply a Serpent, (the only class of creatures hitherto considered, and certainly the best

known, as yielding venom) that it becomes our duty to pay particular attention to it; especially, as it has hitherto been usually accepted as decisive on the import of the term.

The allusion here is to the *venom* [wine, Eng. Tr.] of the *Taninim*; and this *venom* is associated with the CRUEL *venom* of *Asps*. We shall not now inquire, what particular species of Serpent is intended by the *Pethen* [Asp], of which the venom is *cruel*; but shall endeavour to prove that the word *tanin*, in this place, may intend a *lengthened reptile*; and that we are not *obliged* to take it for a Serpent.

Observe, 1. That the word *chemet* (חֶמֶת) should seem to denote a poison of the *inflammatory* kind. Its application in other places of Scripture may furnish much information on its nature: in verse 24. it denotes, "Poison of Serpents of the dust." Psalm lviii. 5. "their venom (*chemet*) is like to the venom of a Serpent" (*Nachash*); and Psalm cxi. 4. "the venom (*chemet*) of Asps (*Ocshub*, עֶכְשֻׁב) is under their lips." But the most remarkable passage, where this word occurs, is Job vi. 4. "The arrows of the Almighty stick fast in me; their poison (*chemet*) drinketh up my spirit." So that this *chemet*, whatever it be, was used to poison arrows with; and this poison had the effect of producing thirst. Not to enlarge on the antiquity of rendering arrows fatal by poison, it may be remarked, in passing, that one mode of doing this, was by dipping them in the poison of a Serpent; so Ovid says of the Scythians, *Pont. lib. i. ep. 11.*

*Qui, mortis sævo gement ut vulnere causas,
Omnia Vipereo spicula jelle linunt.*

The "*poisoned arrows*" of Horace, *lib. 1. ode 22.* are famous; and Homer, *Odyss. 1. line 260.* alludes to *poison for smearing arrows.*

In order to deprive the Serpent tribes of the *exclusive* property of poisoning these shafts of death, it is necessary to ascertain a reptile, native of these countries, which may equally answer the purpose; with this view, we desire the reader's attention to the Natural History of the *Gecko* of Egypt. The following is a translation from the "Natural History of Oviparous Quadrupeds," by the Count de la Cèpede; the successor of Buffon.

"Of all the oviparous quadrupeds whose history we are publishing, this is the first which contains a *deadly poison*:... Nature in this instance appears to act against herself; in a lizard whose species is but too prolific, she exalts a corrosive liquor to such a degree as to carry corruption and dissolution among all animals into which this active humor may penetrate;... one might say, she prepares in the *Gecko* only principles of death and annihilation. This deadly lizard, which deserves all our attention by his dangerous properties, has some resemblance to the camelion; his head, almost triangular, is large in comparison to his body; the eyes are very large, the tongue flat, covered with small scales, and the end is rounded; the teeth are sharp, and so strong, that according to Bontius they are able to make impressions on the hardest substances; even on steel. The *Gecko* is almost intirely covered with little warts, more or less rising; the under part of the thighs is furnished with a row of tubercles, raised and grooved. The feet are remarkable for oval scales, more or less hollowed in the middle, as large as the under surface of the toes themselves, and regularly disposed one over another, like the slates on a roof. The tail of the *Gecko* is commonly rather longer than the body; though sometimes not so long: it is round, thin, and covered with circular rings, or bands, formed of several rows of very small scales. The colour of the *Gecko* is, a clear

green, spotted with brilliant red. The name *Gecko* imitates the cry of this animal, which is heard especially before rain. It is found in Egypt, India, at Amboyna, the Moluccas, &c. It inhabits by choice the crevices of half rotten trees, as well as humid places; it is sometimes met with in houses, where it occasions great alarm, and where every exertion is used to destroy it speedily. Bontius writes, that his bite is so venomous, that if the part bitten is not cut away, or burned, death ensues in a few hours.

The following is the account of Bontius [or rather *Nieuhoff*,] copied *verbatim*, from his *Travels*, in Churchill's *Voyages*, Vol. ii. page 12.

"This creature, which is not only found in Brasil, but also in the isle of Java, belonging to the East Indies, and which, by our people is called *Gekko*, from its constant cry (like among us that of the cuckoe) is properly an *Indian Salamander*. It is about a foot long, its skin is of a pale or sea-green colour, with red spots. The head is not unlike that of a tortoise, with a streight mouth. The eyes are very large, starting out of the head, with long and small eye-apples [eye-balls]. The tail is distinguished by several white rings: its teeth are so sharp as to make an impression even on steel. Each of its four legs has crooked claws armed on the end with nails. Its gait is very slow, but wherever it fastens it is not easily removed. It dwells commonly upon rotten trees, or among the ruins of old houses and churches; it oftentimes settles near the bedsteads, which makes sometimes the Moors pull down their huts.

"Its constant cry is *Gekko*, but before it begins it makes a kind of hissing noise. The sting of this creature is so venomous, that the wound proves mortal, unless it be immediately burnt with a red hot iron, or cut off. The blood is of a palish colour, resembling poison itself.

"The Javanese use to dip their arrows in the blood of this creature; and those who deal in poison among them (an art much esteemed in the island of Java, by both sexes) hang it up with a string tied to the tail on the ceiling, by which means it being exasperated to the highest pitch, sends forth a yellow liquor out of its mouth, which they gather in small pots set underneath, and afterwards coagulate into a body in the sun. This they continue for several months together, by giving daily food to the creature. It is unquestionably the strongest poison in the world; its urine being of so corrosive a quality, that it not only raises blisters, wherever it touches the skin, but turns the flesh black, and causes a gangrene. The inhabitants of the East Indies say, that the best remedy against this poison is the *curcumie* root. Such a *Gekko* was got within the body of the wall of the church in the *Receif*, which obliged us to have a great hole made in the said wall, to dislodge it from thence." So far our author.

"After rain the *Gecko*, quits his retreat; his walk is not very quick: he catches ants and worms. The eggs of this creature are oval, and commonly as large as a nut. The female covers them carefully with a slight shelter of earth; and the heat of the sun hatches them. The Jesuit mathematicians, sent into the East Indies, by Louis XIV. have described a lizard in the kingdom of Siam, named *Tokaie*, which is evidently the same as the *Gecko*. That which they examined exceeded one foot in length, to the end of the tail. The name *Tokaie*, like that of *Gecko*, is an imitation of sounds by the creature."

Hasselquist writes thus concerning the *Gecko*. "He is very common at Cairo, as well in the houses as without. The venom of this animal has a singularity, in that it issues from the balls of the toes. He seeks all places and things where salt

has been employed; and where he has walked over them, this dangerous venom marks his track. In the month of July, 1750, I saw two women and a girl at Cairo, who narrowly escaped death from having eaten cheese on which this animal had shed its venom. I had another occasion at Cairo, of being convinced of the sharpness of his venom, as he run over the hand of a man, who was endeavouring to catch him, his hand was instantly covered with red inflamed pustules, attended by a sensation like that which is caused by the stinging of a nettle. He croaks at night almost like a frog."

The reptile now ascertained, in malignity yields to no serpent whatever; he inhabits Cairo, and the country of Egypt; consequently he could not be unknown to Moses: nor is he confined to desert places; he visits houses, and makes his abode in them; so that the people of Israel, to whom Moses speaks, might be but too well acquainted with him. We find, also, that his poison is justly associated with the *cruel* venom of Asps; and that his slaver, &c. is collected for the express purpose of smearing arrows, and rendering fatal the wounds they inflict. The result of this evidence is, that we may still retain the idea of a *lengthened reptile*, as expressing the figure of the *Tanin* and *Taninim*, without fearing that the venom attributed to these creatures, (hitherto understood to be serpents, on this account, chiefly,) should oblige us to relinquish that interpretation of the original word; with the extent of whose application we are, perhaps, not fully acquainted.

The following information is derived from M. Forskall, the Danish Naturalist, companion of Niebuhr.

"The GECKO, called in Egypt *Abu Burs*: "Father of Leprosy," *i. e.* extremely leprous: at Aleppo, *Burs*, "Leprosy," He is frequent in the houses at Cairo; wanders about in summer weather; has much the same squeak as a weasel; is not seen much in winter, but hides itself in the roofs of houses, and re-appears in the middle of March. If the tail be separated from the living animal, it will give signs of life, and motion, half an hour afterwards. They say, this lizard hunts and lives on poultry. His name is said to be derived from his properties; for if he drops any of his spittle in salt intended for the table, it would produce a leprosy on any man who should partake of it. For this reason they carefully put away salt, or keep an onion by it, which this lizard cannot bear. Others think his name is taken from the resemblance of his colour to that of a leper."

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding this ample account of this reptile, there is no evidence whether it has the fang teeth of venomous Serpents; or, whether being imbued with venom throughout, it poisons by its touch, its exudations and its slaver, and no otherwise. Bontius speaks of its *bite*, or *sting*. Since this article was composed, we learn, that the *Ornithorinchus paradoxus* of New Holland possesses a venom, which it emits from the spurs with which nature has furnished it: this animal could not be known to Moses; but, there may be other animals equally venomous.

May this enquiry lead to a distinction between the Hebrew words *chemet* and *rosh*?—of which, the first may signify *poison*, however communicated; the second *venom in the head*: in which part, as it is well known, the poison of the serpent tribe resides.

As this passage in Deuteronomy is spoken metaphorically of a poisonous vine, or plant bearing berries which yield a liquor,—What is this plant? SCHEUZER inclines to *hemlock*: but, does hemlock yield a wine? and is its poison *inflammatory*? I think it is not.

OF SERPENTS.

UNDER the article SERPENT, in the *Dictionary*, CALMET states, as known among the Hebrews, eleven kinds of Serpents, which he enumerates:

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| 1. <i>Ephe</i> , אַפְעָה, the Viper. | 6. <i>Tzimmaon</i> , צִמְמָאן, according to Jerom. |
| 2. <i>Chephir</i> , כֶּפֶר, a sort of Aspick, or a lion. | 7. <i>T'zepho</i> , צֶפֶע, or <i>T'zephoni</i> , a Basilisk, (not the fabulous Cockatrice, but a Serpent like others.) |
| 3. <i>Acshub</i> , עֶכְשֻׁב, the Aspick. | 8. <i>Kippos</i> , קֶפֶס, the <i>Acontias</i> , or Dart. |
| 4. <i>Pethen</i> , פֶּתֶן, the Aspick. | 9. <i>Shephiphon</i> , שִׁפִּיפֹן, the <i>Cerastes</i> . |
| 5. <i>Tzeboa</i> , צִבּוּעַ, a speckled Serpent, called <i>Ilyæna</i> by the Greeks and Egyptians. | 10. <i>Shachal</i> , שָׁחַל, the Black Serpent. |
| | 11. <i>Saraph</i> , שָׂרָף, a Flying Serpent. |

Some of these may be illustrated by a few words: others must still continue obscure.

The *Ephe*, or *Aphoeh* of the Hebrews, No. 1. is certainly the *El Effah* of the Arabs; of which Mr. Jackson observes, in his *Account of Marocco*, "it is the name of a Serpent remarkable for its quick and penetrating poison; it is about two feet long, and as thick as a man's arm, beautifully spotted with yellow and brown, and sprinkled over with blackish specks, similar to the horn-nosed snake. They have a wide mouth, by which they inhale a great quantity of air, and when inflated therewith, they eject it with such force as to be heard at a considerable distance. These mortal enemies to mankind are collected by the Aisawie [serpent-conjurors] in a desert of Suse, where their holes are so numerous, that it is difficult for a horse to pass over it without stumbling."

The *Pethen*, No. 4. is, in all probability, the *Bætæn* of the Arabs: it is described by M. Forskall, as being "wholly spotted (in blotches) black and white. A foot in length: nearly two inches thick. Oviparous. Its bite is instant death: the body of the wounded person swells greatly."

Having suggested the idea that this *Bætæn* is the *Peten* of the Hebrew Scriptures, it is natural to wish for farther information respecting it. I take the additional liberty of querying, whether it is not strongly related to, if not a variety of, the *Coluber Lebetinus* of Linnæus? and under that persuasion shall extract first M. Forskall's description of this Serpent, and then add from Hasselquist.—Linnæus was the first naturalist who mentioned it. The formation of its name will not escape the reader: the termination being merely Latin, it would stand *le-BETIN-us*.

Coluber Lebetinus. The length of its body less than a cubit: its tail four inches: toward the neck thinner, an inch and half thick. Head broad, depressed, subcordated. Scales of the back obtuse-oval, flat, a ridge rising in the middle, carinated. Back rising in *dos d'ane* [not round.] Colour, upper part grey, ordinarily four transverse bands, alternately crossing. The middle of them verging to yellow, but the sides to deep brown, or black. Underneath whitish, and closely spotted with black dots. *Scuta abdom.* 152. *Squamæ caud.* 43.

Obs. Its bite produces lethargy, is fatal and incurable. Two of these Serpents were sent me from Cyprus, by my friend *Petr. Sjelvi*, interpreter to the French embassy at Cairo. The species is not [but?] small: is it therefore the *Aspic* of the

ancients? so it is now called by the *literati* of Cyprus: but the common people call it *Kufi*—(κῦφι)—DEAF." Forskall.

"I saw two kinds of Vipers at Cyprus, one called *Aspic*, of which it is said, 1. That it contains a venom so penetrating as to produce a universal gangrene, of which a man dies in a few hours. 2. That the better to catch his prey, it takes the colour of the ground on which it lies. They said of the other, 1. That it has a great antipathy to the former, and destroys it. 2. That they eat one another. 3. That they feed on larks, sparrows, &c. of which I myself am witness." Hasselquist.

Now I think these are not unlike in size to the *Bætaen*; one is a foot in length, the other is *under* eighteen inches: one is nearly two inches thick, the other where narrow, one and a half. One is spotted, black and white, the other is grey, black and white in bands. Both are fatal. Observe the *gangrene* which follows their venom; as in other serpents. Observe the name *deaf*. Compare Psalm lviii. 4. where *deafness* is ascribed to the *Peten*. Also Job xx. 14. where this Serpent may be considered as the *Aspic*.

No. 10. *Shachal*, the Black Serpent. There are several kinds of Black Serpents: M. Forskall describes the HANASH ÆSUED, as being "wholly black: a cubit in length: as thick as a finger; oviparous. Its bite is not incurable, but the wound swells a little: the application of a ligature prevents the venom from spreading; it may be sucked out; or certain plants, as the caper, are employed to relieve it.

"It is said, that this Serpent enters a camel on one side, and passing through the belly, comes out on the other side; which, certainly destroys the camel, unless the wound be cauterized with a hot iron; and this the common people make use of."

Count De la Cèpede wishes for farther information on this story. It appears to me, that when the camel is crouched down, as he always is during night, that this Serpent may pass under him, and finding some trouble in the passage, may bite him, in more places than one; to prevent the effects of his venom, which may sometimes be worse than at others, the Arabs have recourse to the actual cautery.

Compare this idea with that of Dan, as a Serpent biting a horse; *vide* also the CERASTES, and Plate; with M. Forskall's observation on the *Datan*.

Mr. Jackson describes a Black Serpent of much more terrific powers. He says the *Buskah* "is of a black colour, about seven or eight feet long, with a small head, which it expands frequently to four times its ordinary size, when about to attack any object. It is the only one that will attack travellers; in doing which, it coils itself up, and darts to a great distance, by the elasticity of its body and tail. I have seen it coil itself, and erect its head above twelve or eighteen inches above the ground, expanding it at the same time when it darted forward. The wound inflicted by the bite is small, but the surrounding part immediately turns black, which colour soon pervades the whole body, and the sufferer expires in a short time. This Serpent is carried about by the Aisawie."

M. Forskall notices another Serpent, whose powers resemble those of the *Buskah*; but his description is not sufficiently particular to justify us in affirming that it is the same. He says,

"*The* HAJE, Arab. *Nascher*. When being angry it intends to bite, it raises its neck, and lengthens itself as much as it can, that it may throw itself with an impetuous motion on its enemy. The jugglers of Cairo frequently carry him about, take out his fangs, and very dextrously avoid his bite when he swells his neck. His venom is pellucid, yellowish. A fowl being slightly wounded, and this venom infused, gave at first no sign of pain; but, after a quarter of an hour, fell on its breast,

suffered violent convulsions, twisted its head about, and, after throwing up a great deal of water, died. On dissecting it, nothing was found injured; but the intestines were somewhat swelled; the rest was all sound."

Compare with these accounts of the progress of venom what we have remarked on the progress of wine, under the article COCKATRICE, following.

The Arabic words *hanash*, *nasher*, are evidently analogous to the Hebrew *he-nahash*, *i. e.* "the Serpent."

M. Forskall gives the following list of Serpents as seen by him on his Travels.

SERPENTS, *Lebetinus*. *Aspis*?

———— *Spotted*, harmless.

———— *Haje*, deadly, his neck swells. *Nascher*.

———— *Dhara*, copper-ash-coloured.

———— *Schokari*, banded; no fangs.

———— *Bætæn*, spotted, deadly.

———— *Hölleik*, red, burning.

———— *Hannash Asuæd*, black, not fatal.

———— *Hannash Aæber*, *i. e.* "the ash-coloured Serpent." When angry swells his neck.

———— *Ærkam*, ash-coloured.

———— *Bærschasch*, the horned *Cerastes*? The same species with the horned *Datan*, which burrows in dry and loose earth. If a traveller slips his foot into one of them, the *Datan* bites him fatally. It is also called "King of the Serpents"—*Sultan el Hanash*. Its colour is red." *F.*

A suggestion of Niebuhr on the possible effect of perfume on Serpents, deserves insertion: the learned will recollect that in certain idolatrous processions, the virgin who carried the Serpent wore on her head a garland of flowers, of such kinds, as were understood to be grateful to the reptile; others no doubt, may be repulsive.

"The country, and rustic life of the Arabs, enable them to acquire much knowledge of what may be termed domestic medicine; and though part of what they report may be erroneous, yet there may be many things known to them which might be useful to human life. The *lignum Quassia*, received in our shops, owes its first discovery to the slave *Quassi*. On the same occasion, no doubt, as the alexipharmica, or antidotes, were discovered, the art of *taming serpents* likewise made its appearance, which the vulgar call juggling, and which till this day we have not made public any farther than as hearsay, and as report. That eminent traveller Kæmpfer saw, but did not examine into, these charms. It is still uncertain whether a plant that defeats the effects of poison, does also, by virtue of antipathy or dread, have the same effect on Serpents. Horticulture, with an intention to alimentary concerns, has of late taught us that animals have a very great aversion to some plants, and fondness for others.

"An instance that occurred in the island of *Bombay*, was related to me by an Englishman during my stay there, and furnishes a compendious method of illustrating these mysteries. He kept a certain animal (of the class of quadrupeds) which would not, on any account, attack serpents admitted into the hall or dining-room; but in the garden or open field commenced the engagement swiftly with the *Cobra di capello* itself: for this reason, I suppose, that it had a cure ready at hand in the adjacent wood." Niebuhr's Note in Forskall.

This may be a proper place for the introduction of a hint on the deference paid to Serpents, as well anciently, as in modern times. Speaking of the ancients, says Winkelmann, *Mon. Ined.* p. 62. "The Serpent is the symbol of the Good Genius to whom the guests in their cheerfulness made a libation of wine called Ποτηριον ἀγαθοῦ δαιμονος, "the cup of the Good Genius"; afterwards was made the libation of Jupiter the preserver, which was called Ποτηριον Διός σωτηρος, "the cup of the saving—i. e. preserving god."

That the same kind of reverential feeling still exists, we learn from the information of Mr. Jackson, who has not only introduced it into his *Account of Marocco*, but repeats it with additions in Shabeeny's *Timbuctoo*. He says, "Every house in Marocco has, or ought to have, a domestic Serpent: I say ought to have, because those that have not one, seek to have this inmate, by treating it hospitably whenever one appears; they leave out food for it to eat during the night, which gradually domiciliates this reptile. These Serpents are reported to be extremely sagacious, and very susceptible. The superstition of these people is extraordinary; for rather than offend these Serpents, they will suffer their women to be exposed during sleep to their performing the office of an infant. They are considered, in a house, emblematical of good, or prosperity, as their absence is ominous of evil. They are not often visible; but I have seen them passing over the beams of the roof of the apartments. A friend of mine was just retired to bed at Marocco, when he heard a noise in the room, like something crawling over his head, he arose, looked about the room, and discovered one of these reptiles about four feet long, of a dark colour; he pricked it with his sword, and killed it, then returned to bed. In the morning he called to him the master of the house where he was a guest, and telling him he had attacked the Serpent; the Jew was chagrined, and expostulated with him, for the injury he had done him: apprehensive that evil would visit him, he intimated to his guest, that he hoped he would leave his house, as he feared the malignity of the Serpent; and he was not reconciled until my friend discovered to him that he had actually killed the reptile."

ATTEMPTS TO ASCERTAIN THE COCKATRICE OF SCRIPTURE:

No. 7. in CALMET'S list of Serpents.

IN investigating the present subject, we are surrounded by difficulties on all sides, and must grope our way through them as well as we can.

In considering the context, Isaiah xi. 14. there is reason to suppose, that the word rendered *den* or *cavern*, is of *dual* import; nor is it unlikely, that the word *Tjephoni* rendered *Cockatrice*, is *dual* also, and signifies a pair, or couple, of these Serpents.

We shall endeavour to combine what information Scripture gives us respecting these *Tjephoni*.

1. The prophet says, "They shall not *hurt* nor (destroy) *corrupt* in all my holy mountain." This *corruption* we attribute to the *Tjephoni* preceding (for such seems to be the order of the words in their reference); which determines our researches to a Serpent whose bite produces a corruption of the fluids, &c. in the subjects bitten.

2. In Prov. xxiii. 32. we read, "Wine shall bite as a Serpent, (*nachash*) and shall *sting* like *Tjephoni*." The word rendered *sting* signifies to *spread*, *diffuse* its poison: so LXX. and Vulgate. It is used with singular propriety in this passage; as it imports

imports to *unfold*, *develope*, bring to light, or into activity, somewhat concealed, secluded, or *latent*: such is, certainly, the poison of a serpent, which is usually quiescent, and concealed in its fangs; but, when these are in action, a wound apparently insignificant, diffuses after a while the most direful effects throughout the whole frame of that person, who has been so unhappy as to have received the attack.

In Isaiah, xiv. 29. we read, "From the root of the serpent, (*nachash*,) shall come forth *Tjepho*:" [Cockatrice, Eng. Tr.] Evidently a serpent of a worse kind than the *nachash* is implied in this passage. In chap. lix. 5. we read, that the *Tjephouni* produce eggs; *i. e.* are *oviparous*. "They hatch the eggs of the Cockatrice—he that eateth of their eggs dieth:—or if one of these eggs be crushed, it breaketh forth into a viper:" [נָחָשׁ, *Aphoeh*]. This very remarkable passage implies, 1. That Serpents' eggs may be mistaken for those of birds, (hens, &c.) and may be eaten under such mistake; 2. That it was well known in antiquity, that *some* venomous serpents were *oviparous*; 3. I think, too, the action of the young serpent, when the shell of the egg which contains him is crushed, is hinted at.

We read also, Jerem. viii. 17. of *serpents Cockatrices*, [נָחָשִׁים צִפְעָנִים, *nachashim Tjephonim*] against which there is no effectual charming—*whispering*; and they shall *bite*—bite off—devour you, piece-meal. This implies the action of a large creature.

Here we might ask, Whether these words *tjepho*, *tjephoni*, and *tjephouni*, notwithstanding the differences of their spelling, are the same word, or different words? It would much ease their natural history if they described different creatures:—otherwise, we must unite in one the characters of a large and poisonous reptile, which is *oviparous*, and beyond enchantment.

Nor can we refrain from *querying*, at least, Whether we are confined to Syria and Egypt, in our investigation of this serpent? As Abraham, &c. the fathers of the Hebrew nation, came originally from near to India—may not the knowledge of certain formidable Eastern reptiles have obtained among their posterity, and have been preserved by them? And farther still: may not that passage of the prophet, on which we are commenting, be descriptive, by allusion, at least, of the original Paradise, (time past) as well as of a happy era expected? (time future). If so, possibly some traditionary memorial of this serpent still exists, though much farther east than Judea or Arabia. If we may connect these ideas, the fatal *Naja* or *Cobra di capello* of the Portuguese, bids fairest to be the *Cockatrice*. That this serpent contains the most fatal poison is well known.—I cannot discover *certainly* whether it be *oviparous*, but the evidence for that fact is presumptive: all serpents issue from an egg; and the difference between the *oviparous* and the *viviparous* is, that in the former, the eggs are laid before the *fetus* is mature; in the latter, the *fetus* bursts the egg, while yet in the womb of its mother.

Ray says, all serpents, even those distinguished as *viviparous*, ought to be regarded as *oviparous*, though of a different class from those which produce eggs to be hatched by adventitious warmth. Seger mentions, assisting a serpent to lay her eggs. Bartholin dissected serpents' eggs; which, he says, are only hatched in the open air, and fail in a place too close, or too hot. If the eggs of serpents are broken, the little serpent is found rolled up in a spiral form. It appears motionless during some time; but, if the term of its exclusion be near, it opens its jaws, inhales at several respirations the air of the atmosphere, its lungs fill, it stretches itself, and, moved by this impetus, it begins to crawl.

The eggs of the *ringed* Snake have given occasion to a fable, which says, that cocks can lay eggs; but that these eggs always produce serpents: that the cock does not hatch them, but the warmth of their situation answers the purposes of incubation. The eggs of this serpent are the size of those of a pigeon; she lays eighteen or twenty. The eggs of the great *Boa* have but two or three inches in their longest diameter. As an instance, that the eggs of poisonous serpents do not always burst in the womb of their parent, we may mention the *Cerastes*, of which we have an account of its laying in sand four or five eggs, the size of those of a Pigeon. The Count DE LA CÉPEDE supposes, some of this kind may be *oviparous*, others *viviparous*; but he wishes for farther information.

What appears credible, and is confirmed by one who says, he was a spectator of the fact, in the instance of the *Cerastes*, may, by parity of reason, be admitted of the *Naja*; and as we have seen how nearly the eggs of one serpent resemble those of birds, we need not be surprised that those of another are spoken of by the prophet, under the possibility of being mistaken for wholesome viands, and (unwarily) used as food:—such, says the prophet, would prove poisonous; while others, which are crushed produce serpents. And Labat tells us, that he crushed some eggs of a large female serpent, and found several young in each egg; they were no sooner freed from the shell, than they coiled themselves into attitudes of attack, and were ready to spring on whatever came in their way: such is nature in these reptiles!

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE NAJA.

The beauty of colours has been granted to this Serpent, which is one of the most venomous of the Oriental countries. The sight of him is far from inspiring fear in those who view him, and are not acquainted with the activity of his poison; he is beheld with pleasure and admiration, and while the glitter of his scales, and the splendour which enlivens his colours, attract notice, the singular conformation of his figure fixes attention. On the neck of this Serpent is a bending line, which resembles the form of a pair of spectacles; and this has been the occasion of giving to the *Naja* the name of the “Spectacle Serpent.”

The *Naja* is of a yellow colour, more or less reddish or ash-coloured, according to the age and strength of the individual, and to the season of the year. Above the swelling part of the neck is a broad band of deepish brown. The beautiful yellow which shines on the back of this *Naja*, is lighter under the belly, where it becomes whitish, sometimes slightly tinged with red. The lines which form the spectacles on its neck are whitish, but are bordered on each side with a deep colour. The eyes are lively and full of fire; the scales are oval, flat, and very long, attached to the skin only by part of their circumference; and on the upper part of the neck they do not touch each other, but leave the skin bare. It seems, that this Serpent can very sensibly erect his scales. The skin, where it appears, is less shining than the scales; which being large and flat strongly reflect the light, and often appear like so many reflecting *facets*, disposed in an orderly manner, and glittering with the most resplendent gold; especially when enlightened by the rays of the sun.

The swelling of the neck in this creature, is formed by an elongation of the ribs at this part: but, beside this, the *Naja* can farther swell and augment at his pleasure a loose kind of membrane, which covers these long ribs, and which Kempfer compares to a kind of wings. More especially when he is irritated, he expands this

membrane to its full extent, and then raises himself up, carrying his head horizontally, so that this membrane forms as it were a kind of *hood* behind his head, whence he has been called the "Hooded Serpent;" and some, fancying this hood had resemblance to a *crown*, have called him the "Crowned Serpent." The female has not the spectacles on the neck, but she has the expansible membrane; she glitters with the same golden colours, and has also been called the "Crowned Serpent." The mistakes of naturalists have sometimes made her a different species.

The *Naja* is ordinarily three or four feet in length; but some are seven or eight feet. The *Naja* is ferocious: unless immediate antidotes be administered, his bite is fatal; the party bit expires in convulsions, and a *GANGRENE spreads around the place wounded*, which it is hardly possible to heal: in short, of all Serpents this is most dreaded by the Indians, who go bare-footed.

When this terrible reptile means to spring on any person, he raises himself up with boldness, his eyes sparkle with tremendous brightness, he expands his membranous hood in token of his rage, opens his mouth, and darts forward with rapidity, shewing at the same time the points of his venomous fangs.

But, notwithstanding his fatal weapons, the Indian mountebanks have acquired the skill of rendering these Serpents an entertaining spectacle; the like is now done by the jugglers of Egypt, and was formerly practised by those of other countries also; the *psylli* of Cyrene, the *ophiogenæ* of Cyprus, handle without fear, and teaze with impunity, large Serpents (even venomous, perhaps,) by seizing them strongly near the neck, thereby avoiding their bite, and then not merely controuling, but absolutely devouring them.

Those who carry the *Naja* about as a shew, pretend to be preserved from his sting by the power of a root which they carry with them; but Kempfer reports a method of much greater security, which consists in depriving this reptile of his venom every day or two, by making him bite pieces of stuff, or other soft matter, which imbibe the poison from his fangs, and, by clearing them, deprives them of their malignity. They then keep him without food, especially from moist food, till after he has played those tricks, which his masters command him. It must be added, that other Indians, to deprive this and other Serpents of the power to bite fatally, break out their fangs from their mouth; by which operation, if the bags of venom which lie in the roof of the mouth continue to secrete their accustomed fluid, they have no teeth for making wounds, nor channel for conveying poison into such wounds, if they could make them.

The dances of the *Naja* are produced by the art of his master, who, taking the reptile out of his cage or basket, irritates him, by presenting a stick, or perhaps his fist; the Serpent instantly rises on his tail, spreads his hood, briskly shakes himself, and prepares to attack this enemy of his peace. His master, singing all the while, moves his fist, first to one side, then to the other, which being followed by corresponding motions of the Serpent, gives him the air of what is called dancing; and this exercise continues, till his master, perceiving the reptile becomes truly enraged, withdraws his hand, ceases to sing, and the fatigued *Naja* lays himself down in his box, coiled up for repose. Or, sometimes the *Naja* will only continue these motions for a certain time; of which the juggler being aware, he contrives to conclude the dance before that time is expired. The usual time is five or six minutes. The manner of educating the *Naja* for this exercise, is, by oversetting the vase which contains him, and when he is about to escape, catching him with a stick; irritated by this, he turns about, and would dart on his keeper; but his keeper

being aware, dexterously presents his vase to receive this attack, against which the creature bruises his nostrils; this repeated makes him cautious, and this caution being strengthened by habit, he retains the same fear when a stick or a fist is presented to him, toward which he always turns his eyes, but fears to strike it.

The *Naja* has been the object of veneration in the most beautiful countries of the East; particularly on the coast of Malabar. The dread of his envenomed fangs, the desire of keeping him at a distance from habitations and families, perhaps, formerly prompted people to carry provisions for these reptiles to their holes, that they might have no inducement to visit houses, &c. in search of food. The same dread probably occasioned the placing of their images (as symbols) in temples; together with that intreaty and solicitation of them to depart without doing mischief, which is customary in the East, whenever they happen to enter a dwelling. Far from defending themselves against such intruders, far from thinking of destroying them, the Malabarians send for a Bramin, and engage him to beg the favour of their guest to depart; in which undertaking they spare neither exhortations, intreaties, nor prostrations."

It now becomes our duty to compare this history of the *Naja*, with the Scripture accounts of that Serpent which our translators render "Cockatrice;" and this we must attempt, under the idea that *tjepho*, *tjepmoni*, and *tjephoumi*, indicate the same creature. The word *tjepho* is usually taken to signify, "*the Darter*," a serpent which darts itself: but this is so common to Serpents, that it forms no distinction. Bochart derives it from *hissing*, and it is called in Latin *sibilus*, "the Hisser;" but this is equally common. I am well aware of the strong difference between the words *tjepho* and *tjepheh* in the Hebrew; yet, cannot help wishing we might refer these *Tjepmoni* to a root (*tjepheh*,) that signifies to *spread over*, or a *covering*, which would well describe the *hood* of this Serpent; and farther, in its other forms this root implies *to survey*, *to look around*, *to watch round about*, which is precisely the action of the *Naja* when he raises himself to strike, and when he watches the motions of the fist presented to him while dancing.

Another thing must be observed: the prophet says, that out of the egg of the *Tjephoumi* breaketh forth a Viper, ΑΦΟΗ. It would be the strangest thing imaginable, and utterly repugnant to the course of nature, that an egg of one kind of Serpent should produce another kind of Serpent: no such instance can occur, any more than an egg of one kind of bird, can produce a young bird of a kind different from its parent.

The word *aphoeh* belongs to the root *phoeh*, the A being prefixed; and the EH also, though radical is omissible, says PARKHURST, which leaves PHO, strictly taken, as the apparent root. This word seems to me to be varied in one instance into ΑΡΗΟ, by the prefix Α, Ρ; in another instance into ΤΙΕΡΗΟ by prefixing Τ, Ι. We are led to the import of the root *phoeh* by the Arabic root *phoih*, *to swell with blowing* or *puffing*; *to blow with the mouth puffed out*:—can a more apt description be given of the action of the *Naja* on its *hood*? which it puffs up, dilates, swells; and this *swelling* seems, from the passages usually adduced, to be the true meaning of the word, rather than *puffing*;—unless we take that word in rather a vulgar sense, *puffing up*, as a bladder with wind. *Vide* Isaiah xli. 24. comp. Job xi. 20. It would, then, make a very good sense, if we understand the prophet as saying, that "out of an egg of the greatly swelling serpent shall come forth a young one, swelling like its parent."—Otherwise, we may refer (as is usually done) this *Aphoeh* to the viper

tribe in general; or to those of poisonous fangs: *i. e.* meaning—from the egg of the *Naja*, one of the most poisonous of the viper tribe, shall come forth a young viper, poisonous also.”

Against this it may be said, and must be admitted, that the viper does not lay eggs; so that we must either take *aphoeh* to mean the viper, or poisonous tribe, generally, of which some *do* lay eggs; or, we must take it restrictively for such of these poisonous reptiles as are *oviparous*—which may be the character of the *Naja*, though that question remains undetermined; yet I have spoken with a gentleman from India, who, though he could not *affirm* it from actual observation, had always believed it.

Having hinted at the possibility that the prophet uses the word *tjepmoni* in a dual form, implying a pair, male and female; it may be proper to refer to Vaillant who reports his meeting with a pair of them, of which he shot one, the other escaped. Moreover, if the *Kooper Kapel* be, as appears clearly, the *Cobra di capello*, or *Naja*, Vaillant affords another instance of their going in couples, in vol. i. p. 208. of his *Travels in Africa*; where he gives an account of a pair of these Serpents creeping under the legs of his hostess in her own house:—his description agrees perfectly: “their rage was kindled, their eyes became inflamed, and raising their necks, and hissing in a most furious manner, they attempted to dart upon us.” . . . “The *Kooper Capel* is observable at a distance, in consequence of its size and vivid colours.” Vol. ii. p. 382.

The glittering brilliancy of this Serpent is perfectly agreeable to a meaning, ascribed by conjecture, to the word *meauruth*, (literally, flashes of light—resplendencies) used by this prophet, xi. 16. especially when we find the shewy appearance of the *Naja*, which is very likely to attract the notice of an infant, remarked in strong language by travellers.

The greatest difficulty, at first sight, against accepting the *Naja* as the *Tjepho* is, that it is said, that serpent shall not be tamed, but shall resist enchantment, whereas the *Naja* is in some sort domesticated. Observe, 1. That though the *Naja* be *managed* by human contrivance and art, yet it is not *tamed*, but would as readily bite its master as any other. 2. That we may take the prophet to mean, “though this kind of serpent be occasionally subdued, yet those I send shall be proof against such management; more venomous, more ferocious: of the same species, but of greater powers and malignity.” 3. The word *lachash* rendered *enchantment*, signifies *whispering*: had a more powerful word been used, this particular would have been proportionally difficult; but, in truth, *whispering*, as it concerns enchantment, is far enough from the summit of art, or efficacy. However, perhaps the second observation may be the nearest to the proper sense; and if admitted, it relieves what we have proposed from its greatest impediment.

[It is very possible, that this *whispering* may allude to the “exhortations and intreaties” of the Brahmins and their people addressed to a *Naja* which has entered a dwelling: this no doubt, would be uttered in a low, humble, beseeching tone of voice, not ill described by the term *whispering*.]

This subject may give rise to some farther inquiries: 1. It appears in No. ccccxlv. that this *Naja* is the serpent represented as biting the Indian deity *Chrishna* by the heel—(an occurrence but too credible where the inhabitants walk bare-footed) yet, over which *Chrishna* ultimately triumphs. Conjecture has referred this metaphorical combat and victory, to a tradition of the first great promise made to mankind, in Paradise; and Paradise has been placed far East in Kedom, towards India.

2. More expressly to our immediate subject. No. cclxxix. alludes to an Indian allegory, so perfectly correspondent with that of the prophet Isaiah, as to justify a partial repetition of it.

“To make myself understood—observe, 1st. That the Indian deity *Chrishna* is represented in Plate iii. of Mr. MAURICE’s *History of Indostan*, as playing on a flute, of such magic melody as unites in one peaceful group, a young ox, a prodigious tyger, and that mortal serpent the *Cobra di capello* (which will furnish us an ample subject at some distant opportunity.) These all listen to the tranquillizing notes of *Chrishna*’s instrument; the Serpent raises himself up, but forgets his venom; the tyger looks earnestly to the placid god, in silent admiration, and grows no enmity against his companions; and the young steer, feels no alarm at his naturally blood-thirsty associate. It is clear, that a power is denoted, whose influence is capable of harmonizing all nature: of which this is a *pictorial* representation.”

We made also, a farther allusion to Virgil’s famous fourth Eclogue; observing, that the *poetry* of that Eclogue may be Virgil’s, but that the *expectations* are probably Oriental. And I think we may confirm this surmise, by remarking a singular *insertion* (not to call it a *slip*) which, perhaps, unawares to the poet, betrays his remote original:

OCCIDET ET SERPENS, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet; ASSYRIUM vulgo nascetur ANOMUM.

It is well known, that *Syria*, *Assyria*, *Seriad*, &c. are taken very uncertainly among ancient writers; but they often refer to the Eastern part of the Persian empire, the *Kedem* of Scripture. This places the *empoisoned herb* in Assyria (*Kedem*) together with the Serpent, which the nascent deity, the *nova progenies*, is to slay. That this inference is not singular, may be seen in Heyne’s note on the passage: “*Amomum* fruticis genus *Indici*—quod tamen quale fuerit parum constat. Plinii et Dioscoridis ap. *Martin. et Salmas. ad Solin.* p. 284. qui *anomum* fere de omni *aromate sincero* dictum docet.” “*Assyrium* vero, cum Armenia et Media ea planta esset.” The argument, taken generally, as well as in its branches, leads to the inference, that we risk little in considering the *Naja* of the Indians, the *Tjephuo* of the prophet, and the “*fatal Serpent*” of the Latin poet, as natives of the same country, and, in all probability, the very same reptile.

3. As Natural History affords no Serpent really *winged*: recurring therefore, to Kempfer, who has compared the *hood* of the *Naja* to wings; we might ask, whether a similar comparison could give occasion to the “winged Serpents” of our public version? Some have called him the “crowned Serpent;” has this been the origin of the *reguli*, or “king Serpents” of antiquity? If so, it points at once to the *Tjephuo*, which has been frequently translated *Regulus*.

It is time to close this discussion: the reader will scarcely believe the labour it has cost us. It is possible, even now, that some minor particular may have escaped us, notwithstanding our diligence: should it be so, and should that be competent to the decision of the question, Which among the Serpent tribe is the dreadful *Cockatrice* of our version?—we shall be glad to see its application, and to congratulate that learning and skill by which it may be discovered and directed.

OF THE CERASTES, AND SIMILAR SERPENTS.

THE CERASTES, or Horned Viper, is among the most deadly of the serpent tribe. It is, moreover, distinguished by the peculiarity of its horns; it is numerous in Egypt and Syria, so that it could not escape the notice and allusions of the sacred writers. It is agreed that this Serpent is mentioned in Scripture; but there is some difficulty in determining which of the Hebrew appellations of Serpents denotes this species.

Mr. BRUCE has published a figure of the Cerastes, with a considerable account of its manners, part of which we shall extract. He says, "There is no article of Natural History the ancients have dwelt on more than that of the Viper, whether poets, physicians, or historians. All have enlarged on the particular sizes, colours, and qualities, yet the knowledge of their manners is but little extended.

"I have travelled across the Cyrenaicum in all directions, and never saw but one species of Viper, which was the Cerastes, or Horned Viper, now before us: neither did I ever see any of the snake kind that could be mistaken for the Viper.

"The *Basilisc* is a species of Serpent, frequently made mention of in Scripture, though never described, farther than that he cannot be charmed so as to do no hurt, nor trained so as to delight in music; which all travellers who have been in Egypt, know is exceeding possible, and frequently seen. "For behold I will send *Basiliscs* among you," saith the Scripture, "which will not be charmed; and they shall bite you, saith the Lord." [Jerem. chap. vii. ver. 17.] And [Psalm ix. ver. 13.] "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and *Basilisc*," &c. It is to be observed here, it is the Greek text that calls it *Basilisc*: the Hebrew, for the most part, calls it *Tsepha*, which are a species of Serpents real and known. Our English translation, very improperly, renders it Cockatrice, a fabulous animal, that never did exist. I shall only farther observe, that the *Basilisc*, in Scripture, would seem to be a snake, not a Viper, as there are frequent mention made of their eggs, as in Isaiah, chap. lxi. ver. 5.; whereas it is known to be the characteristic of the Viper to bring forth living young.

"I shall mention one name more, under which the Cerastes goes, because it is equivocal, and has been misunderstood in Scripture; that is *Tseboa*, which name is given it in Hebrew from its different colours and spots. And hence the Greeks, [Elian, *Hist. lib. i. cap. 25.* Horap. *Hieroglyph. lib. ii. cap. 65.*] have called it by the name of *hyæna*, because it is of the same reddish colour, marked with black spots, as that quadruped is. And the same fable is applied to the serpent and the quadruped, that they change their sex yearly.

"The Cerastes is mentioned by name in Lucan, and without warranting the separate existence of any of the rest, I can see several that are but the Cerastes under another term. The *thebanus ophites*, the *ammodytes*, the *torrida dipsas*, and the *prester* [Lucan, *lib. ix.*] all of them are but this Viper, described from the form of its parts, or its colours. The Cerastes hides itself all day in holes in the sand, where it lives in contiguous and similar houses to those of the jerboa; and I have already said, that I never but once found any animal in this Viper's belly, but one jerboa, in a gravid female Cerastes.

"I kept two of these last-mentioned creatures in a glass jar, such as is used for keeping sweetmeats, for two years, without having given them any food: they did not sleep, that I observed, in winter, but cast their skins the last days of April.

“The *Cerastes* moves with great rapidity, and in all directions, forward, backward, and sideways. When he inclines to surprize any one who is too far from him, he creeps with his side towards the person, and his head averted, till judging his distance, he turns round, springs upon him, and fastens upon the part next to him; for it is not true what is said, that the *Cerastes* does not leap or spring. I saw one of them at Cairo, in the house of Julian and Rosa, crawl up the side of a box, in which there were many, and there lie still as if hiding himself, till one of the people who brought them to us came near him, and, though in a very disadvantageous posture, sticking, as it were, perpendicular to the side of the box, he leaped near the distance of three feet, and fastened between the man's fore-finger and thumb, so as to bring the blood. The fellow shewed no signs of either pain or fear; and we kept him with us full four hours, without applying any sort of remedy, or his seeming inclined to do so.

“To make myself assured that the animal was in its perfect state, I made the man hold him by the neck, so as to force him to open his mouth, and lacerate the thigh of a pelican, a bird I had tamed, as big as a swan. The bird died in about 13 minutes, though it was apparently affected in 50 seconds; and we cannot think this was a fair trial, because a very few minutes before it had bit, and so discharged part of its virus, and it was made to scratch the pelican by force, without any irritation or action of its own.

“The *Cerastes* inhabits the greatest part of the eastern continent, especially the desert sandy parts of it. It abounds in Syria, in the three Arabias, and in Africa. I never saw so many of them as in the Cyrenaicum, where the jerboa is frequent in proportion. He is a great lover of heat; for though the sun was burning hot all day, when we made a fire at night, by digging a hole, and burning wood to charcoal in it, for dressing our victuals, it was seldom we had fewer than half a dozen of these Vipers, who burnt themselves to death by approaching the embers.

“Galen speaking of the *Aspic* in the great city of Alexandria, says, I have seen how speedily they (the *Aspics*) occasioned death. Whenever any person is condemned to die, whom they wish to end quickly and without torment, they put the Viper to his breast, and suffering him there to creep a little, the man is presently killed. Pausanias speaks of particular serpents that were to be found in Arabia among the balsam-trees, several of which I procured both alive and dead, when I brought the tree from Beder Hunein; but they were still the same species of serpent, only some from sex, and some from want of age, had not the horns, though in every other respect they could not be mistaken. Ibn Sina, called by Europeans Avicenna, has described this animal very exactly; he says it is frequent in Sham, (that is the country about and south of Damascus) and also in Egypt; and he makes a very good observation on their manners; that they do not go or walk straight, but move by contracting themselves.

“The general size of the *Cerastes*, from the extremity of its snout to the end of its tail, is from 13 to 14 inches. Its head is triangular, very flat, but higher near where it joins the neck than towards the nose.

“The *Cerastes* has sixteen small immoveable teeth, and in the upper jaw two canine teeth, hollow, crooked inward, and of a remarkable fine polish, white in colour, inclining to blueish. Near one fourth of the bottom is strongly fixed in the upper jaw, and folds back like a clasp knife, the point inclining inwards; and the greatest part of the tooth is covered with a green soft membrane, not drawn tight, but, as it were, wrinkled over it. Immediately above this is a slit along the back
of

of the tooth, which ends nearly in the middle of it, where the tooth curves inwardly. From this aperture, I apprehend, that it sheds its poison, not from the point, where, with the best glasses, I never could perceive an aperture, so that the tooth is not a tube, but hollow only half way; the point being for making the incision, and by its pressure occasioning the venom in the bag at the bottom of the fang to rise in the tooth, and spill itself through the slit into the wound.

“The animal is supposed to eat but seldom, or only when it is with young.

“The poison is very copious for so small a creature; it is fully as large as a drop of laudanum, dropt from a vial by a careful hand. Viewed through a glass, it appears not perfectly transparent or pellucid. I should imagine it hath other reservoirs than the bag under the tooth; for I compelled it to scratch eighteen pigeons upon the thigh as quick as possible, and they all died nearly in the same interval of time; but I confess the danger attending the dissection of the head of this creature, made me so cautious, that any observation I should make upon these parts would be less to be depended on.

“People have doubted whether or not this yellow liquor is the poison; and the reason has been, that animals who tasted it did not die, as when bitten; but this reason does not hold in modern physics. The Viper, deprived of his canine teeth, an operation very easily performed, bites without any fatal consequence, with the others.

“Of the incantation of Serpents, there is no doubt of its reality. The Scriptures are full of it. All that have been in Egypt have seen as many different instances as they chose. Some have doubted that it was a trick, and that the animals so handled had been trained, and then disarmed of their power of hurting; and fond of the discovery, they have rested themselves upon it, without experiment, in the face of all antiquity. But I will not hesitate to aver, that I have seen at Cairo, (and this may be seen daily without trouble or expence,) a man who came from above the catacombs, where the pits of the mummy-birds are kept, who has taken a *Cerastes* with his naked hand from a number of others lying at the bottom of the tub, has put it upon his bare head, covered it with the common red cap he wears, then taken it out, put it in his breast, and tied it about his neck like a necklace; after which it has been applied to a hen, and bit it, which has died in a few minutes, and, to complete the experiment, the man has taken it by the neck, and beginning at its tail, has ate it as one would do a carrot or a stock of celery, without any seeming repugnance.

“I can myself vouch, that all the black people in the kingdom of Sennaar, whether Funge or Nuba, are perfectly armed against the bite of either Scorpion or Viper. They take the *Cerastes* in their hand at all times, put them in their bosoms, and throw them to one another, as children do apples or balls, without having irritated them by this usage so much as to bite. The Arabs have not this secret naturally; but from their infancy they acquire an exemption from the mortal consequences attending the bite of these animals, by chewing a certain root, and washing themselves, (it is not anointing,) with an infusion of certain plants in water.

“I constantly observed, that however lively the Viper was before, upon being seized by any of these barbarians, he seemed as if taken with sickness and feebleness, frequently shut his eyes, and never turned his mouth towards the arm of the person that held him. I asked Kittou how they came to be exempted from this mischief? He said, they were born so, and so said the grave and respectable men

among them. Many of the lighter and lower sort talked of enchantments by words and by writing; but they all knew how to prepare any person by medicines, which were decoctions of herbs and roots.

“I have seen many thus armed for a season do pretty much the same feats as those that possessed the exemption naturally; the drugs were given me, and I several times armed myself, as I thought, resolved to try the experiment, but my heart always failed me when I came to the trial.” So far Mr. BRUCE.

The Cerastes is well known under the name of “Horned Viper,” it is effectively distinguished, by two small horns, one over each eye. It was adopted as a hieroglyphic among the Egyptians, and appears not only on obelisks, columns of temples, statues, walls of palaces, but on mummies also. Notwithstanding which, the complete history of this creature is wanting.

The horns of the Cerastes are placed immediately over the eyes; each of them is planted, as it were, among the small scales which form the superior part of the orbit: its root is surrounded by scales, smaller than those of the back; and it is of a pyramidal form, each face having a groove running up it. In general appearance, it resembles a grain of barley. The general colour of the back is yellowish, heightened by irregular blotches of a deeper colour, which represent small bands, crossing it. The under part of the body is lighter. The Serpent is about two feet long, says Count DE LA CEPEDE. This Serpent supports hunger and thirst longer than most others; but is so ravenous, that he throws himself with avidity on the small birds, and other animals on which he feeds; and as, according to Belon, his skin is capable of the greatest distension, even to double its natural size, it is not surprizing that he swallows so great a quantity of food as to render digestion extremely difficult; and consequently he falls into a kind of lethargic slumber, during which he is easily killed.

Most authors of antiquity, and of the middle ages, thought that this was one of those Serpents which could, with the greatest ease, turn themselves all manner of ways; and they report, that, instead of advancing in a straight line, he always took more or less of a circuitous course to attain his object. But, whatever be the address or the swiftness of his motions, he escapes with difficulty from those eagles, (rather, perhaps, vultures,) which stoop at him with exceeding rapidity; and, which, for their services in ridding the country of these venomous reptiles, were held sacred by the Egyptians. Nevertheless, these Serpents have always been considered as extremely cunning, both in escaping their enemies, and in seizing their prey: they have been named *insidious*; and it is reported of them that they hide themselves in holes adjacent to the highways, and in the ruts of wheels, in order more suddenly to spring upon passengers.

Belon says, that the young of the Cerastes burst their eggs in the womb of the parent; but Gesner reports, that a noble Venetian kept a female Cerastes, (three feet in length,) during some time, which laid four or five eggs, the size of pigeons' eggs: perhaps, both ways may take place.

It is thought the Cerastes was consecrated by the ancient Egyptians; for Herodotus describes Serpents which answer to the character of this reptile, as being kept in a temple.

So far is abstracted from the successor to BUFFON. I would only add, that as we have seen the *Naja* worshipped in India, so the Cerastes might be worshipped in Egypt, as one symbol of that deity who more immediately presided over death. *Vide* CHERUBIM, Plate iv. No. 9. with its explanation in NERGAL, No. CCXII. and Plate of BAAL-SHALISHA, No. 8.

It is proper now to endeavour to apply this information to a specific object. I have thought the *Shephiphon*, to which the tribe of Dan is compared, Gen. xlix. might be the *Cerastes*: it is so rendered by the Vulgate. I shall, however, abstract the remarks of Michaelis (*Quest.* lxii.) because they manifest the importance of that information on Scripture Natural History, which our present endeavour is directed to promote.

The Arabs name this Serpent *Siff*, [*Siphon*, or *Suphon*,] and that seems not very distant from the Hebrew root of the word *Sififoon*, (or, *Shephiphon*.) This Serpent (or some other, but this most probably,) is called by the Orientals, “the *liar in ambush*,” for so both the LXX. and the Samaritan, who are not in the habit of copying each other, render the text in Genesis: and this appellation well agrees with the manners of the *Cerastes*. Pliny says, that “the *Cerastes* hides its whole body in the sand, leaving only its horns exposed; which attract birds, who suppose them to be grains of barley, till they are undeceived, too late, by the darting of the Serpent upon them.” The Chaldee of Jonathan translates “*heads of Serpents*,” which seems to allude to such a story; and may have been an appellation of the *Cerastes*. Ephraim the Syrian says, there is a kind of Serpent whose head only is seen above the ground. Prosper Alpinus thinks, that only the male has horns.—Bochart thinks that the *Hemorrhoids* also has horns. On this article, we refer to Mr. Bruce, who mentions a *Cerastes* without horns; which conjecture may refer to the *Hemorrhoids*.

As to the effects of the venom of the *Cerastes*, the ancients say, (Nicander, for instance,) that its bite causes but little pain; the wound hardens; blisters filled with a dark matter, rise around it; the upper part of the feet, then the knees, experience a disagreeable weariness:—some add, that violent vertigoes succeed, and a tension in the private parts. Some say, that death follows on the third day; but Nicander says on the ninth.

MICHAELIS finds a difficulty in the mode of attack used by the Hebrew *Shephiphon* on “the heels of a horse, so as to make his rider fall backward.” He supposes that the phrase restrictively means, that the horse throws the rider off behind him: and, says he, “I should be curious to know how that is accomplished. Commentators commonly say, because the horse rears up when wounded in the heel. Perhaps they are bad horsemen. In such circumstances, a horse would kick, rather than rear up on his hind legs; and the rider would be thrown over his neck, rather than over the crupper.” I feel the force of this observation, and cannot but agree to it; and would therefore doubt, whether the word rendered *backward* should be *restrictively* so taken; for instance, suppose the *Cerastes* to bite the horse in his left hind leg, the horse kicking out that leg, and his rider perceiving the cause, would, to avoid the Serpent, throw himself off on the *farther* side of the horse from where the Serpent was. I say, he would throw himself off by the *opposite* side of the horse; which, I think, sufficiently meets the meaning of the Hebrew word; and it makes no difference on this notion, whether the Serpent attacks the front leg or the hind leg; whether the right leg, or the left leg; the rider would certainly avoid *that* side of the horse where the Serpent was, and would throw himself off on that side where he was not. Observe, that the margin, instead of *ipel*, reads *nepel*; which, that it may signify a person’s causing himself to fall, *vide* No. ccviii.

There is another circumstance in which Dan probably resembled the *Cerastes*,—that of feeding full, and then sinking into torpidity. The inducements held out by the spices of the Danites, Judges xvii. 9, 10. are precisely adapted to a tribe of this

character; and the end of this chapter informs us, that they set up the graven image, had their priests, and here they remained, "till the day of the captivity of the land,"—*i. e.* distant from interference with the general affairs of Israel, and determinately *settled*—apart from their brethren. See verses 7. 28.

It remains that we pay some attention to the opinion of Mr. BRUCE, that the Cerastes is, under other names, the Serpent meant by *Thebanus Ophites*, *Ammodytes*, *Torrada Dipsas*; and *Prester*:—for, if this be correct, we must refrain from appropriating these appellations to other Serpents mentioned in Scripture. Mr. BRUCE, however, says, that the Serpents he found among the balsam-trees, were the Cerastes; only some from sex, and some from want of age, had not the horns. We must pause here.—Has the female Cerastes no horns?—This is contradicted by the experience of that noble Venetian, who saw a horned Serpent lay eggs; consequently this was a female. Does the Cerastes acquire horns by age? This may admit of doubt, and it is more than possible that Mr. BRUCE has here, contrary to his design, given evidence of Serpents resembling the Cerastes, but of different kinds, as appears by their wanting the horns. We may, therefore, apply to the Cerastes the history related above by Mr. BRUCE and others, but refer to other species those which have not this conformation:—the *Ammodytes*, the *Hemorrhoids*, the *Dipsas*, &c.

I take this opportunity of adding, that the *Ammodytes* is certainly allied to the Cerastes, by its venom, by its habit of hiding itself in the sand, (whence its name is derived,) the colour of its back being much of a sand colour, varied by large black spots running down it. It resembles the Cerastes, too, by having, at the end of its snout, a little eminence, a sort of horn, about a quarter of an inch in height, moveable backwards, hence it has been called in many countries the "*Horned Asp*," or *Aspic*. Its bite kills in three hours time; though some persons bitten may survive several days.

To this class may also be referred the *Horned Serpents* of the Gold Coast, mentioned by BOSMAN, who saw the skin of one five feet long—which apparently is the species described by Dr. SHAW, *Naturalist's Miscell.* plate 94. BOSMAN says, these Serpents, when filled with prey, though trod on, will hardly awake. This Serpent is found in *Western Africa*, may it not be extant in *Eastern Africa* also? The following is Dr. SHAW's description:

THE HORN-NOSED SNAKE.

Olive-brown Snake, freckled with blackish, with a row of pale dorsal spots surrounded by black, and a flexuous pale fascia on the sides.

If at first glance of most of the Serpent tribe, an involuntary sort of horror and alarm is so often felt by those who are unused to the examination of these animals, how much greater dread must the unexpected view of the species here exhibited be supposed to inflict? when to the general form of the creature is superadded the peculiar fierceness and forbidding torvity with which nature has marked its countenance; distinguished by the very uncommon appearance of two large and sharp-pointed horns, situated, (not, as in the Cerastes, above the eyes,) but on the top of the nose, or anterior part of the upper jaw. They stand nearly upright, but incline slightly backwards, and a little outwards on each side, and are of a substance not absolutely horny, but in some degree flexible. Their shape is somewhat triangular or three-sided. They are about half an inch in length, and at the fore-part of the

base of each stands an upright strong scale, of nearly the same shape with the horn itself, and thus giving the appearance of a much smaller pair of horns. The mouth is furnished with extremely large and long fangs or tubular teeth, situated as in other poisonous Serpents, and capable of inflicting the most severe wounds: two of these fangs appear on each side of the mouth, of which the hinder pair are smaller than the others. The length of this animal is about thirty-five inches. Its colour is a yellowish olive-brown, very thickly sprinkled all over with minute blackish specks. Along the whole length of the back is placed, at considerable distances, a series of yellowish brown spots or marks, each of which is imbedded in a patch of black; and on each side of the body, from head to tail, runs an actutely flexuous or zig-zag line or narrow band, of an ochre-colour. This band is bounded beneath by a much deeper or blacker shade than on the rest of the body. The belly is of a dull ochre colour, or cinereous yellow, freckled with spots and markings of blackish. Besides these there is a number of black spots of different sizes here and there dispersed over the whole Snake. The tail is somewhat thin and short in proportion to the body. The scales of this Snake are harsh and stiff, and are very strongly carinated. The head is covered with small scales, and is on its upper part marked by a very large longitudinal patch of brown, running out into pointed processes at the sides, and bounded by a space of dull lead-colour or cinereous. The shape of the head is broad and flattened; the cheeks are varied with blackish and yellow. This Snake is supposed to be a native of the interior parts of Africa, and was obtained from the master of a Guinea vessel by the Rev. EDWARD JENKINS of Charles-Town, South Carolina, by whom it was lately presented to the British Museum.

THE DRAGON, SEA-SERPENTS, AND FLYING SERPENTS.

IT appears, from several places in the course of our labours, that if we have not annihilated those numerous *Dragons* which occur in our public translation, yet, we have changed them for very different creatures; it is therefore, in some degree, incumbent on us to clear up, so far as our information reaches, the intention of Scripture in using the term *Dragon*: and that we may be certain of our instance, we select that of the great *Red Dragon* of the Revelations, which also is expressly called a *Serpent*. Chap. xii. 3. "Behold, 1. a great, 2. *Red Dragon*—*Δρακων*—having, 3. seven heads, and, 4. ten horns—his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven—the Dragon stood before the woman to devour her child—and the—*Οφις*—*Serpent* cast out of his mouth water as a stream [flood] after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away—by the stream of water." The description and the manners of this Dragon have greatly embarrassed commentators. Dr. Doddridge observes on the passage, "I suppose most of my readers well know, that a Dragon is a vast Serpent of enormous bulk. *Job*, the celebrated African, assured me, that one of them carried away a live cow in its mouth, before his face." But, on this Serpent's ejection of water, the Dr. professes his "ignorance of any fact to illustrate it." We shall observe on the particulars in their order.

1. The dimensions of this Dragon are—"great." We may, or rather we must seek the counterpart of this reptile among Serpents of the largest size, for which we look to that class called by naturalists, *Boa*.

The Dragon is frequently mentioned by ancient naturalists: by Aristotle, *lib.* ix.; Diod. Sicul. *lib.* iii. &c. St. Ambrose, *de Mor. Brach.* p. 63. says, there were

Dragons seen in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, near seventy cubits in length. Alexander and his army saw one of this size in a cave, to their great terror. *Elian, lib. xv. cap. 21.*

Three kinds of Dragons were formerly distinguished in India, 1. Those of the hills and mountains; 2. those of the valleys and caves; 3. those of the fens and marshes. The first is the largest, and covered with scales, as resplendent as burnished gold. They have a kind of beard hanging from their lower jaw, their aspect is frightful, their cry loud and shrill, their crest bright yellow, and they have a protuberance on their heads, the colour of a burning coal. [The reader will recollect what we have related of the *Naja*.] 2. Those of the flat country are of a silver colour, and frequent rivers; to which the former never come. 3. Those of the marshes are black, slow, and have no crest. Strabo says, the painting Serpents with wings is contrary to truth; but other naturalists and travellers, ancient and modern, affirm that some species are winged. [There is much confusion on this subject. Some have mistaken the hood of the *Naja* for wings: others for a crest; others have confounded the innocent lizard-*Dragon* with flying *Serpents*; and therefore report, as Pliny does, that their bite is not venomous, though the creatures be dreadful, which indeed is true of the *Boa*, or proper Dragon.]

The following is mostly translated, or abstracted, from Count DE LA CÉPEDE: The *Boa* is among Serpents, what the lion or the elephant is among quadrupeds; he usually reaches twenty feet in length, and to this species we must refer those described by travellers, as lengthened to forty or fifty feet, as related by Owen, *Nat. Hist. Serp.* p. 15. Kircher mentions a Serpent forty palms in length; and such a Serpent is referred to by Job Ludolph, p. 166. as extant in Ethiopia. St. Jerom, in his life of *Hilarion*, denominates such a Serpent, *draco*, a *Dragon*; saying, they were called *Boas*, because they could swallow (*boves*) beeves, and waste whole provinces. Bosman says, entire men have (frequently) been found in the gullets of Serpents, on the Gold Coast; but, the longest Serpent I have read of, is that mentioned by Livy, and by Pliny, which opposed the Roman army under Regulus, at the river Bagrada in Africa. It devoured several of the soldiers; and so hard were its scales, that they resisted darts and spears: at length it was, as it were, besieged, and the military engines were employed against it, as against a fortified city. It was an hundred and twenty feet in length. Its skin was sent to Rome as a trophy, and was preserved in one of the temples there. Pliny, *lib. xxviii. cap. 14.*—Add the following testimonies:

“At *Batavia* was once taken a Serpent, which had swallowed an entire stag of a large size: one taken at *Banda* had done the same, by a negro woman.” Baldeus, in *Churchill*, vol. iii. p. 732.

“Leguat in his Travels says, there are Serpents fifty feet long in the island of Java. At *Batavia* they still keep the skin of one, which though but twenty feet in length, is said to have swallowed a young maid whole.” Barbot, in *Churchill*, vol. v. p. 560.

“The Serpent *guaka*, or *liboya*, [Boa] is questionless the biggest of all Serpents; some being eighteen, twenty-four, nay, thirty feet long, and of the thickness of a man in the middle. The Portuguese call it *Kobre de Hudo*, or the Roebuck Serpent, because it will swallow a whole roebuck, or other deer; and this is performed by sucking it through the throat, which is pretty narrow, but the belly vastly big. Such an one I saw near *Paraiba*, which was thirty feet long, and as big as a barrel. Some negroes accidentally saw it swallow a roebuck, whereupon thirteen musque-

teers were sent out, who shot it, and cut the roebuck out of its belly. . . It is not venomous. . . This Serpent, being a very devouring creature, greedy of prey, leaps from among the hedges and woods, and standing upright on its tail, wrestles both with men and wild beasts : sometimes it leaps from the trees upon the traveller, whom it fastens on, and beats the breath out of his body with its tail." Nieuhoff, in *Churchill*, vol. ii. p. 13. [Compare the accounts of J. G. Scott, Esq. in the sixth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.]

2. I would call the attention of the reader to the immense Serpent of Regulus ; especially, because there is a strong probability that it might have been in the mind of the writer of the Revelations ; who, as we have seen, describes a power most terribly distressing, under the figure of a Dragon : a *red-Dragon*. On which observe, 1. That the Dragon of antiquity was, no doubt, a prodigious Serpent, such as are described in our extracts above ; for which acceptation Jerom's authority may be at present sufficient. 2. That the colour most conspicuous in the great African *Boa* is RED, which is very handsomely formed into figures, and composes a beautiful maculated *pattern* ; so that the idea of *red* (but not exclusively *blood-red*, in this instance) is drawn from nature ; and perhaps the colours of some individuals of this species may be of a deeper red, than those of others. It is impossible to convey the idea of this redness, and its application to the *Boa*, without colours, but, so far as I recollect, (having formerly inspected the skin delineated in the figure annexed) the redness is rather that of brick than that of blood. Our extracts assert, that this Serpent strikes vehemently with his tail ; which is according to the representation of the Apocalyptic writer.

3. As to the *seven heads* of the great red Dragon, it is well known, that there is a species of snake called *amphisbena*, or double headed—but, the *apparent* heads of this snake are, one at each end of him, and one of these is *apparent* only, not real. There is, indeed, a kind of Serpent which is so often found with *two heads growing from one neck*, that some have fancied it might constitute a species, but we have as yet no authority for this, on which to depend. It follows, that the number of heads is entirely allegorical. I only remark, that this Dragon of the Apocalypse is not absolutely singular, *if* the fable of the Dragon having seven heads, compared with the Dragon having seven tails, were extant anciently.

4. The *ten horns* of this Dragon must be allegorical also.

As to the *flood of water* ejected by this Dragon, there is no known receptacle proper to Serpents for containing such a provision ; and the nearest approaches toward it, which I have been able to find, are the following :

Beverley, in his account of Virginia, mentions, pressing the roof of the mouth of a rattle-snake, in a head recently cut off, and the venom *spurted out like the current of blood in blood-letting*.

Gregory, the friend of Ludolph, says, *Hist. Eth. lib. i. cap. 13*.—"We have in our province a sort Serpent as long as the arm. He is of a glowing red colour, but somewhat brownish ; he hides himself under bushes and grass. This animal has an offensive breath ; and he breathes out [spurts out, ejects, I rather think] a poison so venomous and stinking, that a man or beast within reach of it, is sure to perish quickly by it, unless immediate assistance be given."

"At Mouree, a great Snake being half under a heap of stones, and the other half out, a man cut it in two at the part which was out from among the stones ; and as soon as the heap was removed, the reptile, turning, made up to the man, and *spit such venom into his face as quite blinded him*, and so he continued some days, but at last recovered his sight." Barbot, in *Churchill*, vol. v. p. 213.

The following additional authority is from Lichtenstein's *Travels in Southern Africa*, p. 96. *Lond.* 1812. "The heat of the day brought out a great many Snakes; we killed two of very venomous kinds, one the Horned Snake, as it is called (*Coluber Cerastes*) the poison of which is very much sought after by the Bosjesmans for poisoning their arrows. The other was a very rare sort of Serpent, called here *Spugslang* (the *spurting* Snake.) It is from three to four feet long, of a black colour, and has the singular property, according to the assertion of the colonists, that when attacked it will *spurt* out its venom, and that it knows how to give it such a direction as to hit the eyes of the person attacking him. This is followed by violent pain and so strong an inflammation, that it will occasion the entire loss of sight. To wash the eyes immediately with warm milk is recommended as the best remedy in such a case. The bite of this Serpent is extremely dangerous. It is probably the same that is mentioned by the Capuchin Antonio Zucchelli, in the account of his mission to Congo [published at Venice, in 1711.] where it is said that it spurts its venom from its own eyes into the eyes of the person who attacks it; and that the milk of a woman is the only thing that can prevent total blindness from ensuing." The reader will easily believe that the venom of this Serpent does not issue *from its eyes*.

These histories are remarkable, because the venom of poisonous Serpents is usually passed by a perforation in their cheek-teeth, or fangs; this accompanies the act of biting: and it does not appear that Barbot's man was bit. Moreover, whether the venom spurted by this Serpent was poisonous does not appear, nor what effect it had, or might have had, on parts not so tender as the eye. Nevertheless, we learn from these instances, that Serpents have a power of ejecting from their mouth a quantity of fluid, of an injurious nature; and a quantity of such fluid, proportionate to the immense size of the Dragon, is in the Revelations called a *stream*, which, happily for the woman at whom it was aimed, was absorbed by the opening earth.

Having thus admitted the real Dragon of Scripture to its proper place, and proved not only the existence, but the manners of this reptile, in conformity to Scripture accounts, it may not be amiss to consider, whether he does not pretty closely represent the Hebrew *nachash*; which, perhaps, is sometimes taken *generically* for all the Serpent tribes; and sometimes for the largest kind, "the Serpent," or Dragon, by eminence. Of the first acceptation of the word *nachash*, we have an instance, Jer. viii. 17. where we read of Serpents—*nachashim*, which is explained by *Tjephkonim*, hereby determining what kind of *nachashim* should be selected as most fatal. The second acceptation of this word is not uncommon; and PARKHURST assimilates it to the *Dragon* of the Greeks.

But we ought to observe the application of this word (*nachash*) to a *Sea-Serpent*, also; although it will oblige us to confess the want of complete information.—Are there several kinds of Sea-Serpents? if so, what are their differences? These questions I have not been so happy as to answer to my own satisfaction; but, observe, 1. That most Serpents are *amphibious*, and take to the water readily. 2. That the great *Boa* is not afraid even of wide rivers, and high waves: he may be destroyed by fire, but water he does not fear. Let us combine our evidence on this difficult article.

There seems to be no doubt that one kind of large Serpent ventures a considerable distance out to sea; this appears to be a land Serpent, equally as a water-Serpent; but authors mention proper water-Serpents, seen too far out at sea to be supposed

supposed natives of the land : these are true *Hydras* ; but their varieties, colours, manners, and other particularities, are not, I believe, well understood. The following histories seem rather to belong to *amphibious* Serpents :

“ Serpents are very common all over the isle of Ceylon: *the SEA-SERPENTS are sometimes eight, nine, or ten yards long.* The most dangerous Serpents are the *Cobras di Capellas*. The Malabars call the Serpents *Pambo* and *Naga*, and give their cattle and children their names ; nay, they feed them because they should do them no harm.” Baldeus, in *Churchill*, vol. iii. p. 731.

“ Peter van Coerden, admiral of the Dutch fleet in the East Indies, says, that while he was at anchor on the coast of Mozambic, a boy who was washing himself by the ship's side was seized by the middle by a Serpent of enormous size, that dragged him under water at once in the sight of the whole fleet.” Harris, *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 475.

“ P. van den Broek says, that at Golconda there are Serpents of prodigious size, the bite of which is instantly mortal ; and observes, farther, that *whenever these creatures are seen at sea*, it is a certain sign of their being near the Indian Coast.”

“ Admiral Verhoven tells a singular story of a sea-Serpent in the Streights of *Sincapoua*. A seaman washing himself by the ship's side, was seized by one of these creatures ; on which he roared so loud, that one of his companions threw him a rope, and pulled him into the ship : but the Serpent had torn such a piece out of his side, that he died immediately. The Serpent continued about the ship, till at last it was taken, *and was the largest they had ever seen.* On opening its belly, they found therein the piece of flesh which he had torn from the sailor, and which they buried with him.” Harris, *Ib. Adm. Verhoven's Voyage*, p. 92.

In the *Literary Panorama*, vol. iii. p. 349. is a history reported by Dr. Meck of Calicut, July 7, 1807. of a bite by a Sea Snake proving mortal. The subject was a fisherman, a stout young man, who on hauling his net, found a common sea Snake entangled in it. He seized it by the back to disengage it from the net, conceiving it to be perfectly harmless ; it instantly bit him on the point of the middle finger of the right hand ; he threw the Snake into the sea, and thought nothing of the bite. On coming home he complained of giddiness, with a weakness in the loins and lower extremities, and was obliged to be supported by his comrades. Very great pain followed in the wounded finger, and along the right arm, the extremities were siezed with violent spasms ; giddiness, nausea, vomiting, dimness of sight ensued : he became *comatose*, suffered strong convulsions, and in that state died, about twenty-four hours after having been bitten. On examining the body scarcely any discernible symptoms appeared, except an extraordinary rigidity of the whole corpse.

Another case occurred a few days afterwards, but was met by immediate assistance, scarification, and solution of the lunar caustic, externally, and spirit of *ammonia* internally : the patient did well.

It is not, however, probable, that to Serpents of such minor dimensions the prophet Amos alludes when he says, ix. 3. “ Though they hide in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the Serpent—*nachash*, and he shall bite them.” The reference to the “ bottom of the sea,” is much better explained by other instances, lately placed beyond all doubt. The first writer who described a sea animal of vast length, which he called a Serpent, was Egede, a Greenland missionary, who says that “ July 6, 1734. a large and frightful sea-monster raised itself so high out of the water, that its head reached above the main-top-mast of the ship : that it had a long sharp snout, broad paws, and spouted water like a whale ; that

the body seemed to be covered with scales; the skin was uneven and wrinkled, and the lower part was formed like a Snake. The body was about the size of a hog's-head, variegated like tortoise-shell. This account was repeated with additions by Pontoppidan, Bishop of Bergen, in Norway, who observes, that the fishermen on the coast were no less surprized at the unbelieving questions asked them on this subject, than they would have been had those questions referred to the existence of eels and cod fish. It has been confirmed in every particular within these few years, by the wreck of a specimen that was driven on shore by a tempest, on one of the Orkney Islands; of which an account was read to the Wernerian Society of Natural History, at Edinburgh. [*Lit. Pan.* Jan. 1809. p. 749.] The bulk measured fifty-five feet in length; but the tail had been broken off by dashing among the rocks: the body was about the thickness of a small horse: the head was not larger than that of a seal: it had two spiracles or blow holes. From the back hung down like a mane, a number of filaments eighteen inches long. On each side of the body were three large fins, shaped like paws, and jointed: the first pair was $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long; the joint at 4 feet distance from the body. A few of the vertebræ, and the bones of one paw, were all that could be preserved.

It is evident, that a creature of this description may pass for a sea-*Nachash*, and sufficiently vindicates the prophet; but, if any credit be due to the observations, verified on oath, of American observers, a specimen more precisely of the Serpent kind was seen on several days in August 1817, in the harbour of Gloucester, New England. Being informed, of this, the Linnaean Society of New England instituted a Committee for the purpose of enquiry, which published a Report of particulars, that was reprinted in London, 1818. This Serpent was never seen at full length; but was variously estimated, from fifty feet long to a hundred. His colour was very dark, or black on the back, which was formed into bunches; whitish under the belly. His motion was vertical, like the caterpillar. He swam at pleasure with great rapidity. He could coil himself into a small compass. His tongue is forked, and he has teeth: but, whether he has venom or venomous fangs, is uncertain. The existence of these Serpents justifies our belief in the existence of others, possessing, also, various powers, they justify the allusion of the prophet, and above all they justify the reference made by the Great Creator to his universal dominion over the land, the sea, heaven, earth, and hell, which is the object of the passage referred to.

The reader will connect with this, the recollection of another *Nachash* placed in the heavens; for Job expresses himself, xxvi. 13. "By his spirit he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the *crooked Serpent*." This *crooked Serpent*, whatever constellation it be, is clearly referred to the heavens; and whether, as some have supposed, it is a constellation around the north pole, or, as others think, the milky way, the tortuous course of which not unaptly represents the windings of a Serpent's form and track, must rather be queried than discussed in this place.

It might be hinted farther, that since it was a *Nachash* which tempted Eve, not a *Peten*, nor a *Typhon*, it is of consequence to notice the application of this word; lest, peradventure, that action should be attributed to a creature of a kind totally different from that designed by the sacred writer; which error could only be the occasion of others, perhaps not equally innoxious. [Comp. No. DXXXIX.]

The present opportunity may suggest a thought or two, on the existence of flying Serpents: as Scripture is usually understood to mention them.

MICHAELIS says, (*Quest. lxxxiii.*) speaking of such Serpents, "Although modern naturalists have not communicated any satisfactory information respecting *flying* Serpents, yet they are so often spoken of by the ancient writers of nations near to the equator, who may be better acquainted with the nature of Serpents than we are, that I boldly recommend farther enquiries to travellers, respecting the existence of flying Serpents. If there be any, and if they have been seen by witnesses deserving of credit, I beg every information, name, &c." This enquiry is interesting; and though we are unable to affirm, that Serpents, flying by means of wings, inhabit those countries to which Scripture more particularly refers, yet if they exist *now* in any country, it will be so much evidence of the possibility, that they formerly might exist elsewhere.

Barbot, after mentioning Serpents on the Coast of Guinea thirty feet long, as the blacks assured him, says, "They also told me, there are *winged Serpents* or *Dragons*, having a forked tail, and a prodigious wide mouth, full of sharp teeth: extremely mischievous to mankind, more particularly to small children. If we may credit this account of the blacks, these are of the same sort of winged Serpents, which some authors assure us, are to be found in Abyssinia, being very great enemies to the elephants. Barbot, in *Churchill*, vol. v. p. 213.

"In the woods of Java are certain flying snakes, or rather drakes, [*dracos*] they have four legs, a long tail, and their skin speckled with many spots; their wings are not unlike those of a bat, which they move in flying, but otherwise keep them almost unperceived close to the body. They fly nimbly, but cannot hold it long, so that they fly from tree to tree, at about twenty or thirty paces distance. On the outside of the throat are two bladders, which being extended when they fly, serve them instead of a sail. They feed on flies and other insects. The Javanese do not in the least account them poisonous, but handle them just like common snakes, without the least danger." Nieuhoff, in *Churchill*, vol. ii. p. 296. [These are flying lizards, not serpents.]

NIEBUHR says, "There are at Bazra a sort of Serpents called *heie sursurie*, or *heie thiâre*. They commonly keep on the date-trees; and as it would be troublesome to them to come down a high tree, and creep up another, they hang by the tail to a branch of one tree, and by swinging that about, take advantage of its motion to leap to a second. These the modern Arabs call *flying Serpents*,—*heie thiâre*. I do not know whether any of the ancient Arabs saw any other kind of flying Serpent. Some Europeans from Bombay assured me, that they had seen Serpents with two heads; and others with two feet." [which is certainly true.] Then he alludes to *Anson's Voyage* in farther proof.

The words in Anson's Voyage are, "The Spaniards too, *informed us*, that there was often found in the woods a most mischievous Serpent, called the *flying snake*; which, *they said, darted itself* from the boughs of trees, on either man or beast that came within its reach, and whose sting *they believed* to be inevitable death." P. 308. 8vo. The reader will observe, this is *report*.

To conclude, by returning to the *Dragon*—

The following is the latest, and most distinct, account of one of these large Serpents, which I have been able to procure: no apology, certainly, is necessary for alluding to an inhabitant of South America (I have been extremely jealous on such *excursions*.)—It combines several particulars which coincide with our purpose—though it differs from the *red Dragon* of Asia or Africa.

“ We had not gone above twenty yards through mud and water, the negro looking every way with an uncommon degree of vivacity and attention; when starting behind me, he called out, “ *Me see Snakee!*” and in effect there lay the animal, rolled up under the falling leaves and rubbish of the trees; and so well covered, that it was some time before I distinctly perceived the head of this monster, distant from me not above sixteen feet, moving its forked tongue, while its eyes, from their uncommon brightness, appeared to emit sparks of fire. I now, resting my piece upon a branch, for the purpose of taking a surer aim, fired; but missing the head, the ball went through the body, when the animal struck round, and with such astonishing force as to cut away all the underwood around him with the facility of a scythe mowing grass; and by flouncing his tail, caused the mud and dirt to fly over our heads to a considerable distance. Of this proceeding however we were not torpid spectators, but took to our heels, and crowded into the canoe. . . . I now found the Snake a little removed from his former station, but very quiet, with his head as before, lying out among the fallen leaves, rotten bark, and old moss. I fired at it immediately, but with no better success than the other time: and now, being but slightly wounded, he sent up such a cloud of dust and dirt, as I never saw but in a whirlwind, and made us once more retreat. . . . Having once more discovered the Snake, we discharged both our pieces at once, and with this good effect, that he was now by one of us shot through the head. David, who was made completely happy by this successful conclusion, ran leaping with joy, and lost no time in bringing the boat-rope, in order to drag him down to the canoe; but this again proved not a very easy undertaking, since the creature, notwithstanding its being mortally wounded, continued to wreath and twist about, in such a manner as rendered it dangerous for any person to approach him. The negro, however, having made a running noose on the rope, after some fruitless attempts to make an approach, threw it over his head with much dexterity; and now, all taking hold of the rope, we dragged him to the beach, and tied him to the stern of the canoe, to take him in tow. Being still alive, he kept swimming like an eel; and I having no relish for such a ship-mate on board, whose length (notwithstanding to my astonishment, all the negroes declared it to be but a young one come to about half its growth) I found upon measuring it to be twenty-two feet and some inches; and its thickness about that of my black boy Quaco, who might then be about twelve years old, and round whose waist I have since measured the creature’s skin. . . .

“ The negro David having climbed up a tree with the end of the rope, let it down over a strong forked bough, and the other negroes hoisted up the Snake, and suspended him from the tree. This done, David, with a sharp knife between his teeth, now left the tree, and clung fast upon the monster, which was still twisting, and began his operations by ripping it up, and stripping down the skin as he descended. Though I perceived that the animal was no longer able to do him any injury, I confess I could not without emotion see a man stark naked, black and bloody, clinging with arms and legs round the slimy and yet living monster. This labour, however, was not without its use, since he not only dexterously finished the operation, but provided me, besides the skin, with above four gallons of fine clarified fat, or rather oil, though there was wasted perhaps as much more. When I signified my surprize to see the Snake still living, after he was deprived of his intestines and skin, Caramaco, the old negro, whether from experience or tradition, assured me he would not die till after sun-set.

"This wonderful creature in the colony of Surinam is called *Aboma*. Its length when full grown, is said to be sometimes forty feet, and more than four feet its circumference; its colour is a greenish black on the back; a fine brownish yellow on the sides, and a dirty white under the belly: the back and sides being spotted with irregular black rings, with a pure white in the middle. Its head is broad and flat, small in proportion to the body, with a large mouth, and a double row of teeth: it has two bright prominent eyes; is covered all over with scales, some about the size of a shilling; and under the body, near the tail, armed with two strong claws like cock-spurs, to help it in seizing its prey. It is an amphibious animal, that is, delights in low and marshy places, where it lies coiled up like a rope, and concealed under moss, rotten timber, and dried leaves, to seize its prey by surprise, which from its immense bulk it is not active enough to pursue. When hungry, it will devour any animal that comes within its reach, and is indifferent whether it be a sloth, a wild boar, a stag, or even a tiger; round which having twisted itself by the help of its claws, so that the creature cannot escape, it breaks, by an irresistible force, every bone in the animal's body, which it then covers over with a kind of lime or slaver from its mouth, to make it slide; and at last gradually sucks it in, till it disappears: after this, the *Aboma* cannot shift its situation, on account of the great knob or knot which the swallowed prey occasions in that part of the body where it rests till it is digested; for till then it would hinder the Snake from sliding along the ground. During that time the *Aboma* wants no other subsistence. I have been told of negroes being devoured by this animal, and am disposed to credit the account; for should they chance to come within its reach when hungry, it would as certainly seize them as any other animal. The bite of this Snake is said not to be venomous; no do I believe it bites at all from any other impulse than hunger." STEDMAN'S *Expedition to Surinam*, vol. i. p. 170.

Admitting that the manners and history of the Boa were known in antiquity, they may furnish one reason why a persecuting power is denoted by a great red Dragon; because, when it had once involved its object in its folds, no hope of escape remained. And this seems to have been a popular comparison among the primitive Christians; for, clearly, to such a creature Hermas alludes in his fourth Vision.—"I saw a dust rise up to heaven, and began to say to myself, *Is there a drove of cattle coming that raises such a dust!*" . . . I saw the dust rise more and more, insomuch that I began to suspect that there was something supernatural in it. And behold I saw a great Beast, as it were a Whale; and fiery locusts came out of his mouth. The length of the beast was about a hundred feet, and he had a head like an earthen jar. . . . He came on in such a manner, as if he could at one gulp have swallowed a city. I came near to it; and the beast extended its whole bulk on the ground; and put forth nothing but its tongue, nor once moved itself, till I had quite passed by it. It had on its head four colours; first *black*, then a *red* and *bloody colour*, then a *golden*, then a *white*." This is explained as being "*a figure of the tryal that is about to come*." A Whale on the high road kicking up such a dust, would be wonderful indeed, and *absolutely* UNNATURAL: but a Dragon would be within the compass of nature and possibility. The Vision contributes illustration on the great red Dragon of the Apocalypse.

Our Plate of the Boa shews the African species, with its maculated pattern; but, as no estimate could be formed of the size of this creature from that Plate, we have copied Stedman's Plate of the *Aboma*, which gives dimensions by its relative proportions to the human figures. The reader will recollect that this specimen is not come to more than half its growth.

TANNIM.

EVEN THE SEA-MONSTERS DRAW OUT THE BREAST:
THEY GIVE SUCK TO THEIR YOUNG ONES.

Lamentations iv. 3.

WE have had repeated occasions of wishing for better acquaintance with the Natural History of the East; especially, among interpreters whose public translations are the voice of authority. Among other instances we notice that of rendering *Tahash*, Numb. iv. 10. Ezek. xvi. 10. *et al.* by the *Badger*, which should rather be a kind of Seal; and that of rendering *Tannin*, תַּנִּין, in the passage under consideration, “SEA-MONSTERS, which draw out the breast, and give suck.” Philosophy knows nothing of such *monsters*; whatever is capable of posterity, producing young to suckle, is no *monster*. We know that this word *Tannin*, is supposed by those who have endeavoured to understand the Natural History of the Bible, to denote a Whale, or the Whale kind: but, it were desirable rather to restrain it to the *Amphibia*, animals which haunt the shores, as well as the open waters. To justify this idea, it is proper to examine the descriptions of the *Tannin* in Scripture.

Tannin are frequently associated with the Crocodile, (a creature completely amphibious): taking the Leviathan for that creature, as Psalm lxxiv. 13. “Thou brakest the heads of the [*Tanninim*] dragons in the waters; thou brakest the heads of *Leviathan* in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.” Also Isaiah xxvii. 1. “The Lord shall punish Leviathan, and he shall slay the [*Tannin*] dragon that is in the sea.” As the *Tannin* in these passages is associated with Leviathan, that it cannot be Leviathan himself, is clear.

Commentators who suppose that *Tannin* means a Whale, find insuperable difficulties in the expressions of the prophet Malachi, i. 3. “I disliked Esau, and gave his mountains to solitude, and his inheritance to the *Tannin* [dragons, Eng. Tr.] of the wilderness.” Now, to say nothing of the scarcity of whales in the Red Sea, on which side only they could approach the inheritance of Edom,—how can whales come inland to possess these inheritances, since whales are not *amphibious*, but always remain in the deep?

The LXX. render this word, Lam. iv. 3. by *dragons*; the Vulgate by *lamia*; but neither dragons, *i. e.* serpents, nor lamia, have breasts, or suckle their young. The LXX. read sometimes *Εχιναι*, *Hedge-hogs*, sometimes *Συενες*; the Vulgate also reads “*Sirens* in the houses of pleasure,” Isaiah xiii. 22. To say the least, then, this word *Tannin* (with its relatives) has been a source of perplexity to translators, as well ancient as modern.

But, what are the characteristics of the *Tannin* in Scripture?

1. It is evidently amphibious; as appears from passages already adduced.——
2. It suckles its young; and *draws out* the breast: 3. It has the power of exerting its voice very mournfully, as appears, Micah i. 8. “I will make a *wailing* like the “dragons” [*Tannin*].—When do dragons, *i. e.* serpents, *wail*?—when do they mourn and *lament*?” 4. It has also the power of holding its breath a while—of drawing in vehemently a quantity of breath, and, consequently of emitting it with violence—of *panting*, as Jer. xiv. 6. “The wild asses stand on the high places: they puff for breath, (or puff out breath) like *Tannin* [dragons] their eyes fail because there is no grass.” These properties mark the *Tannin*.

I propose to submit rather a class of animals than any distinct species, because, it is not altogether certain how many of those facts which are known to us, were known in Syria; nor what kinds, of the same class of creatures, were most likely to furnish subjects of comparison to writers in Judea, &c. Beside which, it is presumed, that allowances must be made for the different countries to which these *Tannin* are referred: as Egypt, Babylon, &c. the species of which might differ from each other, perhaps, considerably.

We may consider the Seal, and its relatives, as answering in many particulars to the *Tannin*:

THE SEAL, *Fig. A. on the Plate.*

The vulgar name is Sea-Calf; and on that account the male is called the bull, the female the cow. The Latin name is *Phoca*: Dr. Charlton derives this word *φωκη* from *βοκη*, *boatu*, denoting a hoarse voice—a lowing—which it makes. *An. Pisc.* p. 48. The lodgments of the Seal are hollow caves in rocks, or caverns near the sea, out of the reach of the tide: in summer they come out of the water, to bask, or sleep, in the sun, on the top of large stones, or shivers of rocks, and that is the opportunity taken to shoot them: if they chance to escape, they hasten toward their proper element, the sea, flinging dirt and stones behind them, as they scramble along; at the same time *expressing their fears by piteous moans*: but if they happen to be overtaken, they make a vigorous defence with their feet, and teeth, till they are killed.

The flesh of these animals formerly found a place at the tables of the great; as appears from the bill of fare of that vast feast which Archbishop Nevill gave, in the reign of Edward IV. *Vide Leland's Collectanea.*

Some are as large as a cow; from that downwards to a small calf. They feed on fish; are very swift in their proper depth of water, and dive like a shot. The Seal brings her young about the beginning of autumn. Our fishermen have seen two SUCKING THEIR DAM AT THE SAME TIME, AS SHE STOOD IN THE SEA *in a perpendicular position*. The young are at first white, and woolly. Seals swim with their heads above water; *cannot continue long under water*; ARE THEREFORE VERY FREQUENTLY OBLIGED TO RISE TO TAKE BREATH; and often float on the waves.

They swim with vast strength and swiftness; frolic greatly in their element, and will sport without fear about ships and boats; on a ship's approaching the isle of *Lobos*, near the river *Plata*, it is met by shoals of Seals, which will hang by their fore feet to the sides of the vessel, staring at the crew: then drop off, and pass and repass the vessel for a considerable time. (Mauratori, *Hist. Paraguay*, 229); which may have given rise to the fable of *sea-nymphs* and SIRENS.

Their docility is very great, and their nature gentle; there is an instance of one which was so far tamed as to answer to the call of its keeper, crawl out of its tub at command, stretch at full length, and return to the water when directed; and extend its neck to kiss its master as often, and as long, as required. Dr. Parsons, *Phil. Trans.* vol. xlvii. p. 113. Seals are often eat by voyagers. Seals are found in the Caspian Sea; also in the Mediterranean; eight or nine feet long; described by Aristotle, *Hist. Anim. lib. ii. cap. 1.*

These extracts are from Mr. PENNANT; principally from his *British Zoology*. That writer affords various other points of remark, all referring to Seals, though not to the same species: some are from his *Arctic Zoology*, also.

“The skins of the largest Seals are cut into soles for shoes. The women make their summer boots of the undressed skins; and wear them with the hair outermost, p. 157. The skins of the young are sometimes used to lie on, p. 159. It bites hard; barks, and *whines*: will weep on being surprized by the hunter. The skins of the young form the most elegant dresses for the women, p. 162. has one young, rarely two, *which it SUCKLES on fragments of ice*, far from land. The skin made into boots, is excellent for keeping out water, p. 164. They live chiefly on rocky shores, or lofty rocks in the sea, *and by their dreadful ROARING are of use in foggy weather to warn navigators*, p. 173. Some kinds live in families; each male has from eight to fifty females, whom he guards with the jealousy of an eastern monarch; a family sometimes amounts to 120, including the young. *The males are very fond of their young*; in case a young one is carried off, he melts into the deepest affliction, and shews all signs of deep concern. The female when with its young is verry fierce; and *excessively fond of it*. One of Lord Anson’s sailors was killed by the enraged dam of a whelp, which he had robbed her of. The males are very lethargic, fond of wallowing in miry places, lie and *grunt* like swine; but sometimes *SNORT like horses in full vigour*. Some are 26 feet in length; have a fierce look; the old ones *snort and roar like enraged bulls*; the females make a noise like calves; the young bleat like lambs. A female that has young, sometimes instead of flying the field, *will, in the most vehement rage, fly at the Greenlander who attacks it*.” So far Mr. PENNANT.

In tracing the connections of the Seal kind, with those animals to which it is allied by manners, &c. we meet with the Morse, the Walrus, and the Manati; but as it is not probable that the first two were known in Judea, I shall only offer a few hints on the MANATI; which is more likely to be referred to in Scripture than others, because it inhabits the Indian Ocean.

THE MANATI: *the upper Figure on the Plate.*

It has no voice; but *makes a noise by hard breathing like the snorting of a horse*; brings forth its young in the water; SUCKLES them there; has a broad horizontal tail, without any rudiments of hind feet; consequently it never goes ashore, or climbs rocks, &c. being incapable of walking. They frequent the edges of the shores; live in families; a male, a female, a half grown one, and a very small one. The females oblige the young to swim before them, while the other old ones surround, and, as it were, guard them on all sides. The affection between the male and female is very great; for if she is attacked he will defend her to the utmost; and if she is killed, will follow her corpse to the very shore, and swim for some days near the place where it has been landed. Some are 28 feet long; weigh 8,000 lbs. If a female, which has a young one, is struck, she *takes it under her fins, or feet, and shews, even in extremity, the greatest affection for her offspring*; which makes an equal return, never forsaking its captured parent.

I think we have now adduced a class of creatures, which may justly claim preference over the “*Sea Monsters*” of our translation: they are 1. *amphibious*; 2. affectionate to their progeny; 3. have voices; and 4. their breathing is like the snorting of a horse, &c. We know, also, that they are found in the Mediterranean, consequently on the coast of Judea; in the Red Sea, [*Vide* No. ccccxii.] consequently on the coast of Edom; in the Indian Ocean, consequently they might ascend the rivers (as the Tigris, the Euphrates, &c.) which issue therein; and, in short, they

they appear, under one species or other, to be capable of fulfilling all the characters attributed to the *Tannin*.

The reader will recollect the difficulty of determining the species: the present sketch, therefore, merely attempts to evince the propriety of referring the *Tannin* to the class of *Amphibia*.

But it may be observed farther, 1. that the Leviathan is said to be given for meat to the people; so these *Tannin*, Amphibia, are mostly eatable, and some are excellent eating.

2. The word שממה, *Shememah*, rendered "in solitude," Mal. i. 3. applied to the mountains of Edom, to establish the usual parallelism, should be a creature of some kind.—The word שממית, *Shememith*, Prov. xxx. 26. differs so little, that I think it may be taken as equivalent; it signifies, says our translation—a *Spider*,—a *Lizard*, says Bochart, *Works*, vol. ii. p. 183. Without scrupulously examining this, observe how the sentiment of the prophet stands, under this rendering. "But I disliked Esau, and placed on his elevated places, his mountains and hills, (*i. e.* they were overrun with) Spiders—or Lizards; and his heritages, his levels, his shores, and strands, they were occupied by amphibious animals, which dwell far from man, in wastes, and deserts; insomuch that Edom acknowledges, we are impoverished," &c. Does not this strengthen the energy and poetry of the passage?

3. Some of these *Amphibia* live wholly on grass, *i. e.* vegetables growing in or near the sea; which furnishes one similarity between them and wild asses.

4. It may be guessed that the *Sirens* of the LXX. and of Jerom, refer to some animal of this tribe; and so perhaps their *Lamia*: for these creatures so far resemble the human species, as 1. to have a kind of hands, *i. e.* not fins, but fingers, with nails on them; 2. the females have breasts, and suckle their young; 3. their union is *more humano*.

Nor can this subject close, without endeavouring to shew what might induce the LXX. Vulgate, &c. to adopt their renderings *Sirens* and *Lamia*: names yet given to the Manati. So we read in Barbot's Voyage to Congo, [*Churchill*, vol. v. p. 517.] of "fish by the inhabitants called *Ambisangalo*, and *Pessengoni*; by the Portuguese, *Peixe Molher*, or WOMAN-FISH; by the French SYRLNE; and by the English MERMAID; they have short arms, hands, long fingers, which they cannot close together, because of a skin growing between them, as in the feet of ducks and geese, [*Vide cccxcii.*] *The females have two strutting breasts*: their flesh tastes like pork. Merolla says, the river Zaro has plenty of these monstrous fishes, or MERMAIDS, *resembling a woman upwards*, but the lower parts like a fish: when hurt they are said to give *a cry like the human voice*." We have only to imagine that the same circumstances were reported in the same manner anciently, as in later times, to see the reason of these names being adopted by the ancient translators; who appear to have been misled not so much as some not adequately informed have supposed: and this, although we admit, that their acquaintance with the animals really meant in Scripture was imperfect.

What has been said may be taken as presenting a general idea, sufficiently correct, of the class of creatures called TANNIM; yet the subject may justify a few hints in addition. *First*, respecting the word itself: it appears under different forms; 1. TANNUTH, *feminine*, Mal. i. 3.—2. TANNIM, *masculine*, *freq.* sometimes perhaps singular; elsewhere dual, or plural. To the same root is usually referred 3. TANNIN, Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12. And 4. TANNININ, which probably, is the plural of the former, Exod. xii. 12. Lam. iv. 3.

NAT. HIST.

P

It is barely possible to reduce this word, in search of its root, to greater simplicity ; but, if the word *Leriatan*, in which *tan* is one of the compounds, were separated into its parts, *Leri* and *than*, or *tan*, they might readily be taken to signify —*Leri*, “the jointed”—RIVETTED; and *tan*, “the drawn-out—elongated—lengthened:—that is to say, “the long animal with rivetted scales;” a very expressive name, comprising an accurate description of the Crocodile. The same, I guess, is the import of *tan* in *tanch*, used as a verb, Judges v. 11. “Instead of the noise of the archers at the places of drawing water, there shall they—who draw water—rehearse (יָתַן ITANU) draw out, PROLONG mutual discourse, conversation, remarks, on the righteous acts of the Lord.”—They shall be so full of their subject—that they shall extend their reciprocal communications to a great length. So Judges xi. 40. “The daughters of Israel went yearly, four days in a year, (לִתְנֻתִּי LETANUTH) to draw out, to PROLONG—conversation, kindness, visits, &c. “with the daughter of Jephthah.”

Transferring this idea to animals, it describes a class of creatures of *lengthened* form, noticeably *taper, drawn out*. Such are the figures on our Plate; all of them are more or less round and full in front, but are *drawn out, slender* behind. Even *whales*, by which our translators sometimes render *tannim*, are *drawn out* towards the tail, though of great breadth at the head and shoulders.

These principles, if just, exclude that class of *Amphibia* which is distinguished by having short bodies; as frogs, toads, turtles, tortoises, &c.: for though some of these have an appendage which forms a tail, yet they are not properly “*lengthened-out* animals:” their shells, or bodies, being round, not oblong, or protracted; and I think the general usage of this word in Scripture will justify the inference drawn above, from the passages which have come under our consideration.

Nor can we admit that *dragons, i. e.* great serpents, are described by this word; but if the *dragon* was, as some believe, a notion originally derived from the Crocodile, and if it be also ancient, then the word “dragon” may be more nearly allied to the import of the word *tan*, than the usual acceptation of it might lead us to believe.

I cannot quit this subject without wishing for some decisive character, whereby to direct the application of these words to different creatures, though of the same class: does *tannin* signify precisely the same creature as *tannum* and *tannuth*? I should think not; but to ascertain the distinction, and by what marks of dissimilarity to separate them, requires farther information.

We have this word, *tanninim*, with the epithet (גְּדֻלִּים GEDULIM) *great*, Gen. i. 21. “God created *great* whales,” Eng. Tr. And here it may approach nearer to the signification of a Whale, or very large amphibious animal *using the sea*: [for some *Amphibia* inhabit fresh water, as rivers, lakes, ponds, &c.] and possibly *tannim* may be composed of *tan*, a LONG creature, and יָם, IM, the sea, *i. e.* “a long-shaped sea and land animal.” But were this admitted, will it justify the accepting of *tannin*, or *tannuth*, as *Amphibia* inhabiting fresh waters, whether ponds or streams, while *tannim* are salt water *Amphibia*?

On the whole, *Tannin* may include the class of Lizards, from the *efft* or *water-newt*, to the *Crocodile*, provided they be amphibious; also, the Seal, the Manati, the Morse, &c. and even the Whale, if he came on shore; but, as whales remain constantly in the deep, they seem to be more correctly referred to the class of fishes. Moreover, whether the East had any knowledge of the whale kinds, strictly so called, deserves enquiry, before it be admitted as certain.

N. B. Perhaps the sense of *smoke*, which the Chaldee expresses by a word from the same root, may be derived from the idea of a vapour, &c. *lengthened—drawn out* as smoke appears, when rising from the fuel.

The following extracts from Dr. PARSONS'S Dissertation on the Class of the *Phocæ Marina*, may contribute to direct our opinion on the nature of these amphibious animals. *Phil. Trans.* Vol. xlvii. No. 15.

“All the species of *Phocæ*, this being the generical name, have among them a very great likeness to each other, in the shape, not only of their heads, but also of their bodies and extremities. They are webbed nearly alike, are alike reptile, viviparous, bringing forth, suckling, and supporting their young alike; and, in fine, all have the same title to these appellations, *Phocæ*, *Vitulus Marinus*, *Sea-Cow*, *Sea-Lion*, &c.

“The *Manati* is also a *Phoca*, and is one of those species which grow to a prodigious size. The great skin, in the Museum, is that of a *Manati*; which seems to me to agree with the other species of this family, in every essential part, except broad bifid webs, instead of webbed feet; and Peter Martyr gives an account of one of these, which was thirty-five feet long, and twelve thick.—This author describes the *Manati*, very fully; and then tells us this remarkable story:

“A governor, in the province of Nicaragua, had a young *Manati*, which was brought to him, to be put into the lake Guanaibo, which was near his house; wherein he was kept for the space of twenty-six years; and was usually fed with bread, and such-like fragments of victuals, as people often feed fish with in a fish-pond. He became so familiar, by being daily visited and fed by the family, that he was said to excel even the dolphins, so much celebrated by the ancients for their docility and tameness. The domestics of this governor named him *Matto*; and at whatsoever time of the day they called him by that name, he came out of the lake, took victuals out of their hands, crawled up to the house to feed, and played with the servants and children; and sometimes ten persons together would mount upon his back, whom he carried with great ease and safety cross the lake.”

“There are some species of this genus of the *Phoca*, which never grow to above a foot long; and there are of all sizes at full growth from these to the *Manati* and *Walrus*. The skins of every species have short hair, and their colours are variegated from the straw-colour and yellow to the deepest brown and black. They are sometimes regularly brindled, sometimes curiously spotted; sometimes in brown clouds upon a yellow ground, like that of a pied horse; and sometimes the brown or black occupies the greater part of the skin, having less of the yellow; and, in short, even those of the same species are as variously spotted or clouded as the hounds in the same pack; and it is probable, that, in unfrequented islands and countries, other species of this tribe are yet undiscovered.”

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

A. The Seal, from PENNANT, of the kind common on the British shores. The reader will observe the formation of his feet, &c.

B. The Seal, or *Phoca*, from BUFFON. This kind inhabits the Mediterranean; and is described by Aristotle. It could hardly be unknown in Judea. The reader will fancy, if he pleases, that the countenance bears some likeness to the human.

C. From Stedman's *Narrative of an Expedition to Surinam*, vol. ii. p. 176. The remarkable bluntness of the nose in this animal, leads to the supposition of

a difference of species; [the upper figure has a nose equally remarkable for its length]—as this figure wants the tail, I have added D. which is from Barbot's *Voyage to Guinea*, in Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. v. p. 104. It is designed, no doubt, to shew the manner in which the female *Manati* carries and embraces her young when in danger. Barbot also tells us, "the longest *Manatis* are twenty feet long; the skin is made into bucklers, which are musket proof: the female *has* two BREASTS, much resembling those of the black women; SUCKLES its young; they feed in large herds, in many parts of the East Indies; the flesh tastes like veal; it feeds on grass, on the banks of rivers; *it has not a free respiration, and therefore often thrusts out its snout above water to take breath.*" Churchill, vol. v. p. 562, 563.

On the whole, I think we may consider the Hebrew *Tahash*, as being, decidedly, a Seal; but *Tannin* as including a more extensive import; not fishes, not cetaceous; but creatures resident both on land and in water—AMPHIBIA. Now by what *English word* shall we describe this genus?—are we reduced to the Latin word *Amphibia*, in an English translation?—how shall we describe them to our countrymen who are unacquainted with Latin?

* * While this article is passing through the press, it is said, that a MERMAID more perfect than any we have alluded to, is arrived in London, from the Cape of Good Hope, originally from the Island of Java: should this specimen prove satisfactory on inspection (it is a female, has long arms, pendent breasts, and a fish tail,) it would prove the acquaintance of the ancients with this branch of Natural History, and would justify the rendering of the Vulgate, &c. *Sirens*, and *Lamia*, beyond any thing hitherto in our power.

OF THE LOCUST.

THE Locust is an insect so little known in Britain, either by its distinctions or its depredations, that we are unable to estimate the importance attached to its visitation, or that anxiety with which, where it abounds, its motions are watched. There are many allusions to this insect in Scripture; and it may be desirable to combine certain parts of its history.

This Plate contains figures of the common *Migratory Locust*, from Dr. SHAW, the naturalist, Nos. 1, 2. No. 4. is copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1748. when this Locust, with many others, was picked up in St. James's Park. They caused great apprehension at the time, throughout England, and became the occasion of collecting much information; a part of which we shall extract from that publication.

"A swarm of Locusts lately fell in Bristol, much resembling those that fell sometime ago in Transylvania, some of them are kept in spirits by the curious. A sort of Locust has also done great damage in Shropshire and Staffordshire, by eating the blossoms of the apple and crab-trees, but especially the leaves of oaks, which look as bare as at Christmas; the rooks devour these Locusts in prodigious numbers. *Gent. Mag.* July, 1748. p. 331.

"Col. Needham, who had lived some time in Teneriff, told Sir Hans Sloane, that in 1649, Locusts destroyed all the product of that island: they saw them come off from the Coast of Barbary, the wind being a Levant from thence; they flew as far as they could, then one alighted in the sea, and another on it, so that one after another they made a heap as big as the greatest ship above water, and were esteemed almost as many under. Those above water, next day, after the

sun's refreshing them, took flight again, and came in clouds to the island, from whence they had perceived them in the air, and had gathered all the soldiers of the island and of Laguna together, being 7 or 8000 men, who, laying aside their arms some took bags, some spades, and having notice by their scouts from the hills where they alighted, they went strait thither, made trenches, and brought their bags full, and covered them with mould. This did not do, for some of the locusts escaped, or being cast on the shore, were revived by the sun, and flew about and destroyed all the vineyards and trees. They ate the leaves, and even the bark of the vines where they alighted. But all would not do: the Locusts staid there four months; cattle ate them and died and so did several men, and others struck out in blotches. The other Canary islands were so troubled also, that they were forced to bury their provisions. *Ib.*

“They destroy the ground not only for the time, but burn trees for two years after; so that people in Ethiopia are forced to sell themselves and children for sustenance. *Jo. dos Sanctos. Ib.*

“I cannot better represent their flight to you than by comparing it to the flakes of snow in cloudy weather, driven about by the wind; and when they alight upon the ground to feed, the plains are all covered, and they make a murmuring noise as they eat, and in less than two hours they devour all close to the ground; then rising, they suffer themselves to be carried away by the wind; and when they fly, though the sun shines ever so bright, it is no lighter than when most clouded. The air was so full of them, that I could not eat in my chamber without a candle; all the houses being full of them, even the stables, barns, chambers, garrets, and cellars. I caused cannon-powder and sulphur to be burnt to expel them, but all to no purpose; for when the door was opened, an infinite number came in, and the others went out, fluttering about; and it was a troublesome thing when a man went abroad to be hit on the face by those creatures, sometimes on the nose, sometimes the eyes, and sometimes the cheeks, so that there was no opening one's mouth but some would get in. Yet all this was nothing, for when we were to eat, those creatures gave us no respite: and when we to cut a bit of meat, we cut a Locust with it; and when a man opened his mouth to put in a morsel, he was sure to chew one of them

“I have seen them at night, when they sit to rest them, that the roads were four inches thick of them, one upon another; so that the horses would not trample over them, but as they were put on with much lashing, pricking up their ears, snorting, and treading fearfully. The wheels of our carts, and the feet of our horses bruising those creatures, there came from them such a stink, as not only offended the nose, but the brain. I was not able to endure that stench, but was forced to wash my nose with vinegar, and hold a handkerchief dipped in it continually at my nostrils. The swine feast upon them as a dainty, and grow fat; but nobody will eat of them so fattened, only because they abhor that sort of vermin, that does them so much harm. *Beauplan's Hist. Ukraine. Ib.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE LOCUST OF 1748.

“This insect in form nearly resembles a grasshopper; it hops and flies in the same manner, but is more robust, of a different colour, and has four large wings like those of the pond-keeper or horse-stinger: they are transparent and brown, divided into panes by a small black line, and their texture is very elastic; the

wings of one, whose body was two inches and a half in length, being extended, measured five inches from point to point; some have been taken of a much larger size. The body is scaly, the head large, and the face streaked with brown and white; the eyes are very bright, and of a hazel colour. It has jaws on each side, which open and shut horizontally, of a black, hard, horny substance, which, when opened, discover a tongue like a small-seed French bean; they are round like a pair of pincers, meeting with great exactness, and are not keen but blunt. Over these jaws where they meet, it lets fall a thin cover, which it contracts and folds at pleasure, and puts forth a considerable distance from the mouth; and probably the thin substance is of use to draw towards it blades of grass, or any other thing which it eats of a yielding nature. A horse fly being put into a vial to one of these Locusts, was devoured by it in a short time. *Ib.* p. 364.

“Numbers of Locusts (discovered the hot sultry day before in clouds, by the help of optic glasses) were found in St. James’s Park, and places adjacent. It is further to be noted that it feeds itself with its fore claws, like a squirrel, and its ordure is long, and when first voided red like coral. It having been sometimes mentioned as a creeping, and sometimes as a flying insect, we find by SHAW’s *Travels* that it is both. The upper wings seem only for a covering to the under, which, expanded, are as broad as the body is long. They sometimes eat one another. *Ib.* p. 377.

“It is surprising to observe with what quickness they devour cabbage-leaf, lettuce, or other herbage. In the field, they fly, and dart as swift as the swallow, though not far at a time. And in very windy, or rainy weather, are more dull, and sooner caught. Charlton, indeed, in his *Exercitationes de differentiis & nominibus Animalium, et Insectorum*;—COLEOPTERORUM *Classis*, or *Class of the sheath-wing species*, page 45. mentions a Locust brought by Mouffet from Barbary, five inches long, of the cucullated kind, with a pyramidal head, and, almost on the top, two little broadish erect horns, near an inch in length, representing the lofty double Turkish plumage, worn by the Janizaries. *Ib.* p. 365.

BREISLAW, Aug. 22. —“Another swarm of these devouring creatures came from *Patchkau* to *Ober Schreibendorff*, where they fell upon two gardens, and ruined every thing in them. As they were a little straitened in their quarters, they laid one upon another in heaps, to the height of one’s knee, and being driven from thence, they eat up all the grass in the meadows, and even all the rushes and reeds about the village of *Deutsch Jeckel*; from thence they continued their flight to *Hoben Giersdorff*, where they have destroyed several fields of buck wheat. All the fruits of the earth that are not got in, as well as the grass, reeds, and in short every green thing is totally destroyed. They tried at first to drive them away with poles, but to no purpose. At length somebody very luckily thought of beating a drum, upon which they immediately took flight, but settled soon after upon the trees in the forest, from whence they were driven by the same means. They made their retreat by *Amsterberg*, and then passed through the county of *Glatz* into *Bohemia*, where they have committed dreadful devastations on the lands of Count Wallis. These insects are about the length of one’s finger, and of all colours, grey, green, yellow, black, red, and brown. Some people pretend to say, that each of these bands has a Captain, of a most enormous size; this is certain, that they leave behind them an intolerable stench.

Aug. 30. “The dreadful plague of Locusts spreads more and more. It is observed, that the several swarms, which have alighted on divers districts, are only

detachments from the grand body, to which, after foraging a while to the right and left, they repair. You cannot conceive the noise made by these insects, as well in their flight, as when they rest on the ground. The 25th the main body took their flight towards the town of *Brieg*, forming a cloud of several miles in length and breadth, and darkening the sun wherever they passed, so that at a small distance travellers could not descry the town. Their flight was low, and great numbers lodged on the roofs of houses, and on the ramparts; but the greatest part fell upon the fields and the gardens, where they devoured every thing. They sometimes cover the trees so thick, that one cannot see either leaf, twig, or bark. There was a swarm of them at *Neudorf*, where they remained, numbed with cold, the 26th; but the two days following proving warmer, they revived again, and advanced to *Radelweir*. Besides the destruction they make every where, they leave a great stench behind them." *Ib.* p. 415.

Such is the general history of the Locust-swarms, and their devastations: a more particular account of the manners of this insect and its noxious qualities, we translate from Rozier's *Journal de Physique*, Nov. 1786. p. 321. &c. It is furnished by M. Baron, *Conseiller en la Cour des Comptes*, &c. at Montpellier.

"These insects seek each other the moment they are able to use their wings: after their union, the female lays her eggs in a hole which she makes in the earth: and for this purpose she seeks light, sandy earth, avoiding moist, compact, and cultivated grounds. A Spanish author says, "Should even a million of Locusts fall on a cultivated field, not one of them may be expected to lay her eggs in it; but if there be in this space a piece of earth not cultivated, though it be very small, thither they will all resort for that purpose." The sense of smelling is supposed to direct this preference. The eggs lie all winter, till the warmth of spring calls them into life. They appear at first in the form of worms, not larger than a flea, at first whitish, then blackish, at length reddish. They undergo several other changes: according to the heat of the season and situation, is the time of their appearance. "I have seen," says the Spanish writer already referred to, "at *Almiera* millions creep forth, in the month of February because this spot is remarkably forward in its productions. In *Sierra Nevada* they quit the nest in April; and I have observed that in *La Mancha* they were not all vivified at the beginning of May." Heat also promotes their numbers; for, if the heat be sufficient, every egg is hatched: not so if cold weather prevails. Dryness favours the production of Locusts: for, as this insect deposits its eggs in the ground, enclosed in a bag, and this bag is smeared with a frothy white mucus, if the season is wet, this mucus becomes rotten, the ground moistens the eggs, and the whole brood perishes. Eight or ten days rain, at the proper season, is a certain deliverance from the broods committed to the earth.

"There is no doubt on the changes to which the Locust is subject. The same animal which appears at first in the form of a worm, passes afterwards into the state of a *nymph*; and undergoes a third metamorphosis by quitting its skin, and becoming a perfect animal, capable of continuing its species. A Locust remains in its *nymph* state 24 or 25 days, more or less, according to the season: when, having acquired its full growth, it refrains during some days from eating; and gradually bursting its skin, comes forth a new animal full of life and vigour.

"These insects leap to a height two hundred times the length of their bodies, by means of those powerful legs and thighs, which are articulated near the center of the body. When raised to a certain height in the air, these insects spread their

wings, and are so closely embodied together, as to form but one mass, intercepting the rays of the sun, almost by a total eclipse.

“In the south of France, besides the labours of men to discover the eggs of the Locust, about September and October, or in the month of March, they turn troops of hogs into the grounds that are suspected of concealing their nests, and these animals, by turning up the earth with their snouts, in search of a food which they are fond of, clear away vast quantities.

“In Languedoc they dig pits, into which they throw them:—great care is necessary in destroying these insects, that they are not hurtful after they are dead. The infection spread by their corrupting carcasses is insupportable. Surius and Cornelius Gemma both, mentioning a prodigious incursion of Locusts in 1542, report, that after their death, they infected the air with such a stench, that the ravens, crows, and other birds of prey, though hungry, yet would not come near their carcasses. We have ourselves experienced two years ago the truth of this fact; the pits where they had been buried, after twenty four hours, could not be passed.

“We should not omit, as a very essential circumstance, that the hunting of these Locusts should be engaged in in the morning, the evening, or when the weather is misty. This insect, at those times, does not see equally well; it does not fly so high, and it suffers itself to be approached more closely. M. Gleditch says, Locusts rise both faster and higher in clear, warm, dry weather: but, when the air is loaded with vapours, and rain, or if the temperature of it be rather *chilly* at sun rise, or at sun setting, they are stiff and slow in their motions; they move their wings with greater difficulty, and they are more easily destroyed.

“There are several kinds of Locusts: one kind has an appendix at the tail, which serves it as an auger to pierce the earth with: others have not this piercer, but only a very short tail.” So far M. Baron.

Let us now consider some of this information more closely. 1. *Heat and dryness are favourable to the increase of Locusts.* I think therefore, that when God threatens to bring a plague of Locusts over Israel, as in Joel, chap. ii. it may imply also a summer of drought. So we read, chap. i. verse 20. *The rivers of water are dried up; the fire hath devoured the pastures of the wilderness:*—and after the removal of this plague, chap. ii. verse 23. *The Lord giveth the former rain moderately. . . and the latter rain. . . and will—by means, no doubt of these showers,—restore the years that the Locust hath eaten.* Indeed, on attentively perusing that chapter, we shall find these extracts direct comments on it. Compare a few verses. *Blow the trumpet. . . sound an alarm. . . let all the inhabitants of the land tremble,* as at Teneriffe, when the whole population watched the flying invaders, with the most painful anxiety. *A day of darkness and gloominess. . . of clouds. . . of thick darkness, as the morning* [dews or mists, suppose,] *spread on the mountains:* “they are like flakes of snow,” says one writer, “when they fly, though the sun shines ever so bright, it is no lighter than when most clouded:”—“they darken the sun, so that travellers could not descry the town.” *A great* [rather, a *numerous*] *people, and a strong;*—their numbers are noticed by every writer. *The land is as the garden of Eden before them—but behind them a desolate wilderness:* “they eat up all sorts of grain, and grass, cabbage leaf, lettuce, blossoms of apple and crab trees, and especially the leaves of the oaks, grassy rushes, and reeds,” *yea, and nothing shall escape them. The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses; [Vide No. XLIV.] Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap.*—“You cannot conceive the noise made by those

those insects in their flight." *Like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth stubble:*—"they make a murmuring noise as they eat." *Before their face the people shall be much pained. . . They shall run like mighty men; they shall climb the wall like men of war. . . They shall run to and fro in the city; they run upon the wall; they shall climb upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows, like a thief:* See what is observed from Beauplan, of "every room being full, and even every dish of meat." After the terrible devastation committed by these ravagers, the Lord calls to repentance; and promises, on the penitential humiliation of his people, to *remove far off the northern army: and drive him into a land, barren and desolate, with his face toward the East sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea: and his STINK shall come up and his ILL SAVOUR.* It is remarkable, that all our extracts agree in recording the *stink* and *ill savour* of the Locust: "they leave behind them an *intolerable stench:*"—"they leave a great *stench* behind them:" and M. Baron gives strict orders concerning the effectual interment of these masses of corruption; observing, "the infection left by their carcasses is INSUPPORTABLE."

The prophet Nahum says of Locusts, *they camp in the hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away.* Every observer notices the torpid effect of cold, and the invigorating powers of heat, on the Locust. But 2. another remarkable particular appears to have considerable connection with some things said on Exod. xvi. 13. that, "in the morning, or evening, or in misty weather, Locusts do not see equally well, nor fly so high; they suffer themselves to be more closely approached; they are stiff and slow in their motions; and are more easily destroyed." This supports those who consider the word *Selav* as denoting a *mist*, or *fog*: and think it possible that the word *selavim*, Num. xi. 31. may express those *clouds* of Locusts, which compose these flying armies.—The opposition of two winds was likely to produce a calm; and a calm to cause a fog; the lower flight of the Locusts, the gathering them during the evening, all night, and the next morning, agree with these extracts; and the fatal effects, verses 33, 34. *while the flesh was yet between the teeth of the people*, seem to be precisely such as might be expected, from the stench, &c. of the immense masses of Locusts, *spread all abroad round about the camp.* Could a more certain way of generating a pestilence have been adopted, considering the *stench* uniformly attributed to them, and the malignity attending such infection as their dead carcasses so exposed *must* occasion?

3. We shall be excused for an allusion to what, formerly was offered in explanation of Eccles. xii. 5.—[No. XLIV.] where the Locust signified an old man, incapable of gratifying a certain appetite, yet fully subject to its power.—The reason for allegorizing such a character under the figure of a Locust, which we then could not determine, may be gathered from a note of M. Baron. "*Ces insectes sont si fortement joints dans l'accouplement, que les prenant avec la main, ils ne se séparent point. Ils restent ainsi dans la même situation plusieurs heures, les jours et les nuits entières; si vous tentez de les séparer, vous sentez qu'ils font resistance, et ce ne peut être qu'avec effort que vous en venez à bout.*" This is a complete vindication of the version adopted by *Pagninus*, in the passage of referred to; and, being drawn from nature, shews how the *same* notion might be expressed under the same similitude, as well by other observers, as by the sagacious Solomon.

4. We read Rev. ix. of the Locusts, that "the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle;" When it is added, "they had *tails* like unto Scorpions, and stings in their tails," we may, plausibly enough,

refer these to those piercers with which some kinds are furnished, "which they use to pierce the earth; while others have only a very short tail:" so that this particular, which at first seems unnatural, yet has its origin in nature.

On Lev. xi. 20. it is difficult to determine whether the four *Hebrew* names of the Locust denote several kinds, or the same kind in progressive states. It is certain that in its different states the Locust receives from the Arabs different names, as, at first *Daba*, then *Gauga*, then *Jirad*, which is their common name, in their perfect state, at Aleppo, says Dr. RUSSELL: nevertheless, we incline to receive the Hebrew words as expressing different kinds; and our extracts affirm clearly, that there are considerable differences among them,—even among such of them as fly together in the same body, or cloud.

See the Article Locust, in the *Dictionary*.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

No. 1. The common Migratory Locust; the *Arbah* of the Scriptures, I presume, with its wings expanded in the act of flying. The wings are thin, and beautifully marked. The hind legs are stretched out behind the body.

No. 2. The same Locust in the act of creeping: the hind legs thrust out behind, the other legs, in front, also employed in movement.

No. 3. As we have seen in our extracts that some Locusts are considerably larger than others, and are therefore suspected to be Captains, or leaders of the host, this line marks the dimensions of what appears to be a very large one, taken from a subject engraved in DENON's *Travels in Egypt*. *a*, *b*, the length of his antennæ: *b*, his length from his forehead to the end of his tail: *b*, *c*, his corslet: *d*, *e*, the hinder parts of his body: *c*, *f*, the length of his wings: *a*, *f*, his whole extent, wings included. Whether this be a Captain we do not know: if an entire species be of this size,—what formidable devourers!

No. 4. Copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1748, is a Locust taken in England. It may serve to explain the passage Lev. xi. 20. "*But, these ye may eat, from among winged creepers going on four feet, i. e. on the four front feet, 1, 2, 3, 4: those which have joints at the upper (or higher) parts of their hind legs.*" These hind legs, as appears by consulting the passage, have a specific name, *regeli*; and so have these joints also, *caroim*: they are marked A A. These *regeli* and *caroim*, are evidently the members which the creature employs "*to leap withal upon the earth,*" as mentioned in the close of this verse. The front legs seem to be considered as having *paws*, rather than feet; and the creature occasionally uses the front pair, as hands to convey food to its mouth. Compare Judges vi. 5. Job xxxix. 20. Amos vii. 1. *et al.* where our translation uses the word *grasshoppers*: and note the distinctions between *gab*, *chagab*, (*gub*, *chagub*) and *arbah*; which certainly are different kinds; though we are at a loss to identify them. This varies the spirit, at least, of some passages, if not their general import.

Our translators in using the *grasshopper* to denote *every* species of Locust, seem to have committed a similar error with those who thought the Locust to be the *Cicada*, which also has been commonly confounded ("by the major part of translators," says Dr. SHAW) with the *grasshopper*, but which the comparison afforded by our Plate, shews to be very different. This *Cicada* appears in the hot months of summer, and continues its shrill chirping during the greater part of the day, sitting among the leaves of trees. We have numerous allusions to it in Ana-

creon, and Theocritus; where it has been by some rendered *locust*, by others *grasshopper*: perhaps it *may* be alluded to in Scripture:—Can it be the *beetle* of our translators, Lev. xi. 22? *Vide* Theoc. *Idyll.* 1. Antipater, *Anthol. lib. i. cap. 33.* Ælian, &c. The Athenians called themselves *grasshoppers*; as affecting to be earth-born (*autocthones*) like those insects: some wore golden *grasshoppers* in their hair. A. The *larva* of this insect.

We may add to the metaphorical acceptation of the Locust, the observation of Niebuhr, that the green Locust has a remarkable hieroglyphic on its *forehead*; of which he gives a delineation: but a still more diffuse legend is discovered by others, on their wings; as we learn from Sir W. Ouseley, who says,

“It must, however, be here remarked, that *Zakaria Cazvini* divides Locusts into two classes, like horsemen and footmen, “mounted and pedestrian,” which will call to the recollection of a Biblical reader some passages from Joel and the Apocalypse.

“That certain extraordinary words were supposed to be inscribed on the *wings* of Locusts, different authors have related. The *Sieur de Beauplan* heard from persons well skilled in various languages, that the characters were Chaldaick and formed *Boze Guion*, words signifying “the Scourge of God:” But, a much longer legend is exhibited on the wings of Locusts, and in the Arabic language, if we may believe the Muselman writers. “*We are the army of the mighty God; we have each ninety and nine eggs, and had we but the hundredth, we would consume the world, and all that it contains.*” *Travels in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 198.

We close, by confirming our notion that John the Baptist ate nothing that ever had life—consequently, not *insect* Locusts—with the authority of the Talmudists, *Jerus. Nedarim, fol. 40. 2.* “He that by vow tyeth himself from *flesh*, is forbidden the flesh of fish, and of *Locusts.*” Locusts, then, were reckoned *flesh*: What aspect has this on Numb. xi. 18?

THE FLY.

THE Hebrew language has at least two words for Flies; the first is, *Oreb*, *Exod.* viii. 21. *Psalm lxxiii. 45. cv. 31.* which interpreters, who, by residing on the spot, have had the best opportunities of identifying it, have rendered the *Dog-fly*; the *Zimb* of Abyssinia. We have given its history, in No. CCLXXXIV.

Another word for a Fly is, *Zebub*, *Eccl. x. 1.* which some have conjectured might be the “great Blue-bottle Fly;” or Flesh-fly; this is, therefore, given on our Plate, but greatly *magnified*, in order to shew the parts belonging to insects of this genus more distinctly.

This genus has many species. BARBUT says, p. 298.

“This is one of the most numerous classes of insects. Variety runs through their forms, their structure, their organization, their metamorphoses, their manner of living, propagating their species, and providing for their posterity. Every species is furnished with implements, adapted to its exigencies. What exquisiteness! what proportion in the several parts that compose the body of a Fly! What precision, what mechanism in the springs and motion!—Some are oviparous, others viviparous; which latter have but two young ones at a time, whereas the propagation of the former is by hundreds. Flies are lascivious, troublesome insects, that put up with every kind of food. When storms impend they have most activity, and sting with greatest

force. They multiply most in hot, moist climates; and so great was formerly their numbers in Spain, that there were Fly-hunters commissioned to give them chase."

Besides this, it has been enquired, whether the *Shemamah* of Malachi, chap. i. 3. might not be a *Fly* of some kind, [the common HOUSE FLY]: and we have ventured to suspect some relation between this *Shemamah* and the *Shemamith* of Prov xxx. 28. where the sagacious moralist observes, that the insect to which he alludes, [the Spider, Eng. Tr.] *lays hold with her hands*, in a remarkable manner. Perhaps, this particular may assist in identifying the creature; for it deserves notice, that this power in the Fly has engaged the examination of modern naturalists. Dr. Hooke in his *Micrography* has given the front foot (rather HAND) of a Fly, and has endeavoured to account for the remarkable ability of this creature to walk on smooth surfaces, and even on the *under* surfaces of polished bodies, where other insects could not support themselves.

Our upper figure shews the Doctor's delineation of the mechanism of a Fly's Foot; and we subjoin his explanation of it, p. 34. *Folio*, 1780.

THE FOOT OF A FLY.

"The Foot of a Fly is the object now before us, consisting of three joints, two talons, and as many pattens, soles, or sponges, as they are called by some: by the wonderful contrivance of which instruments this creature is enabled to walk perpendicularly upwards, even against the sides of glass; nay to suspend itself, and walk with its body downward on the ceilings of rooms, and the under surfaces of most other things, with as much seeming facility and firmness, as if it were a kind of *antipode*, and had a tendency upwards.

"The two talons are handsomely shaped, in the manner represented A B, and A C, and are very large in proportion to the rest of the foot. The bigger part of them from A to *d, d*, is bristled, or hairy all over, but from thence towards C and B, the tops or points which turn downwards and inwards, are smooth and very sharp. Each talon moves on a joint at A, whereby the Fly is able to shut or open them at pleasure; so that the points B, and C, having entered the pores of any thing, and the Fly endeavouring to shut its talons, they not only draw against, and by that means fasten, each other, but also pull forwards all the parts of the foot G G, A, D D: and at the same time the tenters or sharp points G G G G (whereof a Fly has two at every joint) run into the pores, if they find any, or, on a soft place, make their own way.

"Somewhat of this kind may be discerned by the naked eye in the feet of a *chafer*, and if it be suffered to creep over the hand or any tender part of the body, its manner of stepping will be as sensible to the feeling as to the sight.

"But as the *chafer*, notwithstanding this contrivance to fasten its claws, often falls when it attempts to walk on hard and close bodies, so likewise would the Fly, had not nature furnished his foot with a couple of pattens or sponges, D D, which we are now going to describe.

"From the bottom or under part of the last joint of the foot K, two small thin plated horny substances proceed, each consisting of two flat pieces, D D. These, about F F, *f f*, seem to be flexible like the covers of a book; whereby the two sides, *e e, e e*, do not always lie in the same plane, but may sometimes shut closer, so that each of them can take a little hold. But this is not all, for the bottom of these sponges are every where beset with small bristles or tenters, like the wire teeth in a

wool-card, with all their points inclining forwards: by which the two talons drawing the foot forwards, as before described, and the sponges being applied to the surface of the body the Fly walks upon, with the points of all their bristles looking forwards and outwards, as expressed in the figure, *o o o o o*; if the surface of the body has any irregularity, or gives way in any manner, the Fly can suspend itself, or walk thereon very easily and firmly. And its being able to walk on glass, proceeds partly from some little ruggedness thereon, but chiefly from a kind of tarnish or dirty smoaky substance, which adheres to the surface of that very hard body; so that although the sharp points on the sponges cannot penetrate the surface of glass, they may easily enough catch hold of the tarnish it has contracted.

"Some indeed have supposed these sponges filled with an imaginary glue, which fixes the Fly, in such a manner as to prevent its falling; but if there was such a sticky matter, 'tis not easy to conceive how the feet could so readily again be loosened, and move so nimbly forwards. And as our senses can furnish us with a rational way of performing this by the curious mechanism of the parts employed, 'twould be wrong to introduce unintelligible explications.

"The foot is likewise shaded with a growth of hairs which like a brush serves to clean the Fly's wings and eyes, an office she employs it in very frequently. And indeed it is a pretty amusement to see her perform this exercise; for first she cleans her brushes, by rubbing her paws one against another, then draws them over her wings, and afterwards under them; and at last concludes with brushing her eyes and head: by which means she cleans away all little particles of dust or smoke, that may cloud her eyes, or settle on her wings."

After this particular account of such wonderful mechanism, whereby this creature is enabled to excel all others in the art of *taking hold with her hands*, we can only repeat the question, Whether this may be the insect meant in the passage referred to? It is clear that this foot is used by the Fly as a *hand*.

But, there seems to be a covert, or secondary sense, involved in this term, as used by the sacred writer. That the intrusive disposition of the Fly, with its unyielding adherence, where it had intruded, was remarked among the ancients, appears very strongly from the name it furnished by assimilation, to individuals who officiously thrust themselves into the company of their superiors, and those who wished their absence, by finding means of admittance to entertainments, without invitation, as without a welcome. Such a person the Romans termed *Musca*—a FLY; the Greeks also termed them *Myiai*, FLIES. Hence we have in Plautus, *Merc.* iii. 26. "My father is a *Fly*, we can go no where without meeting him;" and Cicero jocosely says, "*Puer abige Muscas*,"—"Boy, drive away *the Flies*!" The reader will observe the reference this bears to the other part of the *Shemamith's* character,—"*she is in king's palaces*:" in halls of royal resort, parade, and festivity. Certainly, this remark *might* also be made by the writer of the Proverbs, as to the insect Fly:—Has he any covert allusion to the other despicable character?

The ideal resemblances coincident in the Hebrew and Latin may be traced, perhaps, still farther: for Vitruvius calls a *knobbed* or *bossed* nail, "*muscarius clavus*"—which we might translate, "a fly-headed nail;" and Schindler refers the Hebrew *shemah*, whence (*Shemamah*, and) *Shemamith*, to the sense of *navus*, which denotes an *excrescence* in a body, a *knot* in wood; or, rather, a rising bump, wheal, or blotch. But not to insist on this, we proceed to observe, that the same author in his Lexicon considers the Hebrew word *zebub*, with its Chaldee and Arabic cognates, as including the whole of winged insects; *culex*, the gnat; *vespa*, the wasp; *cestrus*, the gad-fly;

and *crabro*, the hornet: this certainly implies the inclusion of true Flies, generally; a species well known to be sufficiently numerous. Moreover, that this word should hardly be restrained to a single species of Fly, may be inferred from the *pun* employed in playing on the appellation of the deity *Beelzebub*, "Lord of Flies," to convert it into *Beelzebul*, "Lord of the Dunghill."—This, I apprehend, alludes to the disposition of certain kinds of Flies, which roll themselves and their eggs in the filth of such places; so that the change of name has a reference, a *degrading* reference, to the manners of the symbol of this deity, including no doubt, a sarcastic sneer at those of his worshippers. The *general* import of this word may be farther argued from what Pliny tells us, *lib. x. cap. 18.* concerning the deity *Achorem*, from the Greek *Achor*, *αχωρ*; which may be from the Hebrew *Ekron* or *Accaron*, the city where *Beelzebub*, the "Lord of Flies," was worshipped. "The inhabitants of Cyrene," says he, "invoke the assistance of the god *Achorem*, when the multitude of Flies produces a pestilence; but when they have placated that deity by their offerings, the Flies persih immediately." Whether only *one* species of Fly pestered the Cyrenaicum does not appear.

On the whole, we infer, that *oreb* signifies a certain kind of Fly—the *Dog-fly*; and that *zebub* signifies *flies* in general;—whether *Shemamah*, *Shemamith*, may be taken for a Fly, also, must be left to the decision of the reader.

N. B. Bellori considered the god of *Flies*, as the god of *bees* also: for which he has authority from antiquity. *Vide* Plate of BEELZEBUB, No. DCCXXXIX. and the Article HONEY in the *Dictionary*.

OF THE HORSE-LEECH.

THE HORSE-LEECH HAS TWO DAUGHTERS, *crying*, GIVE, GIVE. *Prov. xxx. 15.*

WE deviate a little from the strictness of order, with intent to avail ourselves of the illustration afforded by the foregoing article, the Fly, as applicable, in several particulars, to our present subject. Flies, says Barbut, "are lascivious, troublesome insects, that put up with every kind of food;" hence the metaphorical *Flies* of the Greeks and the Romans; and hence, if our conjecture be right, the remark of the sagacious writer, that Flies take hold with their hands, and are in King's palaces." But, if in this chapter this familiar insect becomes a metaphorical Fly, in a secondary, or covert sense, what forbids us from taking metaphorically another term drawn from the class of *vermes*, the Horse-Leech? in the original, *עלוקה*, *Olukah*.

The root of the term *Olukah* signifies, in Arabic, to *adhere*, to *stick close*, to *hang fast*; and certainly, this well expresses the nature of the Leech. Hence the remark of Horace, which is confirmed by every day's experience:

Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, Hirudo.

He fastens on you——

And like a Leech, voracious of his food,

Quits not his cruel hold, till gorged with blood.

Not content with this, the Leech some times will not withdraw his head from the action of sucking, but leaves it in the wound he had made; as Pliny informs us, *lib. xxxii. 10.* who observes, that Messalinus, a person of consular dignity, lost his life by such an accident. Blood, then, is the food of the Leech; and where it finds blood it fastens with unremitted adherence.

Unhappily for mankind, the moral world has its Leeches also : and we learn from Norberg's *Lexidion of the Syro-Chaldaic*, that the answering term, beside its primary signification of Leech, imports *Libidinosæ, Tympanistæ, Incantatores, et Metricantes* : and is used in connection with dumb and deaf demons ; and with the (supposed) demon of the Night Mare. We might appeal to not a few of our young men of fashion, whether they have not found to their cost the *Libidinosæ* of the Opera, and other public establishments, at home and abroad, the *Danseuses* and *Chanteuses*, the *Ballarinas*, and *Cantatrices* of France and Italy, stick like Leeches, while they had any hope of drawing blood ? Under this metaphor the sentiment of the passage is, " Professional prostitution is insatiably avaricious : nor is it alone ; it breeds *two* greedy (female) offspring, constantly teasing for additional gifts, insensible to the exhaustion and ruin of their paramour." With what propriety a term susceptible of this double sense is employed by the Hebrew moralist, may be left without farther comment to the judgment of the reader. Comp. Prov. vi. 24. *et seq.* vii. 5. *et seq.* Ecclus. ix. 2-8. *et al.* What says Juvenal, of a similar character ?

*Prodiga non sentit pereuntem fœmina censum :
At velut exhaustâ rediitrus pullulet arcâ
Nummus, et e pleno semper tollatur acervo,
Non unquam reputat, quanti sibi gaudia constant.* Sat. vi.

THE GNAT.

COMMENTATORS not infrequently differ from our worthy translators in the only place where they use the word *Gnat*, Matth. xxii. 24. by introducing another insect, more immediately referable, as they suppose, to the subject there intended ; —on the other hand, the LXX. Wisdom, Philo, Origen, and Jerom, consider the insects which produced the plague translated of *Lice*, Exod. viii. 16. as rather effected by *Gnats*. It will be remarked, that the miracles performed in Egypt, refer mostly, if not entirely, to the water, and to the air ; *Gnats* would be a mixture of both. Barbut says of these creatures, " Before they turn to flying insects, they have been in some manner fishes, under two different forms. We observe in stagnating waters, from the beginning of May till winter, small grubs, with their heads downwards, their hinder-parts on the surface of the water ; from which part arises sideways a kind of vent-hole, or small hollow tube, like a funnel, and this is the organ of respiration. The head is armed with hooks, that serve to seize insects and bits of grass, on which it feeds. On the sides are placed four small fins, by the help of which the insect swims about, and dives to the bottom. These larvæ retain their form during a fortnight or three weeks, after which period they turn to chrysalids. All the parts of the winged insect are distinguishable through the outward robe that shrouds them. The chrysalids are rolled up into spirals. The situation and shape of the windpipe is then altered, it consists of two tubes, near the head, which occupy the place of the stigmata, through which the winged insect is one day to breathe. After three or four days strict fasting, they pass to the state of Gnats. A moment before water was its element, but now, become an aërial insect, he can no longer exist in it. He swells his head, and bursts his enclosure. The robe he lately wore turns to a ship, of which the insect is the mast and sail. If at the instant the Gnat displays his wings, there arises a breeze, it proves to him a dreadful hurricane : the water gets into the ship, and the insect,

who is not yet loosened from it, sinks, and is lost. But in calm weather, the Gnat forsakes his slough, dries himself, flies into the air, and seeks to pump the alimentary juice of leaves, or the blood of man and beasts. It is impossible to behold, and not admire the amazing structure of its sting, which is a tube, containing five or six spicula, of exquisite minuteness; some dentated at their extremity like the head of an arrow, others sharp-edged like razors. These spicula, introduced into the veins, act as pump-suckers, into which the blood ascends by reason of the smallness of the capillary tubes. The insect injects a small quantity of liquor into the wound, by which the blood becomes more fluid, and is seen through the microscope passing through those spicula. The animal swells, grows red, and does not quit its hold till it has gorged itself. The female deposits her eggs on the water, by the help of her moveable hinder part and her legs, placing them one by the side of another, in the form of a little boat. This vessel, composed of two or three hundred eggs, swims on the water for two or three days, after which they are hatched. If storms arise, the boats are sunk. Every month there is a fresh progeny of these insects. Were they not devoured by swallows, by other birds, and by several carnivorous insects, the air would be darkened by them. Gnats, in this country, however troublesome, do not bite so severely, as the musketo-flies of foreign parts. Both by day and night these insects enter houses, and when people are in bed, and would sleep, they begin their disagreeable humming noise, by degrees approach the bed, and often fill themselves with blood, sucked from the suffering sleeper. Their bite causes blisters in people of any delicacy. Cold weather diminishes their activity, but after rain they gather in quantities truly astonishing. In the great heats of summer, the air seems to be full of them. In some places the inhabitants make fires before their houses, to expel these troublesome guests. Nevertheless, they accompany the cattle when driven home; and they enter in swarms wherever they can."

"*GNAT molestus; the stinging.* The size and general appearance of the common humming Gnat. At Rossetta, Cairo, and Alexandria are immense multitudes; they disturb sleep at night; and can hardly be kept out, unless the curtains be carefully closed. Forskall.

"It was not in the power of our Janissary to protect us from the Gnats, so great are their numbers. The rice-fields are their breeding places, and they lay their eggs in a marshy soil. They are smaller than those of Egypt, but their sting is sharper; and the itching they cause is insupportable. They are ash coloured, and have white spots on the articulation of the legs." Hasselquist, at Cairo.

"*Musquitos and Gnats*—their bite was peculiarly venomous, especially near Rosetta. . . Many of those disagreeable animals, the Egyptians may say, are also inmates of Europe, but in no other country are they so numerous or so voracious as in Egypt. Sir R. Wilson, *Expcd. Egypt.* p. 252.

The reader will judge from these representations, whether the *Gnat* does not bid fair to be the Hebrew צנצנ, *Cinnim*; being winged, it would spread over a district or country, with equal ease as over a village or a city, and would be equally terrible to cattle as to men. It seems also to precede the *Dog-Fly*, or *Zimb*, [Compare No. CCLXXXIV.] with great propriety.

It should be added, that the *Gnat* is thought to undergo several transformations; being, 1. a worm; 2. a nymph; 3. an aurelia; 4. a Gnat. It abounds not in great rivers, but in ditches, ponds, and repositories of water. Moses, therefore, did not strike

strike the river, (the Nile) but *clods* of earth, as the word rendered *dust* may be understood. See Prov. viii. 26.; Job xii. 24. &c.

Our Plate represents the male and female Gnat of the natural size; with the male or brush-horned Gnat, and the nymph, greatly magnified.

THE SCORPION.

THERE seems to be no doubt whether the Hebrew word עקרב, *okrab*, means a Scorpion. The figure of this insect is submitted to inspection on our Plate, but the history of it should be known, in order to understand justly the force of passages in S. S. where it is mentioned. The reader will observe particularly its articulated tail, at the end of which is the sting; and its pincers, or claws, in front, like those of a lobster. "In the tropical climates the Scorpion is a foot in length. No animal in the creation seems endued with such an irascible nature. When taken, they exert their utmost rage against the glass which contains them: will attempt to sting a stick, when put near them; will sting animals confined with them, without provocation; are the cruellest enemies to each other. Maupertuis put a *hundred* together in the same glass; instantly they vented their rage in mutual destruction, universal carnage! in a few days only *fourteen* remained, which had *killed and devoured* all the others. It is even asserted, that when in extremity or despair, the Scorpion will destroy itself. It is said to be a common experiment in Gibraltar, [and Goldsmith says he had been assured of such a fact, by many eye-witnesses,] to take a Scorpion newly caught, and surrounding him with burning charcoal, when he perceives the impossibility of escaping, he stings himself on the back of the head, and instantly expires." Surely Moses very properly mentions *Scorpions* among the dangers of the wilderness! Deut. viii. 15. And what shall we think of the hazardous situation of Ezekiel, who is said to dwell among *Scorpions*? chap. ii. 6.—people as irascible as this venomous insect. Could a fitter contrast be selected by our Lord—"Will a father give a *Scorpion* to his child, instead of an egg?" Luke xi. 12.

But the passage most descriptive of the Scorpion is Rev. ix. 3, 4, 5, 10. which mentions,—locusts, having power as Scorpions; not to kill men, but to torment them, during five months—with the torment of a Scorpion when he striketh a man: they had tails like Scorpions, and stings in their tails. Contrary to the nature of locusts, they were not to destroy vegetation, but to infest men.

Several particulars deserve notice:—1st. These Scorpions have the power of flying. The ancients certainly ranged an insect of some kind, as a *flying Scorpion*. Lucian says (in the *Dipsades*), "There are two kinds of Scorpions, one residing on the ground, large, having claws, and many articulations *at the tail*; the other flies in the air, and has inferior *wings, like locusts, beetles, and bats*." Strabo, *lib. xvi.* reports, that in Mauritania, are found many *flying Scorpions*; others without wings." SCHEUZER mentions other testimonies. We may add the following from Barbut, article Scorpion: "They say, that in 1129, there appeared at Bagdad, in Arabia, winged Scorpions with a double tail, which filled all the inhabitants with terror, and did great mischief." N. B. Barbut omits his authority. Probably, the ancients called that insect a "flying Scorpion," which the moderns know by some other name.

2d. It is observed of these Scorpions, that they did not kill men, but only *torment* them. It is not every Scorpion the sting of which is fatal. In Europe they are seldom deadly, though always dangerous. "In some of the towns in Italy, and in the south of France, it is *one of the greatest pests that torments mankind*; yet its malignancy in Europe is trifling, compared to its powers in Africa and the

East." Maupertuis caused a dog to be stung—it died: another dog did not die, though more severely stung, in appearance: and it seems to be generally true, that the sting of the old ones is the most dangerous; also during the heat of summer; which agrees with,—3d. the *five months* of the Apocalypse: that this was known to the ancients, we have the evidence of Tertullian, who says, "*The ordinary time of danger is during the heats*; the winds of south and south-west, excite its fury:" and Macrobius says, *Sat. lib. i. c. 21*. "The Scorpion slumbers during winter; but when winter is over, its sting resumes its vigour, of which winter had not deprived it."—4th. The torment of a Scorpion when he striketh a man, is thus described by Dioscorides, *lib. vii. cap. 7*. "When the Scorpion has stung, the place becomes inflamed, and hardened; it reddens by tension, and is painful by intervals, being now chilly, now burning. The pain soon rises high, and rages, sometimes more, sometimes less. A sweating succeeds, attended by a shivering, and trembling; the extremities of the body become cold; the groin swells; the bowels expel their wind, the hair stands on end; the members become pale, and the skin feels throughout it the sensation of a perpetual pricking as if by needles:"—Such are the torments of a Scorpion when he striketh a man! "Scorpions, says Dr. E. D. CLARKE, are very numerous in the desert before Alexandria in Egypt. One of the privates of the British army, who had received a wound from a Scorpion, lost the upper joint of his fore-finger, before it could be healed." vol. ii. p. 293.—5th. As to the formation of the tail, and the sting at its point, the reader is referred to the Figure. It remains only to be observed, that the ancients had remarked this particularity. So Julian, *Epig. on the Heavenly Signs*,

Libra subit, caudaque animal quod dirigit ictum.

So speaks Hilasius:

Libraque lance pari, & violentus acumine caudae.

And to these we may add Eusthenius,

Momentumque sequens, caudaque timendas adunca.

On the whole, we observe, that however metaphorical is the description of this depredator, by the Apocalyptic writer, yet that the foundation of his description may readily be discovered in nature; and will be best understood by those who are best acquainted with the subject.

ON THE NARD, AND SPIKENARD.

CANTICLES, CHAPTER IV. VERSES 13, 14.

THE subject before us has been enveloped in obscurity, occasioned by those difficulties which attend whatever is known through the medium of a dead language, and imperfect information:—but, as the desire of farther knowledge, is natural to the ingenuous, this article has often been canvassed as well anciently as in later times. The plant which yields the Spikenard, has recently been investigated by two learned men, whose sentiments we shall offer to the Reader.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NARDUS INDICA, OR SPIKENARD.

By GILBERT BLANE, M.D. F.R.S.

After some introductory observations, the Doctor says, "I have been led to these reflections by an account, sent me some time ago by my brother in India, of the Spikenard, or *Nardus Indica*, a name familiar in the works of the ancient physicians, naturalists, and poets; but the identity of which has not hitherto been

satisfactorily ascertained. He says, in a letter dated Lucknow, December 1786, that, "travelling with the Nabob Visier, on one of his hunting excursions towards the northern mountains, I was surprised one day, after crossing the river Rapti, about twenty miles from the foot of the hills, to perceive the air perfumed with an aromatic smell; and, on asking the cause, I was told it proceeded from the roots of the grass that were bruised or trodden out of the ground by the feet of the elephants and horses of the Nabob's retinue. The country was wild and uncultivated, and this was the common grass which covered the surface of it, growing in large tufts close to each other, very rank, and in general from three to four feet in length. As it was the winter season, there was none of it in flower. Indeed, the greatest part of it had been burnt down on the road we went, in order that it might be no impediment to the Nabob's encampments.

"I collected a quantity of the roots to be dried for use, and carefully dug up some of it, which I sent to be planted in my garden at Lucknow. It there thrived exceedingly, and in the rainy season it shot up spikes about six feet high. Accompanying this, I send you a drawing of the plant in flower, and of the dried roots, in which the natural appearance is tolerably preserved. [*Vide* Nos. 1, 2. on the Plate.]

"It is called by the natives *Terankus*, which means literally, in the Hindoo language, *Fever-Restrainer*, from the virtues they attribute to it in that disease. They infuse about a dram of it in half a pint of hot water, with a small quantity of black pepper. This infusion serves for one dose, and is repeated three times a day. It is esteemed a powerful medicine in all kinds of fevers, whether continued or intermittent.

"The whole plant has a strong aromatic odour; but both the smell and the virtues reside principally in the husky roots, which in chewing have a bitter, warm, pungent taste, accompanied with some degree of that kind of glow in the mouth which cardamoms occasion.

"Besides the drawing, a dried specimen has been sent, which was in such good preservation as to enable Sir JOSEPH BANKS, P. R. S. to ascertain it by the botanical characters to be a species of *Andropogon*.

"There is great reason, however, to think, that it is the true *Nardus Indica* of the ancients; for, first, the circumstance, in the account above recited, of its being discovered in an unfrequented country from the odour it exhaled by being trod upon by the elephants and horses, corresponds, in a striking manner, with an occurrence related by Arrian, in his History of the Expedition of Alexander the Great into India. It is there mentioned, *lib. vi. cap. 22.* that, during his march through the deserts of Gadrosia, the air was perfumed by the Spikenard, which was trampled under foot by the army; and that the Phœnicians, who accompanied the expedition, collected large quantities of it, as well as of myrrh, in order to carry them to their own country, as articles of merchandise. This last circumstance seems farther to ascertain it to have been the true *Nardus*: for the Phœnicians, who, even in war, appear to have retained their genius for commerce, could, no doubt, distinguish the proper quality of this commodity.

"Secondly, though the accounts of the ancients concerning this plant are obscure and defective, it is evident, it was a plant of the order of *gramina*; for the term *arista*, so often applied to it, was appropriated by them to the fructification of grains and grasses, and seems to be a word of Greek original to denote the most excellent portion of those plants, which are the most useful in the vegetable creation for the sustenance of animal life, and nature has also kindly made them the most abundant in all parts of the habitable earth. The term *spica* is applied to plants

of the natural order *verticillatæ*, in which there are many species of fragrant plants, and the lavender, which being an indigenous one, affording a grateful perfume, was called *Nardus Italica* by the Romans; but we never find the term *arista* applied to these. The poets, as well as the naturalists, constantly apply this latter term to the true *Nardus*. Statius calls the Spikenard *odoratæ aristæ*. Ovid, in mentioning it as one of the materials of the Phœnix's nest, calls it *Nardi levis arista*; and a poem, ascribed to Lactantius, on the same subject, says, *his addit tenerus Nardi pubentis aristas*, where the epithet *pubentis* seems even to point out that it belonged to the genus *Andropogon*, a name given to it by Linnæus from this circumstance. Galen says, that though there are various sorts of *Nardus*, the term *Ναρδο σπαραγος*, or Spikenard, should not be applied to any but the *Nardus Indica*. It would appear, that the *Nardus Celtica* was a plant of a quite different habit, and is supposed to be a species of *Valeriana*. The description of the *Nardus Indica* by Pliny does not indeed correspond with the appearance of our specimen; for he says it is *frutex radice pingui et crassâ*; whereas ours has small fibrous roots. But as Italy is very remote from the native country of this plant, it is reasonable to suppose, that others, more easily procurable, used to be substituted for it; and the same author says, that there were nine different plants by which it could be imitated and adulterated. There would be strong temptations to do this from the great demand for it, and the expense and difficulty of distant inland carriage; and as it was much used as a perfume, being brought into Greece and Italy in the form of an unguent manufactured in Laodicea, Tarsus, and other towns of Syria and Asia Minor, it is probable, that any grateful aromatic resembling it was allowed to pass for it. It is probable, that the *Nardus* of Pliny, and great part of what is now imported from the Levant, and found under that name in the shops, is a plant growing in the countries on the Euphrates, or in Syria, where the great emporiums of the eastern and western commerce were situated. There is a *Nardus Assyria*, mentioned by Horace; and Dioscorides mentions the *Nardus Syriaca*, as a species different from the *Indica*, which certainly was brought from some of the remote parts of India; for both Dioscorides and Galen, by way of fixing more precisely the country from whence it comes, call it also *Nardus Gangites*.

“With regard to the virtues of this plant, it was highly valued anciently as an article of luxury as well as a medicine. The favourite perfume which was used at the ancient baths and feasts was the *unguentum Nardinum*; and it appears, from a passage in Horace, that it was so valuable, that as much of it as could be contained in a small box of precious stone was considered a sort of equivalent for a large vessel of wine, and a handsome quota for a guest to contribute at an entertainment, according to the custom of antiquity.

———*Nardo vinum merebere*
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum.

“The fragrance and aromatic warmth of the *Nardus* depends on a fixed principle like that of cardamoms, ginger, and some other spices. I tried to extract the virtues of the *Nardus* by boiling water, by maceration in wine and in proof spirits, but it yielded them sparingly, and with difficulty, to all these *menstrua*.” So far Dr. BLANE. *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxx. p. 284.

Much about the time when this was published in England, the attention of Sir WILLIAM JONES, in India, was occupied on this very article: his enquiries led him to a totally different plant. The following is his account:

“Ignorance is to the mind what extreme darkness is to the nerves: both cause an uneasy sensation; and we naturally love knowledge, as we love light, even when we have no design of applying either to a purpose essentially useful. This is intended as an apology for the pains, which have been taken to procure a determinate answer to a question of no apparent utility, but which ought to be readily answered in *India*, “What is the *Indian Spikenard*?” All agree, that it is an odoriferous plant, the best sort of which, according to Ptolemy, grew about *Rangamritica* or *Rangamati*, and on the borders of the country now called *Bután*: it is mentioned by Dioscorides, whose work I have not in my possession; but his description of it must be very imperfect, since neither Linnæus nor his disciples pretend to class it.

“In order to procure information from the learned natives, it was necessary to know the *name* of the plant in some *Asiatic* language. The very word *nard* occurs in the song of Solomon; but the name and the thing were both exotick: the Hebrew lexicographers imagine both to be *Indian*; but the word is in truth *Persian*.

“The Arabs have borrowed the word *nard*, but in the sense, as we learn from the *Kámûs*, of a *compound medicinal unguent*. Whatever it signified in old Persian, the Arabic word *sumbul*, which, like *sumbalah*, means an *ear* or *spike*, has long been substituted for it; and there can be no doubt, that by the *sumbul* of *India* the Muselmâns understand the same plant with the *nard* of Ptolemy and the *Nardostachys*, or *Spikenard*, of Galen.

“A Muselman physician from Delhi assured me positively, that the plant was not *Jatamânsi*, but *Sûd*, as it is named in Arabic, which the author of the *Tohfatu'l Mûmenîn* particularly distinguishes from the *Indian Sumbul*. He produced on the next day an extract from the Dictionary of Natural History, to which he had referred; and I present you with a translation of all that is material in it. “1. *SUD* has a roundish olive-shaped root, externally black, but white internally, and so fragrant as to have obtained in Persia the name of *Subterranean Musk*: its leaf has some resemblance to that of a leek, but is longer and narrower, strong, somewhat rough at the edges, and tapering to a point. 2. *SUMBUL* means a *spike* or *ear*, and was called *nard* by the Greeks. There are three sorts of *Sumbul* or *Nardin*; but, when the word stands alone, it means the *Sumbul* of India, which is a herb *without flower or fruit*, (he speaks of the drug only) like the tail of an ermine, or of a small weasel, but not quite so thick, and about the length of a finger. It is darkish, inclining to yellow, and very fragrant: it is brought from Hindustân, and its medicinal virtue lasts three years.” It was easy to procure the dry *Jatamansi*, which corresponded perfectly with the description of the *Sumbul*; and, though a native Muselman afterwards gave me a Persian paper, written by himself, in which he represents the *Sumbul* of *India*, the *Sweet Sumbul*, and the *Jatamansi* as three different plants, yet the authority of the *Tohfatu'l Mûmenîn* is decisive, that the *sweet Sumbul* is only another denomination of *nard*, and the physician, who produced that authority, brought, as a specimen of *sumbul*, the very same drug, which my Pandit, who is also a physician, brought as a specimen of the *Jatamansi*: a Brahman of eminent learning gave me a parcel of the same sort, and told me it was used in their sacrifices; that, when fresh, it was exquisitely sweet, and added much to the scent of rich essences, in which it was a principal ingredient; that the merchants brought it from the mountainous country to the north-east of Bengal; that it was the entire plant, not a part of it, and received its Sanscrit names from its resemblance to *locks of hair*; as it is called *Spikenard*, I suppose from its resemblance to a spike, when

it is dried, and not from the configuration of its flowers, which the Greeks, probably, never examined. The Persian author describes the whole plant as resembling the tail of an ermine; and the *Jatamansi*, which is manifestly the *Spikenard* of our druggists, has precisely that form, consisting of withered stalks and ribs of leaves, cohering in a bundle of yellowish brown capillary fibres, and constituting a spike about the size of a small finger. We may on the whole be assured, that the *Nardus* of Ptolemy, the *Indian Sumbul* of the Persians and Arabs, the *Jatamansi* of the Hindus, and the *Spikenard* of our shops, are one and the same plant; but to what class and genus it belongs in the Linnæan system, can only be ascertained by an inspection of the fresh blossoms. Dr. PATRICK RUSSELL, who always communicates with obliging facility his extensive and accurate knowledge, informed me by letter, that Spikenard is carried over the desert (from *India*, I presume) to Aleppo, where it is used in substance, mixed with other perfumes, and worn in small bags, or in the form of essence; and kept in little boxes or phials, like *âtar* of roses." He is persuaded, and so am I, that the *Indian Nard* of the ancients, and that of our shops, is the same vegetable.

"I am not, indeed, of opinion, that the *nardum* of the Romans was merely the essential oil of the plant, from which it was denominated, but am strongly inclined to believe, that it was a *generick* word, meaning what we now call *âtar*, either the *âtar* of roses from Cashmir and Persia, that of *Cetaca* or *Pandanus*, from the Western coast of India, or that of *Aguru*, or aloe-wood, from Asam or Cochinchina, the process of obtaining which is described by Abulfazl, or the mixed perfume called *âbir*, of which the principal ingredients were yellow sandal, violets, orange-flowers, wood of aloes, rose-water, musk, and true Spikenard: all those essences and compositions were costly; and most of them being sold by the Indians to the Persians and Arabs, from whom, in the time of Octavius, they were received by the Syrians and Romans, they must have been extremely dear at Jerusalem and at Rome. There might also have been a pure *nardine oil*, as Athenæus calls it; but *nardum* probably meant (and Koenig was of the same opinion) an Indian essence *in general*, taking its name from that ingredient, which had, or was commonly thought to have, the most exquisite scent."

When the *Philosophical Transactions*, containing the Essay of Dr. BLANE, reached India, Sir WM. JONES supported his opinion by additional arguments; but their application is not much to our present purpose. He says,

"My own enquiries have convinced me, that, the *Indian Spikenard*, of Dioscorides is the *Sumbul Hind*, and that the *Sumbul Hind* is the *Jatamansi* of Amarsinh. I am persuaded, that the true Nard is a species of *Valerian*, produced in the *most remote* and hilly parts of India, such as Népâl, Morang, and Butan, near which Ptolemy fixes its native soil: the commercial agents of the *Dévaraja* call it also *Pampi*, and by their account the dried specimens, which look like the tails of ermines, *rise from the ground, resembling ears of green wheat both in form and color*; a fact, which perfectly accounts for the names *Stachys*, *Spica*, *Sumbul*, and *Khúsh*, which Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Persians have given to the drug, though it is not properly a *spike*, and not merely a *root*, but the whole plant, which the natives gather for sale, before the radical leaves, of which the fibres only remain after a few months, have unfolded themselves from the base of the stem. It is used, say the Butan agents, as a perfume and in medicinal unguents, but with other fragrant substances, the scent and power of which it is thought to increase: as a medicine, they add, it is principally esteemed for complaints in the bowels."

Botanical Observations on the SPIKENARD of the Ancients: intended as a Supplement to the late Sir WM. JONES'S Papers. By WM. ROXBURGH, M. D.

VALERIANA JATAMANSI.

Generic Character.—Flowers triandrous, leaves entire, four-fold, the inner radical pair petioled, and cordate; the rest smaller, sessile, and sub-lanceolate; seeds crowned with a pappus.

The plants now received, are growing in two small baskets of earth; in each basket there appears above the earth between thirty and forty hairy spike-like bodies, but more justly compared to the tails of *Ermines*, or small *Weasels*; from the apex of each, or at least of the greater part of them, there is a smooth lanceolate, or lanceolate-oblong, three or five nerved, short-petioled, acute or obtuse, slightly serrulate leaf or two shooting forth. [The term *spica*, or spike, is not so ill applied to this substance as may be imagined; several of the Indian grasses, well known to me, have spikes almost exactly resembling a single straight piece of *nardus*: and when those hairs (or flexible *arista-like* bristles) are removed, Pliny's words, *frutex radice pingui et crassa*," are by no means inapplicable. See Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.] No. 6. represents one of them in the above state; and on gently removing the fibres or hairs which surround the short petioles of these leaves, I find it consists of numerous sheaths, of which one, two, or three of the upper or interior ones are entire, and have their fibres connected by a light-brown coloured membranous substance, as at *b*; but in the lower exterior sheaths, where this connecting membrane is decayed, the more durable hair-like fibres remain distinct, giving to the whole the appearance of an *Ermine's* tail: this part, as well as the root, are evidently perennial. The root itself (beginning at the surface of the earth where the fibrous envelope ends) is from three to twelve inches long, covered with a pretty thick light-brown coloured bark; from the main root, which is sometimes divided, there issue several smaller fibres. No. 5. is another plant with a long root; here the hair-like sheaths, beginning at *a*, are separated from this, the perennial part of the stem, and turned to the right side; at the apex is seen the young shoot, marked *b*, which is not so far advanced as at No. 6. *ccc* show the remains of last year's annual stem. When the young shoot is a little farther advanced than in No. 5. and not so far as in No. 6. they resemble the young convolute shoots of monocotyledonous plants.

June 1795. The whole of the above plants have perished, without producing flowers, notwithstanding every care that could possibly be taken of them. The principal figure in the drawing, marked No. 4. and the following description, as well as the above definition, are therefore chiefly extracted from the engraving and description in the second volume of the *Researches*, and from the information communicated to me by Mr. Burt, the gentleman who had charge of the plants that flowered at *Gaya*, and who gave Sir Wm. Jones the drawing and description thereof. [Which we have copied from the *Calcutta Edition*. *Vide* No. 3. Plate.]

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANT.

Root, it is already described above.—**Stem**, lower part perennial, involved in fibrous sheaths, &c, as above described; the upper part herbaceous, suberect, simple, from six to twelve inches long. **Leaves** four-fold, the lowermost pair of the four radical are opposite, sessile, oblong, forming, as it were, a two-valved spathe; the other pair are also opposite, petioled, cordate, margins waved and pointed; those of the stem sessile and lanceolate; all are smooth on both sides. **Corymb** terminal, first division trichotomous. — **Bracts** awled. — **Calyx** scarce any. **Corol** one petaled, funnel-shaped, tube somewhat gibbous. **Border** five-cleft. **Stamens**, filaments three, project above the tube of the corol; anthers incumbent. **Pistil**, germ beneath. **Style** erect, length of the tube. **Stigma** simple. **Pericarp**, a single seed crowned with a pappus.

.....

The result of these observations is: that there grew in Arabia and Syria a fragrant grass, which was considered as a *Nard*, and was probably known under that name. But, 2. The true *Indian Nard*, or *Spikenard*, was a plant of a different kind, not native of Syria. 3. The *atar*, or essential fragrance of this plant, is called absolutely *nard*, or *spikenard*; which might be its ancient appellation.

I apprehend that these three particulars occur in Scripture; and that they deserve attention. This word *nard* is repeated somewhat awkwardly, Cant. iv. 13, 14. "Camphire with *spikenard*: *spikenard* with saffron." Why should this plant be *twice* named? It will appear that this peculiarity struck us formely, (*vide* "on SOLOMON'S SONG." No. cccxcv.) and not without reason: but if we may suppose that the first *nard* means the Syrian or Arabian plant, (or, the whole genus of scented grasses, "three sorts of *Nardin*") which no doubt was familiar to Solomon, whereas the second *nard* means the Indian *nard*, true *spikenard*, then it is very probable that the words are clear, and that the latter word merely wants some discriminating epithet, answering to *spear*, which transcribers not understanding have dropped; or, that a different mode of pronunciation distinguished the names of these two plants when mentioned in discourse: [they are differently *pointed* in the printed copies] and I think it worth observing, that the first word is *NARDIM* (plural)—"Copherim (*Henna-plants*, plural) with *Nardim*,—*nards*." But the following seems to be put absolutely, "*Nard*, or THE *Nard* (singular) *with the Crocus*." This distinction, if admitted, and it certainly was admitted by the ancients, (and in the Arabic Dictionary of Natural History), as we have seen above, removes the difficulty, and justifies the passage.

The third acceptation of the term *nard*, or *spikenard*, occurs in the Gospels. Mark xiv. 3. mentions "*ointment of spikenard, very precious*;" which, ver. 5. is said to have been worth *more* than three hundred pence (*denarii*); and John, xii. 3. mentions "*a pound of ointment of spikenard, VERY COSTLY*;—the house was filled with the odour of the ointment;—it was worth three hundred pence" (*denarii*). As this evangelist has determined the quantity—a *pound*—and the *lowest* value (for Mark says *more*) was *eight pounds fifteen shillings*, we may safely suppose that this was not a Syrian production, or made from any fragrant grass growing in the neighbouring districts; but was a true *atar* of Indian Spikenard; "*very costly*."

It will bear a query, also, whether there might not be in the answer of our LORD, some allusion to the remoteness of the country from whence this unguent was brought; "whosoever this Gospel shall be preached throughout the WHOLE WORLD (*Χοσμον*)—shall be her memorial." *q. d.* "This unguent came from a distant country, to be sure, but the Gospel shall spread to a much greater distance, yea, all over the world; so that in India itself, from whence this unguent came, shall the memorial of its application to my sacred person, be mentioned with honour."

The above instance, I think clear: perhaps, we may now revert with advantage to the Canticles, where we find the Bride saying, "My *spikenard* sendeth forth the smell thereof." From the word *nard* being singular here, literally "my *nard* giveth his scent;" shall we say this was in the form of an "essence, in a small bag"? or, was it a number of sprigs of the fragrant grass, worn like a nosegay in the bosom of this lady? The "savour of her good ointments" is mentioned verse 3. as highly attractive: and nothing could exceed an *atar* of Spikenard. The passages mutually illustrate each other. Comp. No. DCLXIX.

A

G E N E R A L I N D E X

TO

THE FOURTH EDITION

OF

CALMET'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE,

AND

THE FRAGMENTS:

COMPRISING

**AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUBJECTS, AND A METHODOICAL ARRANGEMENT OF TEXTS,
ILLUSTRATED OR EXPLAINED.**

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS, OR GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE WORK

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY B. J. HOLDSWORTH,

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1827.

SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS,
OF GENERAL OUTLINES OF
CALMET'S BIBLICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.
AND THE FRAGMENTS.

TO distribute the objects of contemplation into various departments, is manifestly attended with numerous advantages. The pursuing of such a method is not dissimilar to the improvements which have taken place in mechanical operations by the division of labour; and in the present age, our discoveries on every topic have hereby been most rapidly promoted.

All the subjects of discussion or notice in the Bible may be comprehended under the following classification:—

LITERATURE—which regards every consideration relative to the Language, Bibliography, Learning, and Criticism of the Sacred Writings.

COSMOGRAPHY—presenting a complete map or delineation of the Universe: teraqueous, aerial, and celestial.

THEOLOGY—which, while it develops the principles and precepts of genuine Religion, constitutes the prominent design of the Inspired Volume.

NATURAL SCIENCE—comprehending whatever belongs to the interesting pursuits of Geology, Botany, and Zoography.

MANUFACTURES—particularly those which relate to the food and raiment, and thereby the well-being of mankind.

THE ARTS—which may be considered in the usual order of Common and Fine: the former including those of Agriculture, Building, Navigation, Commerce, War, and the latter, such as Music, Writing, Sculpture, and Painting.

SCIENCES—meaning those which are generally understood by the Mathematics, Jurisprudence, Medicine, and the other main parts of Natural and Moral Philosophy.

HISTORY—in connection with which may be associated whatever is suitably arranged under Chronology, Antiquities, Biography, and Mythology.

Upon these principles the following outline of the subjects distributed through the Dictionary and Fragments is submitted to the Biblical student, for the purpose of shewing the variety and extent of information which they comprise, although the several topics of investigation are in the work itself arranged in the usual alphabetical order.

I. LITERATURE.

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2. METEOROLOGY.—Atmosphere: including air, wind, clouds.—Weather: including rain, snow, thunder, seasons.
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- 3 **MUSIC** —Antiquity.—Progressive History. — Allusions. — Instruments :—stringed, fluted, pulsatory.
- 4 **WRITING.** — Explanations. — Engraving. — Hieroglyphics. — Gradual Improvements — Drawing.

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VIII. HISTORY.

1. **CHRONOLOGY.**— Various Systems —Divisions of Time.—Modes of Notation.—Scripture Periods.
- 2 **BIOGRAPHY.**—Genealogy.—Heraldry.—Prominent and leading Characters.
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GENERAL INDEX

TO THE DICTIONARY AND FRAGMENTS.

The articles in the Dictionary are referred to under the several words and columns. The Fragments are referred to as Vol. I. and II. Vol. I. being divided into two parts with distinct paging, the second division is pointed out by div. 2. N. H. refers to the NATURAL HISTORY, at the end of the Fragments, Vol. II. The words in the Dictionary to which nothing beyond a mere reference could be given, are omitted in the Index, as unnecessary.

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Brother, this term of extensive signification in Scripture. *Brother*.

Brutes, peace among them, promised under Messiah's reign, Frag. i. p. 542.

Buckler, a defensive piece of armour. *Buckler*.
 mentioned in the Old Testament, *ibid.*

Build, to, used in Scripture to denote the production of children. *To build*.

Bull, used in sacrifice. *Bull*.
 Joseph compared to one, *ibid.*
 worshipped by the Egyptians, *ibid.*
 used allegorically to denote strength, ferocity, &c. *ibid.*

Burden, various senses of the word. *Weights*, col. 3.

Burial, among the Hebrews. *Burial*, and *Dead*, col. 3.

Burning, a mode of punishment. *Punishment*, col. 2.

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Burnt offerings, altars of, Frag. i. p. 505.

Butter, the word used in Scripture to denote cream. *Butter*.
 and honey, used as food, Frag. i. p. 337.

Byblos, a city of Phœnicia. *Byblos*.

Byssus, Egyptian linen. *Byssus*, col. 1.

C.

Cabbala, tradition, Jewish. *Cabbala*.

Cabbalists, rabbinical doctors. *Cabbalists*.

Cabbon, a city of Judah. *Cabbon*.

Cabul, a city of Asher. I. *Cabul*.
 a district of Galilee. II. *Cabul*.
 a town in Hindostan. III. *Cabul*.

Cad, a Hebrew measure. *Cad*.

Cadumin, a brook in Palestine. *Cadumin*.

Cæsarea, in Palestine, account of. I. *Cæsarea*.
 a town in Galilee. *Cæsarea Philippi*.

Cain, eldest son of Adam. *Cain*.
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Cainan, son of Arphaxad, not mentioned by Moses, and probably an interpolation in Luke. II. *Cainan*.

Caipha, a town at the foot of mount Carmel. *Caipha*.
Caiaphas, the high priest before whom Christ was arraigned, deposed by Vitellius, governor of Syria. *Caiaphas*, col. 2.
Caius Caligula, emperor of Rome, the placing his statue in the temple of Jerusalem resisted by the Jews. *Caius Caligula*.
Cakes, several sorts among the Hebrews. *Cakes*. their manner of offering them, *ibid*.
Calah, a city of Assyria. *Calah*.
Calamus aromaticus, a sweet scented root brought from Arabia. *Calamus Aromaticus*.
Calamus, a measuring reed. *Calamus*.
Calamus Scriptorius, a writing reed. *Calamus Scriptorius*.
Cale, a city of Assyria. *Calah, Cale*.
Caleb, a district of Judah. II. *Caleb*.
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Calno, a city of Babylonia. *Calno*.
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Camphire, a drug. *Camphire*.
Cana, a city of Asher. I. *Cana*. a city of Zebulun. II. *Cana*. a brook in Judea. III. *Cana*. a town of Galilee, its present state. IV. *Cana*.
Canaan, import of the name. *Canaan*. the son of Ham, *ibid*. land of, described, Frag. ii. p. 134, 151, 155. cultivation of its mountains, Frag. ii. p. 139.
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Canticles, the book of, forbidden to be read by the Hebrews until they had reached the age of thirty. II. *Canticles*.
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Caphar, a city of Benjamin. *Caphar*.
Caphar jama, a village of Naphtali. *Caphar-jama*.
Caphar-salama, a village near Jerusalem. *Caphar-salama*.
Caphar-sorek, a town in Judea. *Caphar-sorek*.
Caphtor, an island supposed to be Crete. *Caphtor*.
Caphtorim, the, or Philistines, original country of *Caphtor*.
Capitation of the Jews. *Capitation*.
Capitolina, the name of Jerusalem. *Capitolina*.
Captivities of Israel. *Captivity*. of Judah, col. 2.
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Caraites, a Jewish sect, opposed to the rabbins on the doctrine of traditions. *Caraites*.
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Carchemish, a town of Assyria. *Carchemish*.
Carmel, a city of Judah. I. *Carmel*. mount. II. *Carmel*. fertile places so called. III. *Carmel*.
Carnaim, a city of Gilead. *Carnaim*. import of the name, *ibid*.
Carnion, a fortress. *Carnion*.
Carthage, a city of Africa. *Carthage*.
Casiphua, import of the name. *Casiphua*.
Casius, a mountain separating Syria from Egypt. I. *Casius*.
Casius, the northern boundary of Canaan. II. *Casius*.
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Caspian mountains. I. *Caspian*.
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Cassia, a spice. *Cassia*.
Caterpillar, an insect. *Caterpillar*.
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- Cenchrea, a sea-port in the Archipelago. *Cenchrea*.
- Cendebeus, a general of Antiochus Sidetes. *Cendebeus*.
- Censers, ancient, forms of, Frag. ii. p. 426.
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- Cethlis, a city of Judah. *Cethlis*.
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- Chabris. *Chabris*.
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- Chamarim, idolatrous priests. *Chamarim*.
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- Chamois, a goat. *Chamois*.
- Chamos, an idol of the Moabites. *Chamos*.
- Characa, a city of Gad. *Characa*.
- Chariots of war, not used by the Hebrews. *Chariots*.
- Chariots, eastern, Frag. ii. p. 411, 419.
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- Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites. *Chedorlaomer*.
- Chelmon, a city of Judea. *Chelmon*.
- Chemosh, an idol of the Moabites. *Chamos*.
- Chephraiah, a city of Benjamin. I. *Chephirah*.
- Cherem, a sentence of excommunication. *Cherem*.
- Cherethim, the Philistines so called. *Cherethim*.
- Cherith, a brook of Judea. *Cherith*.
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 Chrysoprasus, a precious stone. *Chrysoprasus*.
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 Chun, a city of Syria. *Chun*.
 Church, an assembly, or the place where persons assemble. *Church*.
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 Chushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia. *Chushan-Rishathaim*.
 Chuza, Herod Agrippa's steward. *Chuza*.
 Cicer, chick-peas, used as common provision among the Jews and Egyptians. *Cicer*.
 Cilicia, a province of Asia. *Cilicia*.
 Cinnamon, a sweet spice. *Cinnamon*.
 Cinnereth, a city of Naphtali. I. *Cinnereth* lake of, account of. II. *Cinnereth*.
 Circumcision, a Jewish rite, but derived from the Patriarchs. *Circumcision*.
 ceremony of, col. 2.
 used among the Arabians, col. 3.
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 Cisleu, a Jewish month. *Cisleu*.
 Cisterns, used in Palestine for conveying water into the towns. *Cistern*.
 Clauda, an island of the Mediterranean. *Clauda*.
 Claudia, a convert of St. Paul. *Claudia*, and Frag. ii. p. 264
 Claudius, the Roman emperor. I. *Claudius*.
 a Roman tribune, who rescued Paul from the Jews. II. *Claudius*.
 Felix, governor of Judea. III. *Claudius*.
 Clement, St. Paul's fellow-labourer, and bishop of Rome. *Clement*.
 Cleopas, father of the apostles James, Jude, and Joses. *Cleopas*.
 Cleopatra, wife of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. I. *Cleopatra*.
 daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes. II. *Cleopatra*.
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 sister and wife of Ptolemy Physcon. IV. *Cleopatra*.
 last queen of Egypt. V. *Cleopatra*.
 Clerus, inheritance. *Clerus*.
 Cloud, that which accompanied the Israelites in their journey through the wilderness. I. *Cloud* the word denotes morning mists. II. *Cloud*.
 Clysma, the place where the Israelites passed the Red Sea. *Clysma*.
 Coa, a city in Arabia Felix. *Coa*.
 Cockatrice of Scripture, attempts to ascertain. *Serpents*, and Frag. ii. N. H. p. 80.
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 its present state, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 51.
 Comet, streamer of heaven, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 116.
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 Common, the word used by the Jews to denote any thing profane, or unclean. *Common*.

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 Concubine, the word used in Scripture to denote a lawful wife. *Concubine*.
 their children did not inherit the father's property, *ibid*.
 Concupiscence, an irregular love of pleasure, wealth, honour, &c. *Concupiscence*.
 Condemn, to declare guilty. *Condemn*.
 Coney, natural history of, Frag. ii. N. H. p. 43.
 Confessors, those who avowed their faith in Christ, so called. *Confessors*.
 the Jewish priests sustained this character on behalf of the people, col. 2.
 Confession, a singular custom among the Jews. *Confessor*, col. 2.
 Confusion of tongues. *Language*, col. 5.
 Consecration, the devoting a thing to God's service. *Consecrate*.
 Contradictions, the various kinds of, in Scripture. *Contradiction*.
 Contrition, sorrow for sin. *Contrition*.
 Coos, an island in the Mediterranean. *Coos*.
 Coptæ, the Egyptians who profess Christianity so called. *Coptæ*.
 Corban, a gift to God, or to his temple, peculiar to the Jews. *Corban*.
 various sorts of, col. 3.
 Corbona, the treasury of the temple. *Corbona*.
 Cord, girding with, a token of sorrow. *Cord*.
 the word used to denote inheritance, col. 2.
 Coreæ, a town of Judea. *Coreæ*.
 Coriander, a small seed. *Coriander*.
 Corinth, the capital of Achaia, Paul's labours, persecution, and success there. *Corinth*.
 Cornelius, the Roman centurion. *Cornelius*.
 Corn, methods of grinding, Frag. i. p. 172.
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 Corner, used by the Hebrews to denote the extremity. *Corner*.
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 Court of the Gentiles, that part of the temple in which the Gentiles were allowed to worship. *Gentile*.
 Courts, those appertaining to the temple. *Court* the term used for a city, *ibid*.
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 Creed, the apostles'. *Creed*.
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 Crystal, a stone. *Crystal*
 Ctesiphon, a city of Assyria. *Ctesiphon*
 Cubit, a measure, two kinds in use among the Jews. *Cubit*, col. 2.
 Culon, a town of Judah. *Culon*.
 Cup, the word used figuratively to denote affliction or punishment. *Cup*.
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 Cush, the countries peopled by his descendants. *IV. Cush*, col. 2.
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 Cyaxares, son of Astyages, a king of Media, called Darius the Mede. *II. Cyaxares*.
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 Daberath, a Levitical city. *Daberath*.
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 Dalmatia, a part of Illyria. *Dalmatia*.
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 Darcmoonim, Hebrew drachms. *Darcmoonim*.
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 Daroma, a district of Judea. *Daroma*.
 Date-tree, common in Palestine. *Palm-tree*.
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- Decree, a determination or appointment of any kind. *Decree.*
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 of the half tribe of Manasseh. II. *Gath-rimmon*.
 a city of Ephraim. III. *Gath-rimmon*.
 Gaulan, a city beyond Jordan. *Gaulan*.
 Gaza, a city of the Philistines. I. *Gaza*.
 a city of Ephraim. II. *Gaza*.
 Gazophylacium, the treasury chambers. *Gazophy-*
lacium.
 Gebal, the country of Amalek. I. *Gebal*.
 the ancient Byblus. II. *Gebal*.
 Gedar, a city beyond Jordan. *Geder*, and III. *Gadara*.
 Gederothaim, a town of Judah. *Gederothaim*, and
 II. *Gadara*.
 Gedor, a town of Judah. III. *Gedor*.
 Gedrus, a city of Judea. *Gedrus*.

- Gecko, the, an oviparous quadruped of Egypt, natural history of, Frag. ii. N. H. p. 74.
- Gehennom, the valley of Hinnom. *Gehennom*.
- Geliloth, a place beyond Jordan. *Geliloth*.
- Gelnon, a city of Judah. *Gelmon*.
- Gemara, the written traditions of the Jews. *Gemara*.
- Geram, a village in the plain of Samaria. *Geram*.
- Genealogy, carefully attended to by the Jews. *Genealogy of Jesus Christ*, col. 2.
- Genealogy of Christ, considerations on, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 57.
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- Generation, the word used to signify the history and genealogy of a person. *Generation*.
- as denoting a period of time, Frag. i. p. 368, div. 2. p. 62. and Frag. ii. p. 273.
- Generations, the ancients computed by them. *Generation*.
- Genesar, lake of. *Genesar*, and Frag. ii. p. 152.
- Genasareth, the country around the lake Genesar. *Genasareth*, and *Tiberias*, col. 2.
- Genesis, book of, title, and chronology. *Genesis*.
- illustration of some parts of its history, Frag. ii. p. 91.
- Geneva Bible, account of. *Bible*, col. 45.
- Gentoo laws, their antiquity and value in the illustration of Scripture, Frag. i. p. 147.
- wide extent of their adoption, *ibid*.
- Geography, knowledge of, possessed by the sacred writers, Frag. ii. p. 240.
- sacred, confirmed by the Indian Puranas, Frag. ii. p. 63.
- Gerar, a city of the Philistines. *Gerar*.
- Gerasa, a city of Decapolis. *Gerasa*.
- Gerizim, a mount near Shechem, a temple built on it by the Samaritans. *Gerizim*.—and dedicated to Jupiter, col. 3.
- Geruth, a city near Bethlehem. *Geruth*.
- Gerzi, the land of. *Gerzi*.
- Geshur, a place in Syria. II. *Geshur*.
- Geshurites, some of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan. *Geshurites*.
- Gethsemane, a village on the mount of Olives. *Gethsemane*.
- Giants, mentioned in Scripture. *Giants*.
- Gibbethon, a city of Dan. *Gibbethon*.
- Gibeah, a city of Benjamin. *Gibeah*.
- Gibeon, the capital of the Gibeonites. *Gibeon*.
- Giblos, a city of Phœnicia. *Giblos*.
- Gidgad, a mountain in the wilderness of Paran. *Gidgad*.
- Gihon, a fountain near Jerusalem. I. *Gihon*.
- one of the four rivers of Paradise II. *Gihon*.
- Gilboa, a mountain on which Saul was slain. *Gilboa*.
- Gilead, mountains of. I. *Gilead*.
- balm of, *ibid*.
- a town of Ephraim. III. *Gilead*.
- Gilgal, upper Galilee so called. I. *Gilgal*.
- a city near Jericho. II. *Gilgal*.
- Giloh, a city of Judah. *Giloh*.
- Gimzo, a city of Judah. *Gimzo*.
- Girdle, worn by the Hebrews. *Girdle*.
- investiture with, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 78.
- Girgashites, import of the name. *Girgashites*.
- Gison, a wall of the temple. *Gison*.
- Gith, a grain. *Gith*.
- Gittith, a word found in the title of some of the Psalms. *Gittith*.
- Glass, made of sand, yielded by some rivers of Palestine. *Glass*.
- Glory of God, the divine presence. *Glory of God*.
- Gnat, a small insect. *Gnat*.
- natural history of, Frag. ii. N. H. p. 119.
- Gnidus, a promontory of Asia Minor. *Gnidus*, and *Cnidus*.
- Gnostics, opposed in the writings of Peter and Paul. *Gnostics*.
- Goat, scape. *Azazel*, and *Expiation*, col. 2.
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- Goats, worshipped by the Egyptians. *Goats*.
- used to denote the princes of the people. II. *Goats*.
- Syrian, representations of, Frag. i. p. 266.
- Gob, a plain in Palestine. *Gob*.
- God, a name given to the supreme being. *God*.
- name of. *Name*.
- Gods, false, worshipped by the Hebrews. *Gods*, col. 2.
- Gog and Magog, various opinions relative to them. *Gog and Magog*.
- Goiim, the Gentiles so called. *Goiim*.
- Golan, a city in Bashan. *Golan*.
- Gold, its native state. *Gold*.
- Golden calves of Jeroboam, cherubic emblems? Frag. i. p. 285.
- Golgotha, a small mount near Jerusalem. *Golgotha*.
- import of the name, Frag. ii. p. 178.
- Gomoriha, one of the cities of the Pentapolis, destroyed by fire. *Gomorrha*.
- Gophna, the principal place of one of the ten toparchies of Judea. *Gophna*.
- Goshen, a place in Egypt, Frag. i. p. 164. I. *Goshen*.
- a city of Judah. II. *Goshen*.
- Gospel, Matthew's, Frag. ii. p. 264.
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- Mark's, consists of a collection of facts gathered from Peter, col. 3.
- Luke's, the most regular in arrangement, *ibid*.
- John's, a supplementary work, col. 4.
- Gospels, the, canonical and spurious. *Gospel*.
- original materials of, col. 3.
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- Jonah's, account of, Frag. i. p. 135.
- Government of the Hebrews. *Theocracy*.
- Gozan, a river. *Gozan*.
- Grace, import of the word. *Grace*.
- its freedom, col. 2.
- Grapes, abundance of in Palestine. *Grapes*, col. 1.
- wild. *Grapes*, col. 2.
- Grass, used for heating ovens, Frag. i. p. 332.
- scarcity of in the east, *ibid*.
- grows there with rapidity, p. 333.

Grasshopper, an insect. *Grasshopper*.
 Graven, image. *Idol*, and *Image*.
 Greatness of God, denotes his majesty and power.
Greatness.
 Greece, the name used in an extensive sense in Scripture. I. *Greece*.
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 Greeks, the word used in the New Testament to denote those Hebrews who spoke Greek.
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 Gur, a narrow pass near Jerusalem. *Gur*.
 Gur Baal, a place in Arabia Petraea. *Gur Baal*.
 Gymnasium, a place of exercise. *Gymnasium*.
 allusions to the games in the New Testament, *ibid*.

II

Habits, Moses forbids the sexes to interchange.
Habits.
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 Hachilah, import of the name, a mountain near Jericho. *Hachilah*.
 Hadad-rimmon, a place in the valley of Megiddo.
Hadad-rimmon.
 Hadad, a Syrian God. VI. *Hadad*.
 Hadadezer, king of Zobah. *Hadadezer*.
 Hadashah, a town of Judah. *Hadashah*.
 Hadassah, or Esther. *Esther*.
 Hadid, a city of Benjamin. *Hadid*.
 Hades. See *Hell*.
 Hadrach, import of the name. I. *Hadrach*.
 a city near Damascus. II. *Hadrach*.
 Hagarenes, the descendants of Ishmael. *Hagarenes*.
 Hagiographa, the third class of inspired books.
Hagiographa.
 Hahiroth, an Israelitish station. *Hahiroth*.
 Hai, a city near Bethel. *Hai*.
 Hair, the Hebrews prohibited cutting it for the dead.
Hair.
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 loss of, a mode of punishment. *Punishment*, col. 6.
 Goats'. *Hair*, col. 3.
 camels', used for making linen, *ibid*.
 Hakkos, a priest whose children returned from Babylon. *Hakkos*.
 Halah, a river of Media. *Halah*.
 Halhul, a city of Judah. *Halhul*.
 Hali, a city of Phœnicia. *Hali*.
 Hall of the high priest, at Jerusalem, Frag. i. p. 225.

Haliætus, the black eagle. *Haliætus*.
 Ham, son of Noah, his inheritance. *Ham*.
 Indian appellation given to his descendants.
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 Hamathites, a people settled in Samaria. *Hamathites*.
 worshipped the idol Ashimah, *ibid*.
 Hammon, a city of Asher. *Hammon*.
 Hammoth-dor, a city of Naphtali. *Hammoth-dor*.
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 Hanging, a mode of punishment among the Jews.
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 Hannathon, a city of Zebulun. *Hannathon*.
 Hannekeb, a city of Naphtali. *Hannekeb*.
 Hapharaim, a city of Issachar. *Hapharaim*.
 Hara, a city of Assyria. *Hara*.
 Haradah, a station of the Israelites. *Haradah*.
 Haram, a city of Mesopotamia. III. *Haram*.
 Harams, eastern, sanctuaries, Frag. i. p. 47.
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 Hare, an unclean animal. *Hare*.
 Harod, a place near Jezreel. *Harod*.
 Hareth, a forest in Judah. *Hareth*.
 Harod, a fountain at the foot of mount Gilboa.
 I. *Harod*.
 Harosheth, import of the name. *Harosheth*.
 of the Gentiles, a city on the lake Semechon.
Harosheth.
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 Havoth-jair, a town of Manasseh beyond Jordan.
Havoth-jair.
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 Hazael, king of Syria. *Hazael*.
 his conduct in the death of Benhadad, considered, Frag. i. p. 16.
 Hazar-addar, a village of Judah. *Hazar-addar*.
 Hazar-gadda, a city of Judah. *Hazar-gadda*.
 Hazar-shual, a city of Simeon. *Hazar-shual*.
 Hazar-susim, a city of Simeon. *Hazar-susim*.
 Hazel, the nut tree. *Hazel*.
 Hazerim, a town in Arabia Petraea. *Hazerim*.
 Hazezon-tamar, a town called also Engedi. *Hazezon-tamar*.
 Hazor, a city of Judah. II. *Hazor*.
 a city of Naphtali. III. *Hazor*.
 a city built by Solomon. IV. *Hazor*.
 Head, scripture uses of the word. *Head*.
 dresses, eastern, Frag. i. p. 322.
 Heaps, erected to preserve the memory of events.
Heap.
 Hearing, meaning of the term when applied to God.
Hear.

- Heart, regarded by the Hebrews as the source of the understanding, passions, &c. *Heart*.
the word used to denote the middle of a thing, col. 21.
- Heat, excessive at Nineveh. *Jonah*, col. 3.
- Heathen, the Jews so designated all people without the land of Israel. *Heathen*.
their ignorance of God, *ibid*.
- Heaven, the air so called. I. *Heaven*.
the celestial. II. *Heaven*.
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- Heavenly bodies, regarded as mediators, *Frag. ii. p. 2*.
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- Hebrew language, whence its name is derived. *Heber*, col. 2.
- Hebrews, the designation preferred by the Israelites to that of Jews. *Hebrews*.
studies of. *Studies*.
- Hebron, one of the most ancient cities of Canaan. I. *Hebron*.
- Hedge-hog, a small quadruped. *Hedge-hog*.
- Heifers, metaphorical use of the word. *Heifers*.
- Heirs, customs relative to, in the east. *Heir*, and *Frag. i. p. 80*.
- Helbah, a city in Asher. *Helbah*.
- Helbon, a place near Damascus. *Helbon*.
- Helcath, a city of Asher. *Helcath*.
- Heleph, a city of Naphtali. *Heleph*.
- Heliopolis, a city of Egypt. I. *Heliopolis*.
a city of Cœle Syria. II. *Heliopolis*.
- Helcath, a city of Asher. *Helcath*.
- Hell, the word used to denote the grave. I. *Hell*.—
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gates of. *Hell*, col. 5, and *Frag. i. p. 394*.
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- Hellenists, the Jews who spake Greek so called. *Hellenists*.
- Hemloc, a poisonous herb. *Hemloc*.
- Hemona, a city of Benjamin. *Hemona*.
- Hepha, a town at the foot of mount Carmel. *Hepha*.
- Hepher, a Canaanitish town. III. *Hepher*.
- Hephzibah, a name given to the church. I. *Hephzibah*.
- Heptateuch, the seven first books of the Old Testament. *Heptateuch*.
- Herculaneum, MSS. discovered there. *Book*, col. 3.
- Hercules, the tutelary deity of Tyre. *Hercules*.
enquiries into the Persian and Indian, *Frag. ii. p. 527*.
- Heres, a mountain in Dan. *Heres*.
- Heresy, the word generally used in a bad sense. *Heresy*.—but not necessarily so, *ibid*.
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- Hermoniim, the mountains of Hermon. *Hermoniim*.
- Herod the Great, son of Antipater, and king of Judea, his character, I. *Herod*.
cited to Jerusalem to answer for his conduct, he retires to Syria, of which he obtains the government, col. 3.
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- Herod the Great, makes Aristobulus high priest, but afterwards puts him to death, col. 5.
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rebuilds the temple, *ibid*.
his sons conspire against him, col. 7.
alarmed at the birth of Christ, and puts the young children to death, *ibid*.
is struck with a dreadful disease, puts his son Antipater to death, and dies, *ibid*.
his genealogy, *Frag. i. p. 469*.
Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. III. *Herod*.
puts to death John the Baptist, col. 2.
is banished to Lyons by the emperor Caius, *ibid*.
- Herodians, a Jewish sect, or a political party in Herod's reign.
- Herodias, grand-daughter of Herod the Great, and wife of Herod Philip, afterwards married to Herod Antipas, whom she solicits to put John Baptist to death. *Herodias*.
husbands of, *Frag. i. p. 470*.
- Herod's temple described, *Frag. i. p. 500*.
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- Herodion, Paul's cousin. I. *Herodion*.
a castle built by Herod. II. *Herodion*.
- Heron, a bird. *Heron*.
- Heser, a city of Judah. *Heser*.
- Heshbon, a city east of the Jordan. *Heshbon*.
- Heshmon, a city of Judah. *Heshmon*.
- Hesrai, one of David's brave officers. *Hesrai*.
- Hesron, son of Reuben. I. *Hesron*.
son of Pharez. II. *Hesron*.
- Heth, son of Canaan. *Heth*.
- Hethlon, a city of Judea. *Hethlon*.
- Hexapla, Origen's. *Hexapla*.
- Hezeki, a Benjamite. *Hezeki*.
- Hezekiah, king of Judah. I. *Hezekiah*.
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son of Neariah. II. *Hezekiah*.
son of Shallum. III. *Hezekiah*.
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- Hezion, grandfather of Benhadad. *Hezion*.
- Hezir, head of a sacerdotal family. *Hezir*.
- Hidden treasures, allusions to, *Frag. i. p. 139*.
- Hieropolis, a city in Phrygia. *Hieropolis*.
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- Hieroglyphic animals of Daniel, *Frag. i. p. 273*.
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- High priest, duties and privileges of. *Priest*, col. 2.
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- Hindoo conquests in Arabia, *Frag. ii. p. 92*.
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 Hivites, the descendants of Hevæus, son of Canaan. *Hivites*.
 Hobah, a city west of Damascus. *Hobah*.
 Hog. See *Swine*.
 Holocaust, a burnt offering. *Holocaust*.
 Holofernes, general of the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, marched against Jerusalem, but was destroyed by the stratagem of Judith. *Holofernes*.
 Holon, a city of refuge. I. *Holon*.
 a city of Moab. II. *Holon*.
 Holy, or Holiness, various acceptations of the word *Holy*.
 Holiness, by separation. *Holy*, col. 2.
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 may be grieved and quenched. *Spirit*, col. 2.
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 Homer, a measure. *Homer*.
 Honey, not permitted to be offered in sacrifice. *Honey*.
 very plentiful in Palestine, *ibid*.
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 Honour, use of the word. *Honour*.
 Hope, acceptation of the word. *Hope*.
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 Hor, a mountain of Arabia Petraea. *Hor*.
 Horeb, a mountain in Arabia Petraea. *Horeb*.
 Horem, a city of Naphtali. *Horem*.
 Hor-Hagidgad, an encampment of Israel. *Hor-Hagidgad*.
 Horites, a people who dwelt in mount Seir. *Horites*.
 Hormah, a town of Simeon. *Hormah*.
 Hornet, an insect. *Hornet*.
 Horn, an eminence or angle. *Horn*.
 used to denote glory and strength, col. 2.
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 Horn-nosed snake, description of, Frag. ii. N. H. p. 92.
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 Hukok, a city of Asher. *Hukok*.
 Hulwan, a city in Assyria. *Hulwan*.
 Human nature, constituent principles of, Frag. ii. p. 293.
 Humility, its nature. *Humility*.
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 Humtah, a city of Judah. *Humtah*.
 Hur, son of Caleb. I. *Hur*.
 his office in the Hebrew camp, Frag. i. p. 4.
 Husband, import of the term. *Husband*.
 Husbandman, God compared to one. *Husbandman*.
 Husks, the fruit of a tree. *Husks*.
 Hyacinth, a precious stone. *Hyacinth*.
 Hyæna, a wild beast. *Hyæna*.
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 Ibleam, a town of Manasseh. *Ibleam*.
 Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia. *Iconium*.
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 Idumæa, a province of Arabia, peopled by the descendants of Esau. *Idumæa*.

- Idumeans, descendants of Esau, subdued by David. *Idumeans*.
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 Ignorance, used in several senses. *Ignorance*.
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 Imabarium, an encampment of Israel. *Ije-abarim*.
 Ijon, a town of Damascus. *Ijon*.
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- Restitution, prescribed by the Mosaic law. *Restitution*.
- Resurrection, a general, spoken of in the Old and New Testaments. *Resurrection*.
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- Reuben, tribe of, its possession. II. *Reuben*.
- Revelation, nature of. *Revelation*.
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- Revenge, meaning of, when ascribed to God, and difference between this and avenging. *Revenge*.
tolerated under the law, col. 2.
- Revenger of blood. *Revenger*.
- Reverence, a disposition of mind requiring corresponding conduct.
- Reward, a recompence. *Reward*.
- Rezeeph, a city of Syria. *Rezeeph*.
- Rhegium, a city of Italy. *Rhegium*.
- Rhinoceros, an animal. *Rhinoceros*, and *Unicorn*.
the reem of Job, Frag. i. p. 552.
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- Rhinocolura, a city. *Rhinocolura*.
- Rhodanum, a city, probably Rhodes. *Rhodanum*.
- Rhodes, an island of the Levant. *Rhodes*, and *Rhodanum*.
- Riblah, a city of Syria. *Riblah*.
- Right hand, denoting power, strength, and honour. *Right hand*.
- Righteousness, various senses of the word. *Righteousness*.
- Rimmon, a city of Zebulun. I. *Rimmon*.
a rock. II. *Rimmon*.
an idol of Damascus. III. *Rimmon*.
Parez, an encampment of Israel. *Rimmon*, and *Parez*.
- Rimmons, a city of Zebulun. *Rimmons*.
- Rings, antiquity of. *Rings*.
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- Rissah, an encampment of Israel. *Rissah*.
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- Rithmah, an encampment of Israel. *Rithmah*.
- Rivers of Palestine. *River*.
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- Roasting in ovens, method of, Frag. i. p. 332.
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- Rock goat, or Ibex, natural history of, Frag. ii. N. H. p. 33.
- Rock, tombs cut in, Frag. i. p. 393.
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- Rocks, principal ones of Palestine. *Rocks*.
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- Rogel, a fountain. *Rogel*.
- Rogelim, a place in Gilead. *Rogelim*.
- Roll, a record. *Roll*.
- Romans, Chittim referred to them. *Romans*.
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- Rome, visited by Peter and Paul. *Rome*.
- Root, denotes the origin or cause, also posterity. *Root*.
- Rose, a flower. *Rose*.
- Royal family, shut up in the East, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 196.
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- Rue, a garden herb. *Rue*.
- Rule, authority. *Rule*.
- Rules, rapid succession of, Frag. i. p. 183.
- Ruma, a city. I. *Ruma*.
a village of Galilee. II. *Ruma*.
- Rump of the sacrifices, consumed on the altar. *Rump*.
- Run, to, denotes perseverance. *Run*.
- Rush, bull. *Bull-rush*.
- Ruth, book of, order, scope, and canonicalness of *Ruth*, col. 2.

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- Sabacthani, a Syriac word. *Sabacthani*.
- Sabaoth, hosts or armies. *Sabaoth*.
- Sabbath, the, universality of. *Sabbath*, col. 3.
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Sabbatismus, complete rest. *Sabbatismus*.
Sabeans, disciples of John Baptist. *Sabeans*.
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Sadducees, a Jewish sect, doctrines of. *Sadducees*.
Saffron, a flower. *Saffron*.
Sagan, the deputy of the high priest and princes, so called. *Sagan*.
Saints, the Hebrews, priests, good men, and angels, so called. *Saints*.
Sanctify, to, import and use of the term. *Saint*, and *Sanctify*.
Salamis, a city of Cyprus. *Salamis*.
Salchah, a city of Bashan. *Salchah*.
Salem, Jerusalem. I. *Salem*.
 a city of the Shechemites. II. *Salem*.
 a place near Jerusalem. III. *Salem*.
 a town of Scythopolis. IV. *Salem*.
 a place where John baptized. V. *Salem*.
 a city of Melchizedec. VI. *Salem*.
 a city of Shilo. VII. *Salem*.
Salis, a village of Idumea. *Salis*.
Salmone, a city of Crete. *Salmone*.
Salt, used in sacrifices. *Salt*.
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Samaria, the capital of the kingdom of Israel. *Samaria*.
Samaritans, the Cuthite inhabitants of Samaria. *Samaritans*.
Samaritans, build a temple on Gerizim, col. 2.
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Samos, an island of the Archipelago. *Samos*.
Samothracia, an island of the Egean sea. *Samothracia*.
Samuel, son of Elkanah, and judge of Israel. *Samuel*.
 whether raised by the witch of Endor? col. 7.
 writings ascribed to him, col. 9.
Sanballat, governor of the Samaritans, who opposed the Jews in rebuilding the temple and walls of Jerusalem. *Sanballat*.
Sanctuary, the temple and tabernacle so called. *Sanctuary*
Sand, furnishes many similitudes in the sacred writings. *Sand*.
 pillars of, Frag. i. p. 329.
Sandals, sometimes used for inflicting punishment, or giving correction. *Sandals*, col. 2.
Sanhedrim, the great Jewish council. *Judges*, col. 4, and *Sanhedrim*
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Sansannah, a city of Judah. *Sansannah*.
Saphan or coney, natural history of, Frag. ii. N. H. p. 43.
Saraph, a kind of serpent. II. *Saraph*.
Sardis, a city of Asia Minor. *Sardis*
 present state of, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 49.
Sardius, a precious stone. *Sardius*.
Sardonyx, a precious stone. *Sardonyx*.
Sarid, a boundary city of Zebulun. *Sarid*.
Sarsechim, a name of dignity. *Sarsechim*.
Sarthan, a city of Palestine. *Sarthan*.
Satan, an adversary. *Satan*.
 probable import of the name, Frag. i. p. 290
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Saturninus, governor of Syria. *Saturninus*.
Satyr. *Goats*.
Saul, king of Idumea. I. *Saul*.
 king of Israel. II. *Saul*.
 Afghan history of, compared with Scripture, Frag. i. p. 57.
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Saul, surnamed Paul. *Paul*.

Savaran, brother of Judas Maccabeus. *Savaran*.
 Saviour, a name and office of Christ. *Saviour*.
 a name given to Jacob, col. 2.
 a name assumed by God, col. 3.
 Saw, punishment of it. *Saw*.
 Scandal, any thing which causes a man to stumble.
 Scandal.
 mountain of. *Scandal*, col. 4.
 Scape goat, ceremony of. *Azazel*.
 Sceptre, a rod of authority or correction, used also to
 denote a tribe. *Sceptre*.
 departed from Judah at the death of Christ,
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 Sceva, chief of the priests, or chief of the synagogue
 at Ephesus. *Sceva*.
 Schism, forbidden in the church. *Schism*.
 Schools, Jewish, first appear under Joshua. *Schools*.
 succeeded by the synagogues, col. 2.
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 Scopos, a place in Judea. *Scopos*.
 Scorpion, a venomous animal. *Scorpion*.
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 a whip. II. *Scorpion*.
 Scorpions, the mountains of Akkrabbim. II. *Scorpions*.
 machines of war. III. *Scorpions*.
 Scourge, the punishment of, common among the
 Jews. *Scourge*.
 Scribe, a writer or commissary. *Scribe*.
 a doctor of the law. III. *Scribe*.
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 Scythians, a people. *Scythians*.
 Scythopolis. See *Bethshan*.
 Sea, this name given by the Hebrews to any great
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 the Nile, Euphrates, and Tigris, so called by the
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 Seat of Moses, of scorers, of honour. *Seat*.
 Seats of stones, Frag. i. p. 323.
 Sebat, a Jewish month. *Sebat*.
 Secacah, a city of Judah. *Secacah*.
 Secret. See *Mystery*.
 Sects, Jewish. *Sect*.
 Seed, the word used to denote posterity. *Seed*

Seed, thrown on brides, Frag. i. p. 335.
 Seeing, the word denotes inward perception, and the
 enjoyment of things. *Seeing*.
 Seer, probably the title given to an historiographer,
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 Seir, mountains of. II. *Seir*.
 a mountain on the frontiers of Judah and Dan
 III. *Seir*.
 Selah, meaning of the word. *Selah*.
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 a city of Gaulanitis. II. *Seleucia*.
 a city of Syria. III. *Seleucia*.
 Seleucus, kings of Syria so named. *Seleucus*.
 Selling, customs of, under the law. *Selling*.
 Semechon, a lake through which the Jordan passes.
 Semechon.
 Senaah, the name of a place. *Senaah*.
 Seneca, the philosopher, letters to St. Paul ascribed to
 him. *Seneca*.
 account of. *Philosophy*, and col. 5.
 Senir, mount Hermon. *Senir*.
 Sennaar, its soil fatal to animal life, Frag. i. p. 14, 15.
 Sennacherib, king of Assyria. *Sennacherib*.
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 Senses of Scripture. *Sense*.
 Sepharvaim, a people sent to inhabit Samaria. *Se-*
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 Sephoris, a city of Zebulun. *Sephoris*.
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 Seraphim, goldsmiths or founders. I. *Seraphim*.
 fiery serpents. II. *Seraphim*.
 angelic beings. III. *Seraphim*.

Serpent, that which tempted Eve. *Serpent*.

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Servants, two kinds of, among the Hebrews. I. and II. *Servant*.

Servitude for maintenance, Frag. i. p. 143

Sestertius, a piece of Roman money. *Sestertius*.

Seth, son of Adam and Eve. *Seth*.

traditions concerning him, and writings ascribed to him, col. 2.

Seven, the number, marked out by a variety of events and mysterious circumstances. *Seven*.

Sextarius, a Roman measure. *Sextarius*.

Shaalabbim, a city of Dan. *Shaalabbim*.

Shaalbon, a place in Judea. *Shaalbon*.

Shaaraim, a city of Simeon. *Shaaraim*.

Shaddai, a name of God. *Shaddai*.

Shade of trees, frequented in the East, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 204.

Shadow, time measured by it in the East. *Shadow*.
the word used to denote unsubstantial and obscure things, col. 2.

Shamir, a city of Judah. II. *Shamir*.

a city of Ephraim. III. *Shamir*.

a hard stone. IV. *Shamir*.

Shaphan, an animal. I. *Shaphan*.

Shaphar, an encampment of Israel. *Shaphar*, and Frag. ii. p. 116.

Sharaim, a city of Judah. *Sharaim*.

Sharon, a district between mount Tabor and the sea of Tiberias. I. *Sharon*.

a district between Cæsarea and Joppa. II. *Sharon*.

a district in Bashan. III. *Sharon*.

the plain of Ecdippe and Ptolemais. IV. *Sharon*.

Sharuhén, a city of Simeon. *Sharuhén*.

Shaveh, a valley. *Shareh*.

kisthaim, a city. *Shaveh-kisthaim*.

Shaving, practised by the Hebrews, in times of mourning. *Shaving*.

Sheaf of corn, offered as the first fruit of the harvest. *Sheaf*.

Shebam, a city of Reuben. *Shebam*.

Sheban, a city of Reuben. *Sheban*.

Sheba, a city of Simeon. V. *Sheba*.

a city of Judah. VI. *Sheba*.

Shebarim, a place near Bethel. *Shebarim*.

Shebat, a Hebrew month. *Shebat*.

Shebeth of Judah, what? Frag. i. p. 192.

Sheep, offered in sacrifice. *Sheep*.

the method employed by Jacob for procuring speckled ones, *ibid*.

Sheep, the righteous compared to, col. 3.

Syrian, representations of, Frag. i. p. 266

Shekel, a Hebrew weight, and money. *Shekel*.

Shekinah, the visible token of the divine presence. *Shekinah*.

the presence of the Holy Ghost, according to the Jews, *ibid*.

Shem, son of Noah, traditions relative to him. *Shem*, and Frag. ii. p. 354.

probably Melchizedek, *ibid*.

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Shema, a city of Judah. I. *Shema*.

Shem-Hamphorash, the incommunicable name of God—Jehovah. *Shem-Hamphorash*.

Shemimith, a musical instrument. *Shemimith*.

Shenir, mount Hermon. *Shenir*.

Shepham, a city of Syria. *Shepham*.

Shephlah, the plain about Eleutheropolis. *Shephlah*.

Shepherds, abominated by the Egyptians. *Shepherds*.
pastors, teachers, &c. so called, col. 2.

the Messiah so named, col. 3.

Sheshach, Babylon so called. *Sheshach*.

Shew-bread. *Bread*, col. 3, and *Shew-bread*.

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Shibboleth, the pronunciation of this word affords proof of dialectical variations among the Hebrews. *Shibboleth*.

Shibmah, a city of Reuben. *Shibmah*.

Shicron, a city of Judah. *Shicron*.

Shield, a piece of armour, God so called with reference to his people. *Shield*.

Shiggaon, import of the word. *Shiggaon*.

Shihon, a city of Issachar. *Shihon*.

Shilim, a city of Judah. *Shilim*.

Shiloh, a city of Ephraim. II. *Shiloh*.

the Messiah so designated. I. *Shiloh*.

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Shimron, a city of Zebulun. I. *Shimron*.

Ship of the desert, the camel, Frag. i. p. 190.

Ship of Tyre, metaphorical, Frag. i. p. 429

Shiphmite, a town of Judah. *Shiphmite*.

Ships, classes of ancient, Frag. i. p. 125, 405, 422, 437.

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Shoe, loosing it and spitting, Frag. i. p. 157.

Shoes, ancient form of. *Shoes*.

sometimes made of metal, col. 2

Shophan, a city of Gad. *Shophan*.

Shoshannim, a musical instrument. *Shoshannim*.

Shual, a country in Israel. *Shual*.

Shulamite, a name given to the spouse, in the Canticles. *Shulamite*.

Shunem, a city of Issachar. *Shunem*.

Shur, a city of Arabia Petraea. *Shur*.

Shushan, a musical instrument. I. *Shushan*.

the capital of Persia. II. *Shushan*.

Sibram, a northern boundary of Judea. *Sibram*.

Sibyls, heathen, account of. *Sibyls*.

Sicaminum, a city at the foot of mount Carmel. *Sicaminum*.
 Sicera, the wine of the palm tree. *Sicera*.
 Sichar, a city of Samaria. ~ *Shechem, Samaria*, and Frag. ii. p. 153.
 Sicyon, a city of Peloponnesus. *Sicyon*.
 Side, a city of Pamphilia. *Side*.
 Sidon, a city of Phenicia. II. *Sidon*.
 Siege of a town, ancient, Frag. i. p. 460.
 Sight, privation of, as a punishment, Frag. i. p. 342, 345, 347.
 Signets, ancient, Frag. i. p. 215.
 Signs, a common mode of conveying information in the East, Frag. i. p. 52.
 nothing singular in the use of, by the prophets, p. 54.
 Sihor, the lull. I. *Sihor*.
 a city of Asher. II. *Sihor*.
 Silas, a companion of St. Paul. *Silas*.
 conjectures concerning him, Frag. ii. p. 363.
 Silence, this word used in several senses in Scripture. *Silence*.
 Silk, known to the ancients. *Silk*.
 Siloam, pool of. *Siloam*.
 Silver, not known before the deluge, but common in Abraham's time. *Silver*.
 Simeon, settlement of his tribe, col. 2.
 Simon Magus. XVIII. *Simon*.
 heresies of, col. 3.
 Simonians, disciples of Simon Magus. *Simonians*.
 Simony, so called from Simon Magus. *Simony*.
 Simonias, a village of Galilee. *Simonias*.
 Sin or Zan, a city and desert in Arabia Petrea. *Sin*.
 Sinim, land of, probably China. II. *Sinim*.
 Sin, a transgression of the law. III. *Sin*.
 the word denotes sometimes the offering for sin, *ibid*
 against the Holy Ghost, col. 2
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 Sinai, a mountain of Arabia Petrea, on which the law was given. *Sinai*, and Frag. ii. p. 127.
 occurrences there, p. 132.
 desert of, p. 122.
 Sincerity, truth and uprightness. *Sincerity*.
 Sinews, of animals, not eaten by the Jews. *Sinew*.
 Singing, a part of public worship. *Singing*.
 Sion, mount Hermon. I. *Sion*.
 a mountain of Jerusalem. II. *Sion*.
 ancient sepulchres in, Frag. ii. p. 172.
 Suah, a well near Hebron. *Suah*.
 Suabon, a lake between Judea and Egypt. *Suabon*.
 Sirion, mount Hermon. *Sirion*.
 Sister, a term of extensive import among the Hebrews. *Sister*.
 Sisters, marriage of, an ancient custom, Frag. i. p. 197.
 Sistrum, an Egyptian musical instrument. *Sistrum*.
 Sisuthrus, the name given to Noah by the Babylonians. *Sisuthrus*.
 Sitting, eastern mode of, Frag. i. p. 25, 28.
 an attitude of devotion and adoration, Frag. ii. p. 397. *Adoration*.
 Sivan, a Hebrew month. *Sivan*.
 Skin of the teeth, Frag. i. p. 186.
 Skins, used for clothing. *Skins*.

Slander, evil of. *Slander*.
 Slaves, laws for the government and treatment of, among the Hebrews. *Slaves*.
 employment of eastern, Frag. ii. p. 398.
 Slavery, denotes the subjection of one people to another, in Scripture. *Slaves*, col. 5.
 Sleep, natural. *Sleep*.
 death so called, col. 2.
 Sleeping on the lap, Frag. i. p. 351.
 Slime, a bituminous substance. *Slime*.
 Sling, an instrument for throwing stones. *Sling*.
 Smite, to, used in various senses. *Smite*.
 Smoke, sometimes denotes vapour. *Smoke*.
 Smyrna, a city of Asia Minor. *Smyrna*.
 present state of, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 54.
 Snares for robbery, in the East, Frag. i. div. 2. p. 2, 7.
 Snow, frequently used as an object of comparison. *Snow*.
 Snuffers, used in the sanctuary. *Snuffers*.
 Soap, a cleansing herb or composition. *Soap*.
 Soba, a part of Syria. *Soba*.
 Sobriety, steadiness, prudence, &c. *Sober*.
 Socoh, a city of Judah. *Socoh*.
 Sodom, the capital city of the Pentapolis. *Sodom*.
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